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MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

BY

LOUIS ANTOINE FAUVELET DE BOURRIENNE

HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

AN ACCOUNT OF THE IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE HUNDRED DAYS, OF NAPOLEON'S SURRENDER TO THE ENGLISH, AND OF HIS RESIDENCE AND DEATH AT ST. HELENA,

WITH ANECDOTES AND ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS FROM ALL THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES

EDITED BY R. W. PHIPPS

COLONEL, LATE ROYAL ARTILLERY

"Ah! Bourrienne, you also will be immortal!" said Napoleon.
"How, General?"—"Are you not my Secretary?"

New and Revised Edition

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

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MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

1805.

My functions at Hamburg — The King of Sweden at Stralsund — My bulletin describing the situation of the Russian armies — Duroc's recall from Berlin — General Dumouriez — Recruiting of the English in Hanover — The daughter of M. de Marbeuf and Napoleon — Treachery of the King of Naples — The Sun of Austerlitz — Prince Dolgorouki — Rapp's account of the battle of Austerlitz — Gérard's picture — Eugène's marriage.

I MUST now relate how, in conformity with my instructions, I was employed in Hamburg in aiding the success of the French army. I had sent an agent to observe the Russian troops, which were advancing by forced marches on the banks of the Elbe. This agent transmitted to me from Gadbusch an account of the routes taken by the different columns. It was then supposed that they would march upon Holland by the way of Bremen and Oldenburg. On the receipt of this intelligence the Electorate of Hanover was evacuated by the French, and General Barbou, who had commanded there, concentrated his forces in Hamelin.

On the 2d of November, 1805, the King of Sweden arrived at Stralsund. I immediately intimated to our Government that this circumstance would probably give a new turn to the operations of the combined army, for hitherto the uncertainty of its movements and the successive counter-orders afforded no possibility of ascertaining any determined plan. The intention seemed to be, that all the Swedo-Russian troops

should cross the Elbe at the same point, viz., Lauenburg, six miles from Hamburg. There was not on the 5th of November a single Russian on the southern bank of the Elbe.

The first column of the grand Russian army passed through Warsaw on the 1st of November, and on the 2d the Grand-Duke Constantine was expected with the Guards. This column, which amounted to 6000 men, was the first that passed through Prussian Poland.

At this time we momentarily expected to see the Hanoverian army landed on the banks of the Weser or the Elbe, augmented by some thousands of English. Their design apparently was either to attack Holland, or to attempt some operation on the rear of our Grand Army.

The French Government was very anxious to receive accurate accounts of the march of the Swedo-Russian troops through Hanover, and of the Russian army through Poland. My agents at Warsaw and Stralsund, who were exceedingly active and intelligent, enabled me to send off a bulletin describing the state of Hanover, the movements of the Russians and Swedes, together with information of the arrival of English troops in the Elbe, and a statement of the force of the combined army in Hanover, which consisted of 15,000 Russians, 8000 Swedes, and 12,000 English; making in all 35,000 men.

It was probably on account of this bulletin that Napoleon expressed to Duroc his satisfaction with my services. The Emperor on recalling Duroc from Berlin did not manifest the least apprehension respecting Prussia. Duroc wrote to me the following letter on the occasion of his recall: —

My dear Bourrienne — The Emperor having thought my services necessary to the army has recalled me. I yesterday had a farewell audience of the King and Queen, who treated me very graciously. His Majesty presented me with his portrait set in diamonds.

The Emperor Alexander will probably depart to-morrow, and the Archduke Anthony very speedily. We cannot but hope that their presence here will facilitate a good understanding. (Signed) Duroc.

Whenever foreign armies were opposing France the hopes of the emigrants revived. They falsely imagined that the

powers coalesced against Napoleon were laboring in their cause; and many of them entered the Russian and Austrian armies. Of this number was General Dumouriez. I received information that he had landed at Stade on the 21st of November; but whither he intended to proceed was not known. A man named St. Martin, whose wife lived with Dumouriez, and who had accompanied the General from England to Stade, came to Hamburg, where he observed great precautions for concealment and bought two carriages, which were immediately forwarded to Stade. St. Martin himself immediately proceeded to the latter place. I was blamed for not having arrested this man; but he had a commission attesting that he was in the English service, and, as I have before mentioned, a foreign commission was a safeguard, and the only one which could not be violated in Hamburg.

In December, 1805, the English recruiting in Hanover was kept up without interruption, and attended with extraordinary success. Sometimes a hundred men were raised in a day. The misery prevailing in Germany, which had been ravaged by the war, the hatred against the French, and the high bounty that was offered enabled the English to procure as many men as they wished.

The King of Sweden, meditating on the stir he should make in Hanover, took with him a camp printing-press to publish the bulletins of the *grand* Swedish army. The first of these bulletins announced to *Europe* that his Swedish Majesty was about to leave Stralsund, and that his army would take up its position partly between Nelsen and Haarburg, and partly between Domitz and the frontiers of Hamburg.

Among the anecdotes of Napoleon connected with this campaign, I find in my notes the following, which was related to me by Rapp. Some days before his entrance into Vienna Napoleon, who was riding on horseback along the road, dressed in his usual uniform of the chasseurs of the Guard, met an open carriage, in which was seated a lady and priest. The lady was in tears, and Napoleon could not refrain from stopping to ask her what was the cause of her distress. "Sir," she replied, for she did not know the Emperor, "I have been

pillaged at my estate, two leagues from hence, by a party of soldiers, who have murdered my gardener. I am going to seek your Emperor, who knows my family, to whom he was once under great obligations." "What is your name?" inquired Napoleon. — "De Bunny," replied the lady. "I am the daughter of M. de Marbeuf, formerly Governor of Corsica." — "Madame," exclaimed Napoleon, "I am the Emperor. I am delighted to have the opportunity of serving you." — "You cannot conceive," continued Rapp, "the attention which the Emperor showed Madame de Bunny. He consoled her, pitied her, almost apologized for the misfortune she had sustained. 'Will you have the goodness, Madame,' said he, 'to go and wait for me at my headquarters? I will join you speedily; every member of M. de Marbeuf's family has a claim on my respect.' The Emperor immediately gave her a picquet of chasseurs of his Guard to escort her. He saw her again during the day, when he loaded her with attentions, and liberally indemnified her for the losses she had sustained." [1]

For some time previous to the battle of Austerlitz the different corps of the army intersected every part of Germany and Italy, all tending towards Vienna as a central point. At the beginning of November the corps commanded by Marshal Bernadotte arrived at Saltzburg at the moment when the Emperor had advanced his headquarters to Braunau, where there were numerous magazines of artillery and a vast quantity of provisions of every kind. The junction of the corps commanded by Bernadotte in Hanover with the Grand Army was a point of such high importance that Bonaparte had directed the Marshal to come up with him as speedily as

[1] This incident is related in the Memoirs of Rapp, p. 54, giving some color to the remark of *Erreurs*, tome i. p. 315, on a similar reference. The whole family of the Bonapartes certainly owed much to the Comte (Louis Charles René), later the Marquis de Marbeuf, who had been Governor of Corsica, and who had obtained permission for Napoleon to enter the military school of Brienne, and generally acted as their protector. The Comte had stood as godfather to Louis Bonaparte. See Iung's *Bonaparte*, tome i. especially p. 91. He died in 1786. When the young Napoleon, put in the cells at Brienne for some quarrel, makes a spirited appeal to M. de Marbeuf to withdraw him from Brienne, he then says, "As for the kindnesses you shower on me, they shall always be present to my memory." They were present, and Napoleon had full right to say to Madame Junot that all sovereigns were not ungrateful (*Junot*, tome ii. p. 510).

possible, and to take the shortest road. This order obliged Bernadotte to pass through the territory of the two Margravates.

At that time we were at peace with Naples. In September the Emperor had concluded with Ferdinand IV. a treaty of neutrality. This treaty enabled Carra St. Cyr, who occupied Naples, to evacuate that city and to join Masséna in Upper Italy; both reached the Grand Army on the 28th of November. But no sooner had the troops commanded by Carra St. Cyr quitted the Neapolitan territory than the King of Naples, influenced by his Ministers, and above all, by Queen Caroline, broke the treaty of neutrality, ordered hostile preparations against France, opened his ports to the enemies of the Emperor, and received into his States 12,000 Russians and 8000 English.[1] It was on the receipt of this news that Bonaparte, in one of his most violent bulletins, styled the Queen of Naples a second Fredegonda. The victory of Austerlitz having given powerful support to his threats, the fall of Naples was decided, and shortly after his brother Joseph was seated on the Neapolitan throne.

At length came the grand day when, to use Napoleon's expression, the *Sun of Austerlitz rose.* All our forces were concentrated on one point, at about 40 leagues beyond Vienna. There remained nothing but the wreck of the Austrian army, the corps of Prince Charles being by scientific manœuvres kept at a distance from the line of operations; but the Russians alone were superior to us in numbers, and their army was almost entirely composed of fresh troops. The most extraordinary illusion prevailed in the enemy's camp. The north of Europe has its Gascons as well as the south of France, and the junior portion of the Russian army at this period assumed an absurd braggadocio tone. On the very eve of the battle the Emperor Alexander sent one of his *aides de camp*, Prince Dolgorouki, as a flag of truce to Napoleon. The Prince could not repress his self-sufficiency even in the

[1] This has been called treachery on the part of King Ferdinand, but it should be remembered that it was only by a system of treachery and violence that the French had obtained a footing in the Kingdom of Naples and forced Ferdinand into a most disadvantageous treaty. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

presence of the Emperor, and Rapp informed me that on dismissing him the Emperor said, "If you were on the heights of Montmartre,[1] I would answer such impertinence only by cannon-balls." This observation was very remarkable, inasmuch as subsequent events rendered it a prophecy.

As to the battle itself, I can describe it almost as well as if I had witnessed it, for some time after I had the pleasure of seeing my friend Rapp, who was sent on a mission to Prussia. He gave me the following account: —

"When we arrived at Austerlitz the Russians were not aware of the scientific plans which the Emperor had laid for drawing them upon the ground he had marked out; and seeing our advanced guards fall back before theirs they already considered themselves conquerors. They supposed that their Guard alone would secure an easy triumph. But the action commenced, and they experienced an energetic resistance on all points. At one o'clock the victory was yet uncertain, for they fought admirably. They wished to make a last effort by directing close masses against our centre. Their Imperial Guard deployed; their artillery, cavalry, and infantry marched upon a bridge which they attacked, and this movement, which was concealed by the rising and falling of the ground, was not observed by Napoleon. I was at that moment near the Emperor, awaiting his orders. We heard a well-maintained firing of musketry. The Russians were repulsing one of our brigades. The Emperor ordered me to take some of the Mamelukes, two squadrons of chasseurs, and one of grenadiers of the Guard, and to go and reconnoitre the state of things. I set off at full gallop, and soon discovered the disaster. The Russian cavalry had penetrated our squares, and was sabring our men. I perceived in the distance some masses of cavalry and infantry, which formed the reserve of the Russians. At that moment the enemy advanced to meet us, bringing with him four pieces of artillery, and ranged himself in order of battle. I had the brave Morland on my left, and General D'Allemagne on my right. 'For-

[1] Overlooking Paris, where, nine years later, the Russians stood as conquerors. — *Editor of the* 1836 *edition.*

ward, my lads!' exclaimed I to my troop. 'See how your brothers and friends are being cut to pieces. Avenge them! avenge our flag! Forward!' These few words roused my men. We advanced as swiftly as our horses could carry us upon the artillery, which was taken. The enemy's cavalry, which awaited us firmly, was repulsed by the same shock, and fled in disorder, galloping as we did over the wrecks of our squares. The Russians rallied; but a squadron of horse grenadiers came up to re-enforce me, and thus enabled me to hold ground against the reserves of the Russian Guard. We charged again, and this charge was terrible. The brave Morland was killed by my side. It was downright butchery. We were opposed man to man, and were so mingled together that the infantry of neither one nor the other side could venture to fire for fear of killing its own men. At length the intrepidity of our troops overcame every obstacle, and the Russians fled in disorder, in sight of the two Emperors of Russia and Austria, who had stationed themselves on a height in order to witness the battle. They saw a desperate one," said Rapp, "and I trust they were satisfied. For my part, my dear friend, I never spent so glorious a day. What a reception the Emperor gave me when I returned to inform him that we had won the battle! My sword was broken, and a wound which I received on my head was bleeding copiously, so that I was covered with blood! He made me a General of Division. The Russians did not return to the charge; we had taken all their cannon and baggage, and Prince Repnin was among the prisoners."[1]

[1] There is something strange about the position and behavior of the Russian army after Austerlitz. See Savary (tome ii. chap. xvii.), in which he hints that the Russians only escaped worse defeat the day after the battle by bad faith. Jomini says nothing on the subject, but he owed much to Alexander when he wrote. On the battle itself Jomini puts the following in the mouth of Napoleon. "Such was the famous day of Austerlitz, — of all the pitched fights I have won that of which I am the proudest, as much on account of the enemy over whom I triumphed as on account of the circumstances which made all my combinations succeed as if I had commanded both armies and as if we had agreed upon the manœuvres. Ulm, Marengo, Jéna, Ratisbon, were as brilliant victories, but they were the result of strategical manœuvres and of a series of combats. The most remarkable tactical battles are Austerlitz, Rivoli, and Dresden" (*Jomini*, tome ii. p. 193). See Thiers's vivid account, tome vi. livre xxiii Also Hamley's *Operations*, pp. 379 and 409. Jomini's opinion must be that of every soldier, but he does not

Thus it was that Rapp related to me this famous battle of which he was the hero, as Kellerman had been the hero of Marengo. What now remains of Austerlitz? The recollection, the glory, and the magnificent picture of Gérard, the idea of which was suggested to the Emperor by the sight of Rapp with the blood streaming from his wound.

I cannot forbear relating here a few particulars which I learned from Rapp respecting his mission after the cure of his wound, and the marriage of Prince Eugène to the Princess Augusta of Bavaria. The friendship which Rapp cherished for me was of the most sincere kind. During my disgrace he did not even conceal it from Napoleon; and whoever knows anything of the Emperor's Court will acknowledge that *that* was a greater mark of courage than the carrying of a redoubt or making the most brilliant charge of cavalry. Rapp possessed courage of every kind, an excellent heart, and a downright frankness, which for a time brought him into disgrace with Napoleon. The only thing for which Rapp could be reproached was his extreme prejudice against the nobility, which I am convinced was the sole reason why he was not created a Duke.[1] The Emperor made him a count because he wished that all his *aides de camp* should have titles.

"He had been a fortnight at Schœnbrunn," said Rapp to me, "and I had not yet resumed my duties, when the Emperor sent for me. He asked me whether I was able to travel, and on my replying in the affirmative, he said, 'Go, then, and give an account of the battle of Austerlitz to Marmont, and vex him for not having been at it.' I set off, and in conformity with the instructions I had received from the Emperor I proceeded to Gratz, where I found Marmont, who was indeed deeply mortified at not having had a share in the great battle. I told him, as the Emperor had directed me, that the negotiations were commenced, but that nothing was yet concluded, and that therefore, at all events, he must

do justice to the calculated daring by which Napoleon disregarded the Prussian advance and crushed the allies before Prussia could bring her power to bear. One undoubted result of Austerlitz was the death of the great English patriot, William Pitt, who is said to have been as much killed by it as if actually shot on the field; See *Alison*, chap. xl. para. 167.

[1] Or *vice versâ?* — READER.

hold himself in readiness. I ascertained the situation of his army in Styria, and the amount of the enemy's force before him. The Emperor wished him to send a number of spies into Hungary, and to transmit to him a detailed report from their communications. I next proceeded to Laybach, where I found Masséna at the head of the eighth corps, and I informed him that the Emperor wished him to march in all haste upon Vienna, in case he should hear of the rupture of the negotiations. I continued the itinerary marked out for me until I reached Venice, and thence till I met the troops of Carra St. Cyr,[1] who had received orders to march back upon Naples as soon as the Emperor heard of the treachery of the King of Naples and the landing of the English and Russians. Having fulfilled these different missions I proceeded to Klagenfurth, where I saw Marshal Ney, and I afterwards rejoined the Emperor at Munich. There I had the pleasure of finding our friends assembled, and among them Josephine, still as affable and amiable as ever. How delighted I was when, on my arrival, I learned that the Emperor had adopted Eugène. I was present at his marriage with the Princess Augusta of Bavaria. As to me, you know I am not very fond of *fêtes*, and the Emperor might have dispensed with my performing the duties of Chamberlain; Eugène had no idea of what was going on when the Emperor sent to desire his presence at Munich with all possible speed. He, too, remains unchanged; he is still our old comrade. At first he was not much pleased with the idea of political marriage; but when he saw his bride he was quite enchanted; and no wonder, for I assure you she is a very charming woman."

[1] Gouvion, not Carra, St. Cyr (*Erreurs*, tome ii. p. 148).

CHAPTER II.

1805.

Depreciation of the Bank paper — Ouvrard — His great discretion — Bonaparte's opinion of the rich — Ouvrard's imprisonment — His partnership with the King of Spain — His connection with Wanlerberghe and Desprez — Bonaparte's return to Paris after the campaign of Vienna — Hasty dismissal of M. Barbé Marbois.

At the moment when the Emperor had reason to hope that the news of his extraordinary success would animate public spirit he was informed that considerable disquietude prevailed, and that the Bank of France was assailed by demands for the payment of its paper, which had fallen more than 5 per cent. I was not ignorant of the cause of this decline. I had been made acquainted, through the commercial correspondence between Hamburg and Paris, with a great financial operation, planned by M. Ouvrard, in consequence of which he was to obtain piastres from Spanish America at a price much below the real value ; and I had learned that he was obliged to support this enterprise by the funds which he and his partners previously employed in victualling the forces. A fresh investment of capital was therefore necessary for this service, which, when on a large scale, requires extensive advances, and the tardy payment of the Treasury at that period was well known.

I was well acquainted with M. Ouvrard, and in what I am about to say I do not think there will be found anything offensive or disagreeable to him. I observed the greater number of the facts to which I shall refer in their origin, and the rest I learned from M. Ouvrard himself, who, when he visited Hamburg in 1808, communicated to me a variety of details respecting his immense transactions with the King of Spain. Among other things I recollect he told me that before

the 18th Brumaire he was possessed of 60,000,000, without owing a franc to any person.

This celebrated financier has been the object of great public attention.[1] The prodigious variations of fortune which he has experienced, the activity of his life, the immense commercial operations in which he has been engaged, the extent and the boldness of his enterprises, render it necessary, in forming a judgment of M. Ouvrard, to examine his conduct with due care and deliberation. The son of a stationer, who was able merely through his own resources to play so remarkable a part, could be no ordinary man. It may be said of M. Ouvrard what Beaumarchais said of himself, that his life was really a combat. I have known him long, and I saw much of him in his relations with Josephine. He always appeared to me to possess great knowledge of the world, accompanied by honorable principles, and a high degree of generosity, which added greatly to the value of his prudence and discretion. No human power, no consideration, not even the ingratitude of those whom he had obliged, could induce him to disclose any sacrifice which he had made at the time when, under the Directory, the public revenue may be said to have been always at the disposal of the highest bidder, and when no business could be brought to a conclusion except by him who set about it with his hands full of money. To this security, with which M. Ouvrard impressed all official persons

[1] Bourrienne goes at great length into the curious but well-known Ouvrard affair of which he could not have had much special knowledge at the time. The company of "Négociants réunis," composed of Ouvrard, Desprez, and Wanlerberghe, had undertaken enormous contracts for the French and Spanish Governments. The French Treasury became mixed up with their affairs, and the large advances which had to be made to the company shook the public credit. This matter hung like a cloud over Napoleon during the Austerlitz campaign: see his Correspondence with Joseph in 1805, tome i. On the return of the Emperor, after the peace of Presburg, he dismissed M. Barbé Marbois, the Ministre du Trésor, but only for injudicious conduct, paying a compliment to his personal character at the time. The main wrath of the Emperor, who rightly or wrongly looked on himself as robbed, fell on Ouvrard, who was imprisoned for some years, and the fortune of himself and his associates appropriated to refunding the deficiency of the Treasury. Ouvrard afterwards pursued the same extraordinary and varied career: sometimes rich, and sometimes ruined. In 1823 he undertook the supply of the French army in Spain, and in 1830 was mixed up with the Spanish pretenders. He died in 1847. See the account of this affair by Thiers, tome vi. livres xxii. and xxiii.

who rendered him services, I attribute the facility with which he obtained the direction of the numerous enterprises in which he engaged, and which produced so many changes in his fortune. The discretion of M. Ouvrard was not quite agreeable to the First Consul, who found it impossible to extract from him the information he wanted. He tried every method to obtain from him the names of persons to whom he had given those kind of subsidies which in vulgar language are called sops in the pan, and by ladies pin-money. Often have I seen Bonaparte resort to every possible contrivance to gain his object. He would sometimes endeavor to alarm M. Ouvrard by menaces, and at other times to flatter him by promises, but he was in no instance successful.

While we were at the Luxembourg, on, as I recollect, the 25th of January, 1800, Bonaparte said to me during breakfast, "Bourrienne, my resolution is taken. I shall have Ouvrard arrested." — "General, have you proofs against him?" — "Proofs, indeed! He is a money-dealer, a monopolizer; we must make him disgorge. All the contractors, all the provision agents, are rogues. How have they got their fortunes? At the expense of the country, to be sure. I will not suffer such doings. They possess millions, they roll in an insolent luxury, while my soldiers have neither bread nor shoes! I will have no more of that! I intend to speak on the business to-day in the Council, and we shall see what can be done."

I waited with impatience for his return from the Council to know what had passed. "Well, General?" said I. "The order is given." On hearing this I became anxious about the fate of M. Ouvrard, who was thus to be treated more like a subject of the Grand Turk than a citizen of the Republic; but I soon learned that the order had not been executed because he could not be found.

Next day I learned that a person, whom I shall not name, who was present at the Council, and who probably was under obligations to Ouvrard, wrote him a note in pencil to inform him of the vote for his arrest carried by the First Consul. This individual stepped out for a moment and despatched his servant with the note to Ouvrard. Having thus escaped the

writ of arrest, Ouvrard, after a few days had passed over, reappeared, and surrendered himself prisoner. Bonaparte was at first furious on learning that he had got out of the way; but on hearing that Ouvrard had surrendered himself he said to me, "The fool! he does not know what is awaiting him! He wishes to make the public believe that he has nothing to fear; that his hands are clean. But he is playing a bad game; he will gain nothing in that way with me. All talking is nonsense. You may be sure, Bourrienne, that when a man has so much money he cannot have got it honestly, and then all those fellows are dangerous with their fortunes. In times of revolution no man ought to have more than 3,000,000 francs. and that is a great deal too much."

Before going to prison Ouvrard took care to secure against all the searches of the police any of his papers which might have committed persons with whom he had dealings; and I believe that there were individuals connected with the police itself who had good reason for not regretting the opportunity which M. Ouvrard had taken for exercising this precaution. Seals, however, were put upon his papers; but on examining them none of the information Bonaparte so much desired to obtain was found. Nevertheless on one point his curiosity was satisfied, for on looking over the documents he found from some of them that Madame Bonaparte had been borrowing from Ouvrard.

As Ouvrard had a great number of friends they bestirred themselves to get some person of influence to speak to the First Consul in his favor. But this was a commission no one was willing to undertake; because, prejudiced as Bonaparte was, the least hint of the kind would have appeared to him to be dictated by private interest. Berthier was very earnestly urged to interfere, but he replied, "That is impossible. He would say that it was underhand work to get money for Madame Visconti."

I do not recollect to what circumstance Ouvrard was indebted for his liberty, but it is certain that his captivity did not last long. Some time after he had left his prison Bonaparte asked him for 12,000,000, which M. Ouvrard refused.

On his accession to the Consulate Bonaparte found M. Ouvrard contractor for supplying the Spanish fleet under the command of Admiral Massaredo. This business introduced him to a correspondence with the famous Godoy, Prince of the Peace. The contract lasted three years, and M. Ouvrard gained by it a net profit of 15,000,000. The money was payable in piastres, at the rate of 3 francs and some centimes each, though the piastre was really worth 5 francs 40 centimes. But to recover it at this value it was necessary for M. Ouvrard to go and get the money in Mexico. This he was much inclined to do, but he apprehended some obstacle on the part of the First Consul, and, notwithstanding his habitual shrewdness, he became the victim of his over-precaution. On his application M. de Talleyrand undertook to ask the First Consul for authority to give him a passport. I was in the cabinet at the time, and I think I still hear the dry and decided "*No*," which was all the answer M. de Talleyrand obtained. When we were alone the First Consul said to me, "Do you not see, Bourrienne, this Ouvrard must have made a good thing of his business with the Prince of the Peace? But the fool! Why did he get Talleyrand to ask me for a passport? That is the very thing that raised my suspicion. Why did he not apply for a passport as every one else does? Have I the giving of them? He is an ass; so much the worse for him."

I was sorry for Ouvrard's disappointment, and I own none the less so because he had intimated his willingness to give me a share in the business he was to transact in Spain; and which was likely to be very profitable. His brother went to Mexico in his stead.

In 1802 a dreadful scarcity afflicted France. M. Ouvrard took upon himself, in concert with Wanlerberghe, the task of importing foreign grain to prevent the troubles which might otherwise have been expected. In payment of the grain the foreign houses who sent it drew upon Ouvrard and Wanlerberghe for 26,000,000 francs in Treasury bills, which, according to the agreement with the Government, were to be paid. But when the bills of the foreign houses became due there

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was no money in the Treasury, and payment was refused. After six months had elapsed payment was offered, but on condition that the Government should retain half the profit of the commission! This Ouvrard and Wanlerberghe refused, upon which the Treasury thought it most economical to pay nothing, and the debt remained unsettled. Notwithstanding this transaction Ouvrard and Wanlerberghe engaged to victual the navy, which they supplied for six years and three months. After the completion of these different services the debt due to them amounted to 68,000,000.

In consequence of the long delay of payment by the Treasury the disbursements for supplies of grain amounted at least to more than 40,000,000; and the difficulties which arose had a serious effect on the credit of the principal dealers with those persons who supplied them. The discredit spread and gradually reached the Treasury, the embarrassments of which augmented with the general alarm. Ouvrard, Wanlerberghe, and Séguin were the persons whose capital and credit rendered them most capable of relieving the Treasury, and they agreed to advance for that purpose 102,000,000 in return for which they were allowed bonds of the Receivers-General to the amount of 150,000,000. M. Desprez undertook to be the medium through which the 102,000,000 were to be paid into the Treasury, and the three partners transferred the bonds to him.

Spain had concluded a treaty with France, by which she was bound to pay a subsidy of 72,000,000 francs, and 32,000,000 had become due without any payment being made. It was thought advisable that Ouvrard should be sent to Madrid to obtain a settlement, but he was afraid that his business in Paris would suffer during his absence, and especially the transaction in which he was engaged with Desprez. The Treasury satisfied him on this point by agreeing to sanction the bargain with Desprez, and Ouvrard proceeded to Madrid. It was on this occasion he entered into the immense speculation for trading with Spanish America.

Spain wished to pay the 32,000,000 which were due to France as soon as possible, but her coffers were empty, and

good will does not insure ability; besides, in addition to the distress of the Government, there was a dreadful famine in Spain. In this state of things Ouvrard proposed to the Spanish Government to pay the debt due to France, to import a supply of corn, and to advance funds for the relief of the Spanish Treasury. For this he required two conditions. (1.) The exclusive right of trading with America. (2.) The right of bringing from America on his own account all the specie belonging to the Crown, with the power of making loans guaranteed and payable by the Spanish Treasuries.

About the end of July, 1805, the embarrassment which some time before had begun to be felt in the finances of Europe was alarmingly augmented. Under these circumstances it was obviously the interest of Ouvrard to procure payment as soon as possible of the 32,000,000 which he had advanced for Spain to the French Treasury. He therefore redoubled his efforts to bring his negotiations to a favorable issue, and at last succeeded in getting a deed of partnership between himself and Charles IV. which contained the following stipulation: — "Ouvrard and Company are authorized to introduce into the ports of the New World every kind of merchandise and production necessary for the consumption of those countries, and to export from the Spanish Colonies, during the continuance of the war with England, all the productions and all specie derivable from them." This treaty was only to be in force during the war with England, and it was stipulated that the profits arising from the transactions of the Company should be equally divided between Charles IV. and the rest of the Company; that is to say, one-half to the King and the other half to his partners.

The consequences of this extraordinary partnership between a King and a private individual remain to be stated. On the signing of the deed Ouvrard received drafts from the Treasury of Madrid to the extent of 52,500,000 piastres; making 262,500,000 francs: but the piastres were to be brought from America, while the terms of the treaty required that the urgent wants of the Spanish Government should be immediately supplied, and, above all, the progress of the famine

checked. To accomplish this object fresh advances to an enormous amount were necessary, for M. Ouvrard had to begin by furnishing 2,000,000 of quintals of grain at the rate of 26 francs the quintal. Besides all this, before he could realize a profit and be reimbursed for the advances he had made to the Treasury of Paris, he had to get the piastres conveyed from America to Europe. After some difficulty the English Government consented to facilitate the execution of the transaction by furnishing four frigates for the conveyance of the piastres.

Ouvrard had scarcely completed the outline of his extraordinary enterprise when the Emperor suddenly broke up his camp at Boulogne to march to Germany. It will readily be conceived that Ouvrard's interests then imperatively required his presence at Madrid; but he was recalled to Paris by the Minister of the Treasury, who wished to adjust his accounts. The Emperor wanted money for the war on which he was entering, and to procure it for the Treasury Ouvrard was sent to Amsterdam to negotiate with the House of Hope. He succeeded, and Mr. David Parish became the Company's agent.

Having concluded this business Ouvrard returned in all haste to Madrid; but in the midst of the most flattering hopes and most gigantic enterprises he suddenly found himself threatened with a dreadful crisis. M. Desprez, as has been stated, had, with the concurrence of the Treasury, been allowed to take upon himself all the risk of executing the treaty, by which 150,000,000 were to be advanced for the year 1804, and 400,000,000 for the year 1805. Under the circumstances which had arisen the Minister of the Treasury considered himself entitled to call upon Ouvrard to place at his disposal 10,000,000 of the piastres which he had received from Spain. The Minister at the same time informed him that he had made arrangements on the faith of this advance, which he thought could not be refused at so urgent a moment.

The embarrassment of the Treasury, and the well-known integrity of the Minister, M. de Barbé Marbois, induced Ouvrard to remit the 10,000,000 piastres. But a few days after he had forwarded the money a Commission of the Treas-

ury arrived at Madrid with a ministerial despatch, in which Ouvrard was requested to deliver to the Commissioner all the assets he could command, and to return immediately to Paris.

The Treasury was then in the greatest difficulty, and a general alarm prevailed. This serious financial distress was occasioned by the following circumstances. The Treasury had, by a circular, notified to the Receivers-General that Desprez was the holder of their bonds. They were also authorized to transmit to him all their disposable funds, to be placed to their credit in an account current. Perhaps the giving of this authority was a great error; but, be that as it may, Desprez, encouraged by the complaisance of the Treasury, desired the Receivers-General to transmit to him all the sums they could procure for payment of interest under 8 per cent, promising to allow them a higher rate of interest. As the credit of the house of Desprez stood high, it may be easily conceived that on such conditions the Receivers-General, who were besides secured by the authority of the Treasury, would enter eagerly into the proposed plan. In short, the Receivers-General soon transmitted very considerable sums. Chests of money arrived daily from every point of France. Intoxicated by this success, Desprez engaged in speculations which in his situation were extremely imprudent. He lent more than 50,000,000 to the merchants of Paris, which left him no command of specie. Being obliged to raise money, he deposited with the Bank the bonds of the Receivers-General which had been consigned to him, but which were already discharged by the sums transmitted to their credit in the account current. The Bank, wishing to be reimbursed for the money advanced to Desprez, applied to the Receivers-General whose bonds were held in security. This proceeding had become necessary on the part of the Bank, as Desprez, instead of making his payments in specie, sent in his acceptances. The Directors of the Bank, who conducted that establishment with great integrity and discretion, began to be alarmed, and required Desprez to explain the state of his affairs. The suspicions of the Directors became daily stronger, and were soon shared by the public. At last the Bank was obliged to

stop payment, and its notes were soon at a discount of 12 per cent.

The Minister of the Treasury, dismayed, as well may be supposed, at such a state of things during the Emperor's absence, convoked a Council, at which Joseph Bonaparte presided, and to which Desprez and Wanlerberghe were summoned. Ouvrard being informed of this financial convulsion made all possible haste from Madrid, and on his arrival at Paris sought assistance from Amsterdam. Hope's house offered to take 15,000,000 piastres at the rate of 3 francs 75 centimes each. Ouvrard having engaged to pay the Spanish Government only 3 francs, would very willingly have parted with them at that rate, but his hasty departure from Madrid, and the financial events at Paris, affected his relations with the Spanish Treasury, and rendered it impossible for him to afford any support to the Treasury of France; thus the alarm continued, until the news of the battle of Austerlitz and the consequent hope of peace tranquillized the public mind. The bankruptcy of Desprez was dreadful; it was followed by the failure of many houses, the credit of which was previously undoubted.

To temper the exultation which victory was calculated to excite, the news of the desperate situation of the Treasury and the Bank reached the Emperor on the day after the battle of Austerlitz. The alarming accounts which he received hastened his return to France; and on the very evening on which he arrived in Paris he pronounced, while ascending the stairs of the Tuileries, the dismissal of M. de Barbé Marbois. This Minister had made numerous enemies by the strict discharge of his duty, and yet, notwithstanding his rigid probity, he sunk under the accusation of having endangered the safety of the State by weakness of character. At this period even Madame de Staël said, in a party where the firmness of M. Barbé Marbois was the topic of conversation — "What, he inflexible? he is only a reed bronzed!" But whatever may be the opinion entertained of the character of this Minister, it is certain that Napoleon's rage against him was unbounded. Such was the financial catastrophe which occurred during the

campaign of Vienna; but all was not over with Ouvrard, and in so great a confusion of affairs it was not to be expected that the Imperial hand, which was not always the hand of justice, should not make itself somewhere felt.

In the course of the month of February, 1806, the Emperor issued two decrees, in which he declared Ouvrard, Wanlerberghe, and Michel, contractors for the service of 1804, and Desprez their agent, debtors to the amount of 87,000,000 which they had misapplied in private speculations, and in transactions with Spain "for their personal interests." Who would not suppose from this phrase that Napoleon had taken no part whatever in the great financial operation between Spain and South America? He was, however, intimately acquainted with it, and was himself really and personally interested. But whenever any enterprise was unsuccessful he always wished to deny all connection with it. Possessed of title-deeds made up by himself — that is to say, his own decrees — the Emperor seized all the piastres and other property belonging to the Company, and derived from the transaction great pecuniary advantage, — though such advantage never could be regarded by a sovereign as any compensation for the dreadful state into which public credit had been brought.[1]

[1] Bourrienne's statement is of course an *ex-parte* one, and comes from an interested quarter; and the Editor has been unable to refer to the decrees in question, which probably would contain further details of the ground of this action.

CHAPTER III.

1805—1806.

Declaration of Louis XVIII. — Dumouriez watched — News of a spy — Remarkable trait of courage and presence of mind — Necessity of vigilance at Hamburg — The King of Sweden — His bulletins — Doctor Gall — Prussia covets Hamburg — Projects on Holland — Negotiations for peace — Mr. Fox at the head of the British Cabinet — Intended assassination of Napoleon — Propositions made through Lord Yarmouth — Proposed protection of the Hanse Towns — Their state — Aggrandizement of the Imperial family — Neither peace nor war — Sebastiani's mission to Constantinople — Lord Lauderdale at Paris, and failure of the negotiations — Austria despoiled — Emigrant pensions — Dumouriez's intrigues — Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin — Loizeau.

I HAVE been somewhat diffuse respecting the vast enterprises of M. Ouvrard, and on the disastrous state of the finances during the campaign of Vienna. Now, if I may so express myself, I shall return to the Minister Plenipotentiary's cabinet, where several curious transactions occurred. The facts will not always be given in a connected series, because there was no more relation between the reports which I received on a great variety of subjects than there is in the pleading of the barristers who succeed each other in a court of justice.

On the 2d of January, 1806, I learned that many houses in Hamburg had received by post packets, each containing four copies of a declaration of Louis XVIII. Dumouriez had his carriage filled with copies of this declaration when he passed through Brunswick; and in that small town alone more than 3000 were distributed. The size of this declaration rendered its transmission by post very easy, even in France.

All my letters from the Minister recommended that I should keep a strict watch over the motions of Dumouriez; but his name was now as seldom mentioned as if he had ceased to exist. The part he acted seemed to be limited to disseminating pamphlets more or less insignificant.

It is difficult to conceive the great courage and presence of mind sometimes found in men so degraded as are the wretches who fill the office of spies. I had an agent amongst the Swedo-Russians, named Chefneux, whom I had always found extremely clever and correct. Having for a long time received no intelligence from him I became very anxious, — an anxiety which was not without foundation. He had, in fact, been arrested at Lauenburg, and conducted, bound, tied hand and foot, by some Cossacks to Luneburg. There was found on him a bulletin which he was about to transmit to me, and he only escaped certain death by having in his possession a letter of recommendation from a Hamburg merchant well known to M. Alopœus, the Russian Minister in that city. This precaution, which I had taken before he set out, saved his life. M. Alopœus replied to the merchant that, in consequence of his recommendation the spy should be sent back safe and sound, but that another time neither the recommended nor the recommender should escape so easily. Notwithstanding this, Chefneux would certainly have paid with his head for the dangerous business in which he was embarked but for the inconceivable coolness he displayed under the most trying circumstances. Though the bulletin which was found upon him was addressed to M. Schramm, merchant, they strongly suspected that it was intended for me. They demanded of the prisoner whether he knew me; to which he boldly replied that he had never seen me. They endeavored, by every possible means, to extort a confession from him, but without success. His repeated denials, joined to the name of M. Schramm, created doubts in the minds of his interrogators; they hesitated lest they should condemn an innocent man. They, however, resolved to make a last effort to discover the truth, and Chefneux, condemned to be shot, was conducted to the plain of Luneburg. His eyes were bandaged, and he heard the command of preparation given to the platoon, which was to fire upon him; at that moment a man approaching him whispered in his ear, in a tone of friendship and compassion, "They are going to fire; but I am your friend; only acknowledge that you know M. de Bourrienne and you are safe." —

"No," replied Chefneux in a firm tone; "if I said so I should tell a falsehood." Immediately the bandage was removed from his eyes, and he was set at liberty. It would be difficult to cite a more extraordinary instance of presence of mind.

Much as I execrate the system of espionage I am nevertheless compelled to admit that the Emperor was under the necessity of maintaining the most unremitting vigilance amidst the intrigues which were going forward in the neighborhood of Hamburg, especially when the English, Swedes, and Russians were in arms, and there were the strongest grounds for suspecting the sincerity of Prussia.

On the 5th of January, 1806, the King of Sweden arrived before the gates of Hamburg. The Senate of that city, surrounded on all sides by English, Swedish, and Russian troops, determined to send a deputation to congratulate the Swedish monarch, who, however, hesitated so long about receiving this homage that fears were entertained lest his refusal should be followed by some act of aggression. At length, however, the deputies were admitted, and they returned sufficiently well satisfied with their reception.

The King of Sweden then officially declared, "That all the arrangements entered into with relation to Hanover had no reference to him, as the Swedish army was under the immediate command of its august sovereign." [1]

The King with his 6000 men, seemed inclined to play the part of the restorer of Germany, and to make himself the Don Quixote of the treaty of Westphalia. He threatened the Senate of Hamburg with the whole weight of his anger, because on my application the colors which used to be suspended over the door of the house for receiving Austrian recruits had been removed. The poor Senate of Hamburg was kept in constant alarm by so dangerous a neighbor.

The King of Sweden had his headquarters at Boëtzenburg, on the northern bank of the Elbe. In order to amuse himself he sent for Dr. Gall, who was at Hamburg, where he delivered lectures on his system of phrenology, which was rejected in

[1] The cession of Hanover to the King of Prussia for the two Margravates is what he alluded to. — *Bourrienne.*

the beginning by false science and prejudice, and afterwards adopted in consequence of arguments, in my opinion, unanswerable. I had the pleasure of living some time with Dr. Gall, and I owe to the intimacy which subsisted between us the honor he conferred on me by the dedication of one of his works. I said to him, when he departed for the headquarters of the King of Sweden, "My dear doctor, you will certainly discover the bump of vanity." The truth is, that had the doctor at that period been permitted to examine the heads of the sovereigns of Europe they would have afforded very curious craniological studies.

It was not the King of Sweden alone who gave uneasiness to Hamburg; the King of Prussia threatened to seize upon that city, and his Minister publicly declared that it would very soon belong to his master. The Hamburgers were deeply afflicted at this threat; in fact, next to the loss of their independence, their greatest misfortune would have been to fall under the dominion of Prussia, as the niggardly fiscal system of the Prussian Government at that time would have proved extremely detrimental to a commercial city. Hanover, being evacuated by the French troops, had become a kind of recruiting mart for the British army, where every man who presented himself was enrolled, to complete the Hanoverian legion which was then about to be embodied. The English scattered gold by handfuls. One hundred and fifty carriages, each with six horses, were employed in this service, which confirmed me in the belief I had previously entertained, that the English were to join with the Russians in an expedition against Holland. The aim of the Anglo-Russians was to make a diversion which might disconcert the movements of the French armies in Germany, the allies being at that time unacquainted with the peace concluded at Presburg. Not a moment was therefore to be lost in uniting the whole of our disposable force for the defence of Holland; but it is not of this expedition that I mean to speak at present. I only mention it to afford some idea of our situation at Hamburg, surrounded, as we then were, by Swedish, English, and Russian troops. At this period the Russian Minister at Hamburg, M. Forshmann,

became completely insane; his conduct had been more injurious than advantageous to his Government. He was replaced by M. Alopœus, the Russian Minister at Berlin; and they could not have exchanged a fool for a more judicious and able diplomatist.

I often received from the Minister of Marine letters and packets to transmit to the Isle of France,[1] of which the Emperor was extremely anxious to retain possession; and I had much trouble in finding any vessels prepared for that colony by which I could forward the Minister's communications. The death of Pitt and the appointment of Fox as his successor had created a hope of peace. It was universally known that Mr. Fox, in succeeding to his office, did not inherit the furious hatred of the deceased Minister against France and her Emperor. There moreover existed between Napoleon and Mr. Fox a reciprocal esteem, and the latter had shown himself really disposed to treat. The possibility of concluding a peace had always been maintained by that statesman when he was in opposition to Mr. Pitt; and Bonaparte himself might have been induced, from the high esteem he felt for Mr. Fox, to make concessions from which he would before have recoiled. But there were two obstacles, I may say almost insurmountable ones. The first was the conviction on the part of England that any peace which might be made would only be a truce, and that Bonaparte *would never seriously relinquish his desire of universal dominion*. On the other side, it was believed that Napoleon had formed the design of invading England. Had he been able to do so it would have been less with the view of striking a blow at her commerce and destroying her maritime power, than of annihilating the *liberty of the press*, which he had extinguished in his own dominions. The spectacle of a free people, separated only by six leagues of sea, was, according to him, a seductive example to the French, especially to those among them who bent unwillingly under his yoke.

[1] The Ile de France (or Mauritius), taken by the English in 1810, and retained in 1814; while the Ile Bourbon (or Réunion), taken at the same time, was restored to France.

At an early period of Mr. Fox's ministry a Frenchman made the proposition to him of assassinating the Emperor, of which information was immediately transmitted to M. de Talleyrand. In this despatch the Minister said that, though the laws of England did not authorize the permanent detention of any individual not convicted of a crime, he had on this occasion taken it on himself to secure the miscreant till such time as the French Government could be put on its guard against his attempts. Mr. Fox said in his letter that he had at first done this individual "the honor to take him for a spy," a phrase which sufficiently indicated the disgust with which the British Minister viewed him.

This information was the key which opened the door to new negotiations. M. de Talleyrand was ordered to express, in reply to the communication of Mr. Fox, that the Emperor was sensibly affected at the index it afforded of the principles by which the British Cabinet was actuated. Napoleon did not limit himself to this diplomatic courtesy; he deemed it a favorable occasion to create a belief that he was actuated by a sincere love of peace. He summoned to Paris Lord Yarmouth, one of the most distinguished amongst the English who had been so unjustly detained prisoners at Verdun on the rupture of the peace of Amiens. He gave his lordship instructions to propose to the British Government a new form of negotiations, offering to guarantee to England the Cape of Good Hope and Malta. Some have been inclined from this concession to praise the moderation of Bonaparte; others to blame him for offering to resign these two places, as if the Cape and Malta could be put in competition with the title of Emperor, the foundation of the Kingdom of Italy, the acquisition of Genoa and of all the Venetian States, the dethronement of the King of Naples and the gift of his kingdom to Joseph, and finally, the new partition of Germany. These transactions, of which Bonaparte said not a word, and from which he certainly had no intention of departing, were all long after the treaty of Amiens.

Every day brought with it fresh proofs of insatiable ambition. In fact, Napoleon longed to obtain possession of the

Hanse Towns. I was, however, in the first place, merely charged to make overtures to the Senates of each of these towns, and to point out the advantages they would derive from the protection of Napoleon in exchange for the small sacrifice of 6,000,000 francs in his favor. I had on this subject numerous conferences with the magistrates: they thought the sum too great, representing to me that the city was not so rich as formerly, because their commerce had been much curtailed by the war; in short, the Senate declared that, with the utmost good will, their circumstances would not permit them to accept the "generous proposal" of the Emperor.

I was myself, indeed, at a loss to conceive how the absurdity of employing me to make such a proposition was overlooked, for I had really no advantage to offer in return to the Hanse Towns. Against whom did Bonaparte propose to protect them? The truth is, Napoleon then wished to seize these towns by direct aggression, which, however, he was not able to accomplish until four years afterwards.

During five years I witnessed the commercial importance of these cities, and especially at Hamburg. Its geographical situation, on a great river navigable by large vessels to the city, thirty leagues from the mouth of the Elbe; the complete independence it enjoyed; its municipal regulations and paternal government, were a few amongst the many causes which had raised Hamburg to its enviable height of prosperity.[1] What, in fact, was the population of these remnants of the grand Hanseatic League of the Middle Ages? The population of Hamburg when I was there amounted to 90,000, and that of its small surrounding territory to 25,000. Bremen had 36,000 inhabitants, and 9000 in its territory; the city of Lübeck, which is smaller and its territory a little more extensive than that of Bremen, contained a population of 24,000 souls within and 16,000 without the walls. Thus the total

[1] Amongst the wreck of so many States these three towns, the survivors of the great League, once consisting of eighty towns, still figure among the States of the German Empire with populations (in 1880) as follows: — Hamburg, 453,869; Bremen, 156,723; Lübeck, 63,571; total, 674,163 (*Almanach de Gotha*, 1884, p. 395). At the present day, however, Antwerp bids fair to become the Hamburg of the Continent.

population of the Hanse Towns amounted to only 200,000 individuals; and yet this handful of men carried on an extensive commerce, and their ships ploughed every sea, from the shores of India to the frozen regions of Greenland.

The Emperor arrived at Paris towards the end of January, 1806. Having created Kings in Germany he deemed the moment favorable for surrounding his throne with new princes. It was at this period that he created Murat, Grand Duke of Cleves and Berg; Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte-Corvo; M. de Talleyrand, Duke of Benevento; and his two former colleagues, Cambacérès and Lebrun, Dukes of Parma and Piacenza.[1] He also gave to his sister Pauline, a short time after her second marriage with the Prince Borghèse, the title of Duchess of Guastalla. Strange events! who could then have foreseen that the duchy of Cambacérès would become the refuge of a Princess of Austria, the widowed wife of Napoleon Bonaparte?[2]

In the midst of the prosperity of the Imperial family, when the eldest of the Emperor's brothers had ascended the throne

[1] For a list of the chief titles created by Napoleon see the *Memoirs of Madame Junot*, 1883, English edition, vol. iii. p. 512.

[2] Maria Louisa, who has the limited sovereignty of Parma and Piacenza, has, since 1815, principally resided at Parma. Ponte-Corvo and Benevento, which gave titles to Bernadotte and Talleyrand, are two towns in the interior of the kingdom of Naples which previously to the Revolution belonged to the Pope, and were governed by his Cardinal-Legate. There is a slip of territory attached to each of them, that of Benevento being not inconsiderable. The city of Benevento contains about 18,000 inhabitants, and is ancient and exceedingly interesting. There are the remains of a Roman amphitheatre and a bridge, a granite obelisk of the time of Domitian, and a magnificent triumphal arch of the Emperor Trajan. This arch, which is one of the finest in existence, is of Parian marble, and very little injured by time or violence. The town is situated in the midst of a beautiful country, and two important rivers, the Calore and the Sebato, sweep by it. It is due to that remarkable personage to state that M. de Talleyrand was a kind and generous master, and that his *régime* was exceedingly popular at Benevento. His subjects, or vassals, were exempted from the barbarous conscription law. We were there in 1816, a short time after the State had been restored to the Roman See, which still holds it, and we heard all parties speak well of M. de Talleyrand.

By creating this new order of nobility Bonaparte effaced the last traces of the revolutionary republican organization. The princedoms and dukedoms he conferred were all accompanied with grants of extensive estates and territories in the countries he had conquered — in Germany, Italy, etc.; and the great feudatories of the new Empire, it will be observed, bore foreign, and not French titles. This showed distinctly that Napoleon wanted "to sink the memory of the Bourbon monarchy, and revive the image of Charlemagne, Emperor of the West." —*Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

of Naples, when Holland was on the eve of being offered to Louis, and Jerôme had exchanged his legitimate wife for the illegitimate throne of Westphalia, the Imperial pillow was still far from being free from anxiety. Hostilities did not actually exist with the Continental powers; but this momentary state of repose lacked the tranquillity of peace. France was at war with Russia and England, and the aspect of the Continent presented great uncertainty, while the treaty of Vienna had only been executed in part.

In the mean time Napoleon turned his eyes towards the East. General Sebastiani was sent to Constantinople. The measures he pursued and his judicious conduct justified the choice of the Emperor. He was adroit and conciliating, and peace with Turkey was the result of his mission. The negotiations with England did not terminate so happily, although, after the first overtures made to Lord Yarmouth, the Earl of Lauderdale had been sent to Paris by Mr. Fox. In fact, these negotiations wholly failed.

The Emperor had drawn enormous sums from Austria, without counting the vases, statues, and pictures with which he decorated the Louvre, and the bronze with which he clothed the column of the Place Vendôme,[1] — in my opinion the finest monument of his reign and the most beautiful one in Paris. As Austria was exhausted all the contributions

[1] Other countries were even more despoiled than Austria, and the French occupations and exactions in Italy gave rise to many bitter pasquinades, among them the following may be found in Mr. Story's charming work, *Roba di Roma:* —

"I Franchesi son tutti ladri
Non tutti — ma Buona parte."

"The French are all thieves —
Or at all events the *best part* of them."

A clever epigram was made on Canova's statue of Italy, which was represented as draped: —

"Questa volta Canova l'ha sbagliata
Ha l'Italia vestita ed è spogliata."

"For once Canova surely has tripped,
Italy is not draped, but stripped."

One also referring to the institution of the Legion of Honor is admirable in its wit: —

"In tempi men leggiadri e più feroci
S'appicavano i ladri in su le Croce.
In tempi men feroci e più leggiadri
S'appicano le Croci in su i ladri."

"In times less pleasant, more fierce of old,
The thieves were hung upon the cross, we're told.
In times less fierce, more pleasant like to-day,
Crosses are hung upon the thieves — they say."

imposed on her could not be paid in cash, and they gave the Emperor bills in payment. I received one for about 7,000,000 on Hamburg on account of the stipulations of the Treaty of Presburg.[1]

The affairs of the Bourbon Princes became more and more unfavorable, and their finances, as well as their chances of success, were so much diminished that about this period it was notified to the emigrants in Brunswick that the pretender (Louis XVIII.) had no longer the means of continuing their pensions.[2] This produced great consternation amongst those emigrants, many of whom had no other means of existence; and notwithstanding their devotion to the cause of royalty they found a pension very useful in strengthening their zeal.

Amongst those emigrants was one whose name will occupy a certain place in history; I mean Dumouriez, of whom I have already spoken, and who had for some time employed himself in distributing pamphlets. He was then at Stralsund; and it was believed that the King of Sweden would give him a command. The vagrant life of this general, who ran everywhere begging employment from the enemies of his country without being able to obtain it, subjected him to general ridicule; in fact, he was everywhere despised.

To determine the difficulties which had arisen with regard to Holland, which Dumouriez dreamed of conquering with an imaginary army, and being discontented besides with the Dutch for not rigorously excluding English vessels from their ports, the Emperor constituted the Batavian territory a kingdom under his brother Louis. When I notified to the

[1] Was this English money? See *Savary*, tome ii. p. 239: "The Austrians for the first payment of the contributions were obliged to cede to us the amount of the subsidies which they were to receive from England. They expected them at this moment, and they gave orders at Hamburg that when the sum was received it should be handed over to the French Minister. This was M. de Bourrienne, who received the English subsidies destined for Austria, and sent them to Paris."

[2] When Louis XVIII. returned to France, and Fouché was his Minister of Police, the King asked Fouché whether during his (the King's) exile, he had not set spies over him, and who they were. Fouché hesitated to reply, but on the king insisting he said: "If your Majesty presses for an answer, it was the Duc de Blacas to whom this matter was confided."—"And how much did you pay him?" said the King. "Deux cents mille livres de rente, Sire."—"Ah, so!" said the King, "then he has played fair; *we went halves*."—*Henry Greville's Diary*, p. 430.

States of the circle of Lower Saxony the accession of Louis Bonaparte to the throne of Holland, and the nomination of Cardinal Fesch as coadjutor and successor of the Arch-chancellor of the Germanic Empire, along with their official communications, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin was the only member of the circle who forbore to reply, and I understood he had applied to the Court of Russia to know "whether" and "how" he should reply. At the same time he made known to the Emperor the marriage of his daughter, the Princess Charlotte Frederica, with Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark.

At this period it would have been difficult to foresee the way in which this union would terminate. The Prince was young and handsome, and of an amiable disposition, which seemed to indicate that he would prove a good husband. As for the Princess, she was as beautiful as love; but she was heedless and giddy; in fact, she was a spoiled child. She adored her husband, and during several years their union proved happy. I had the honor of knowing them at the period when the Duke of Mecklenburg, with his family, sought refuge at Altona. Before leaving that town the Duchess of Mecklenburg, a Princess of Saxony, paid a visit to Madame de Bourrienne and loaded her with civilities. This Princess was perfectly amiable, and was therefore generally regretted when, two years afterwards, death snatched her from her family. Before leaving Altona the Duke of Mecklenburg gave some parties by way of bidding adieu to Holstein, where he had been so kindly received; and I can never forget the distinguished reception and many kindnesses Madame de Bourrienne and myself received from that illustrious family. It consisted of the hereditary Prince, so distinguished by his talents and acquirements (he was at that time the widower of a Grand Duchess of Russia, a sister of the Emperor Alexander), of Prince Gustavus, so amiable and graceful, and of Princess Charlotte and her husband, the Prince Royal of Denmark.

This happy couple were far from foreseeing that in two years they would be separated forever. The princess was at

this period in all the splendor of her beauty; several *fêtes* were given on her account on the banks of the Elbe, at which the Prince always opened the ball with Madame de Bourrienne. Notwithstanding her amiability the Princess Charlotte was no favorite at the Danish Court. Intrigues were formed against her. I know not whether any foundation existed for the calumnies spread to her disadvantage, but the Court dames accused her of great levity of conduct, which, true or false, obliged her husband to separate from her; and at the commencement of 1809 he sent her to Altona, attended by a chamberlain and a maid of honor. On her arrival she was in despair; hers was not a silent grief, for she related her story to every one. This unfortunate woman really attracted pity, as she shed tears for her son, three years of age, whom she was doomed never again to behold. But her natural levity returned; she did not always maintain the reserve suitable to her rank, and some months afterwards was sent into Jutland, where I believe she still lives.

The enemies of the French Government did not confine themselves to writing and publishing invectives against it. More than one wretch was ready to employ daggers against the Emperor. Among this number was a man named Louis Loizeau, recently arrived from London. He repaired to Altona, there to enjoy the singular privilege which that city afforded of sheltering all the ruffians, thieves, and bankrupts who fled from the justice of their own Governments. On the 17th of July Loizeau presented himself to Comte de Gimel, who resided at Altona, as the agent of the Comte de Lille. He offered to repair to Paris and assassinate the Emperor. Comte de Gimel rejected the proposal with indignation; and replied, that if he had no other means of serving the Bourbons than cowardly assassination he might go elsewhere and find confederates. This fact, which was communicated to me by a friend of M. de Gimel, determined me to arrest Loizeau. Not being warranted, however, to take this step at Altona, I employed a trusty agent to keep watch, and draw him into a quarrel the moment he should appear on the Hamburg side of a public walk which divides that city from Altona, and deliver

him up to the nearest Hamburg guard-house. Loizeau fell into the snare; but finding that he was about to be conducted from the guard-house to the prison of Hamburg, and that it was at my request he had been arrested, he hastily unloosed his cravat, and tore with his teeth the papers it contained, part of which he swallowed. He also endeavored to tear some other papers which were concealed under his arm, but was prevented by the guard. Furious at this disappointment, he violently resisted the five soldiers who had him in custody, and was not secured until he had been slightly wounded. His first exclamation on entering prison was "I am undone!" Loizeau was removed to Paris, and, though I am ignorant of the ultimate fate of this wretch, I am pretty certain that Fouché would take effectual means to prevent him from doing any further mischief.[1]

[1] Fouché, in all probability, had the man murdered, — or *suicided.* — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

CHAPTER IV.

1806.

Menaces of Prussia — Offer for restoring Hanover to England — Insolent ultimatum — Commencement of hostilities between France and Prussia — Battle of Auerstädt — Death of the Duke of Brunswick — Bernadotte in Hamburg — Davoust and Bernadotte — The Swedes at Lübeck — Major Amiel — Service rendered to the English Minister at Hamburg — My appointment of Minister for the King of Naples — New regulation of the German post-offices — The Confederation of the North — Devices of the Hanse Towns — Occupation of Hamburg in the name of the Emperor — Decree of Berlin — The military governors of Hamburg — Brune, Michaud, and Bernadotte.

The moment now approached when war was about to be renewed in Germany, and in proportion as the hopes of peace diminished Prussia redoubled her threats, which were inspired by the recollection of the deeds of the great Frederick. The idea of peace was hateful to Prussia. Her measures, which till now had been sufficiently moderate, suddenly assumed a menacing aspect on learning that the Minister of the King of England had declared in Parliament that France had consented to the restitution of Hanover. The French Ministry intimated to the Prussian Government that this was a preliminary step towards a general peace, and that a large indemnity would be granted in return. But the King of Prussia, who was well informed, and convinced that the House of Hanover clung to this ancient domain, which gave to England a certain preponderance in Germany, considered himself trifled with, and determined on war.

Under these circumstances Lord Lauderdale was recalled from Paris by his Government. War continued with England, and was about to commence with Prussia.[1] The Cabinet

[1] The severity with which Bonaparte treated the press may be inferred from the case of Palm the publisher. In 1806 Johann Phillip Palm, of Nuremberg, was shot by Napoleon's order for issuing a pamphlet against the rule of the French in Germany.

It is rather singular that Bourrienne should have omitted to mention the

of Berlin sent an ultimatum which could scarcely be regarded in any other light than a defiance, and from the well-known character of Napoleon we may judge of his irritation at this ultimatum. The Emperor, after a stay of eight months in Paris passed in abortive negotiations for peace, set out on the 25th of September for the Rhine.

Hostilities commenced on the 10th of October, 1806, between France and Prussia, and I demanded of the Senate that a stop should be put to the Prussians recruiting. The news of a great victory gained by the Emperor over the Prussians on the 14th of October reached Hamburg on the 19th, brought by some fugitives, who gave such exaggerated accounts of the loss of the French army that it was not until the arrival of the official despatches on the 28th of October that we knew whether to mourn or to rejoice at the victory of Jena.

The Duke of Brunswick, who was dangerously wounded at the battle of Auerstädt, arrived on the 29th of October at Altona.[1] His entrance into that city afforded a striking example of the vicissitudes of fortune. That Prince entered Altona on a wretched litter, borne by ten men, without officers, without domestics, followed by a troop of vagabonds and children, who were drawn together by curiosity. He was lodged in a wretched inn, and so much worn out by fatigue and the pain of his eyes that on the day after his arrival a report of his death very generally prevailed. Doctor Unzer was immediately sent for to attend the unfortunate Duke, who, during the few days that he survived his wounds, saw

murder of Palm, which contributed so largely to exasperate the people against the French. This unfortunate man, who was not even a temporary subject by the always questionable right of conquest, had published in the free city of Nuremberg, where he resided, a pamphlet reflecting on the insatiable ambition of Bonaparte. The despot no sooner heard of this than he sent a party of French gendarmes across the frontier, and seized the unsuspecting bookseller, exactly as the Duc d'Enghien had been arrested on the neutral territory of Ettingen, and Sir George Rumbold at Hamburg, the year before. Poor Palm, whose blood was terribly avenged by the implacable Prussians eight and nine years later, was tried at Braunau by a French *court-martial* for a *libel* against Napoleon, found guilty, condemned to death, and shot immediately, in pursuance of his sentence, by French gendarmes. The story of Campbell making this act a reason for giving the health of Napoleon at a dinner of authors is well known.

[1] This Prince was in the seventy-second year of his age, and extremely infirm.

no one except his wife, who arrived on the 1st of November. He expired on the 10th of the same month.[1]

At this juncture Bernadotte returned to Hamburg. I asked him how I was to account for his conduct while he was with Davoust, who had left Nuremberg to attack the Prussian army; and whether it was true that he had refused to march with that general, and afterwards to aid him when he attacked the Prussians on the Weimar road. "The letters I received," observed I, "state that you took no part in the battle of Auerstädt; that I did not believe, but I suppose you saw the bulletin which I received a little after the battle, and which stated that Bonaparte said at Nuremberg, in the presence of several officers, 'Were I to bring him before a court-martial he would be shot. I shall say nothing to him about it, but I will take care he shall know what I think of his behavior. He has too keen a sense of honor not to be aware that he acted disgracefully.'" — "I think him very likely," rejoined Bernadotte, "to have made these observations. He hates me, because he knows I do not like him; but let him speak to me and he shall have his answer. If I am a Gascon, he is a greater one. I might have felt piqued at receiving something like orders from Davoust, but I did my duty."[2]

[1] Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1735–1806), who had commanded the allies in their advance into France in 1792, and who died from wounds received at Auerstädt. He was the father of the Duke William Frederick, killed at Quatre-Bras. For the mistimed but rather pathetic belief of the old dying Duke in the courtesy with which he and his States would be treated by the French, see *Beugnot*, tome i. p. 307: "I feel sure that there is a courier of the Emperor's on the road to know how I am."

[2] This is a mistake. Bernadotte did not go to Hamburg till much later (see *Erreurs*, tome i. p. 9). The complaints of Bernadotte's conduct on the 14th of October, 1806, when he gave no assistance to Davoust in repulsing the main body of the Prussians at Auerstädt, are well known. Jomini (tome ii. p. 290) says that Davoust proposed to Bernadotte to march with him, and even offered him the command of the two corps. Bernadotte refused, and marched away to Dornburg, where he was of no use. "This obstinacy, difficult to explain, nearly compromised both Davoust and the success of the battle." See also Thiers (tome vii. p. 132), who attributes Bernadotte's conduct to a profound aversion for Davoust conceived on the most frivolous grounds. Bernadotte had frequently given cause of complaint to Napoleon in the two campaigns of 1805 and 1806. In the movement on Vienna Napoleon considered he showed want of activity and of zeal. These complaints seem to have been made in good faith, for in a letter to Bernadotte's brother-in-law, Joseph, Napoleon suggests that health may have been the cause (*Du Casse*, tome i. p. 322). Bernadotte was equally unfortunate in putting in his appearance too late at Eylau (see *Duc de Rovigo's Memoirs*, tome ii. p. 48), and also incurred the displeasure of Napoleon at Wagram (see later on).

In the beginning of November the Swedes entered Lübeck; but on the 8th of that month the town was taken by assault, and the Swedes, as well as the rest of the corps which had escaped from Jena, were made prisoners.

A troop of Prussians had advanced within four leagues of Hamburg, and that town had already prepared for a vigorous resistance, in case they should attempt an entrance, when Major Amiel attacked them at Zollenspieker and made some prisoners. Hamburg was, however, threatened with another danger, for Major Amiel expressed his intention of entering with all his prisoners, notwithstanding the acknowledged neutrality of the town. Amiel was a partisan leader in the true sense of the word; he fought rather on his own account than with the intention of contributing to the success of the operations of the army. His troop did not consist of more than forty men, but that was more than sufficient to spread terror and devastation in the surrounding villages. He was a bold fellow, and when, with his handful of men, he threw himself upon Hamburg, the worthy inhabitants thought he had 20,000 troops with him. He had pillaged every place through which he passed, and brought with him 300 prisoners, and a great many horses he had taken on his road. It was night when he presented himself at the gates of the city, which he entered alone, having left his men and booty at the last village. He proceeded to the French Embassy. I was not there at the time, but I was sent for, and about seven o'clock in the evening I had my first interview with the Major. He was the very *beau ideal* of a bandit, and would have been an admirable model for a painter. I was not at all surprised to hear that on his arrival his wild appearance and huge mustaches had excited some degree of terror among those who were in the *salon*. He described his exploits on the march, and did not disguise his intention of bringing his troops into Hamburg next day. He talked of the Bank and of pillage. I tried for some time to divert him from this idea, but without effect, and at length said to him, "Sir, you know that this is not the way the Emperor wishes to be served. During the seven years that I have been about him I have invariably

heard him express his indignation against those who aggravate the misery which war naturally brings in her train. It is the express wish of the Emperor that no damage, no violence whatever, shall be committed on the city or territory of Hamburg." These few words produced a stronger effect than any entreaties I could have used, for the mere name of the Emperor made even the boldest tremble, and Major Amiel next thought of selling his booty. The Senate were so frightened at the prospect of having Amiel quartered upon them that to get rid of him they determined to purchase his booty at once, and even furnished him with guards for his prisoners. I did not learn till some time afterwards that among the horses Major Amiel had seized upon the road were those of the Countess Walmoden. Had I known this fact at the time I should certainly have taken care to have had them restored to her. Madame Walmoden was then a refugee at Hamburg, and between her and my family a close intimacy existed. On the very day, I believe, of the Major's departure the Senate wrote me a letter of thanks for the protection I afforded the town.

Before the commencement of the Prussian campaign, while anxiety was entertained respecting the designs of the Cabinet of Berlin, my task was not an easy one. I exerted all my efforts to acquaint the French Government with what was passing on the Spree. I announced the first intelligence of an unexpected movement which had taken place among the Prussian troops cantoned in the neighborhood of Hamburg. They suddenly evacuated Lauenburg, Platzburg, Haarburg, Stade, Twisenfelth, and Cuxhaven. This extraordinary movement gave rise to a multitude of surmises. I was not wrong when I informed the French Government that, according to every probability, Prussia was about to declare hostilities against France, and to enter into an alliance with England.

I much regretted that my situation did not allow me more frequent opportunities of meeting Mr. Thornton, the English Minister to the circle of Lower Saxony. However, I saw him sometimes, and had on two different occasions the opportunity of rendering him some service. Mr. Thornton had requested

me to execute a little private business for him, the success of which depended on the Emperor. I made the necessary communication to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, adding in my letter that Mr. Thornton's conduct towards the French who had come in any way in contact with him had ever been just and liberal, and that I should receive great pleasure in being able to announce to him the success of his application. His request was granted.

On another occasion Mr. Thornton applied to me for my services, and I had once more the pleasure of rendering them. He wished to procure some information respecting an Englishman named Baker, who had gone to Terracina, in the Campagna di Roma, for the benefit of sea-bathing. He was there arrested, without any cause assigned, by order of the commandant of the French troops in Terracina. The family of Mr. Baker, not having heard from him for some months, became very uneasy respecting him, for they had not the least idea of his arrest. His relations applied to Mr. Thornton, and that gentleman, notwithstanding the circumstances which, as I have stated, prevented our frequent intercourse, hesitated not a moment in requesting me to furnish him with some information respecting his countryman. I lost no time in writing to M. Alquier, our Ambassador at Rome, and soon enabled Mr. Thornton to ease the apprehension of Mr. Baker's friends.

I had every opportunity of knowing what was passing in Italy, for I had just been invested with a new dignity. As the new King of Naples, Joseph, had no Minister in Lower Saxony, he wished that I should discharge the function of Minister Plenipotentiary for Naples. His Ministers accordingly received orders to correspond with me upon all business connected with his government and his subjects. The relations between Hamburg and Naples were nearly *nil*, and my new office made no great addition to my labors.

I experienced, however, a little more difficulty in combining all the post-offices of Hamburg in the office of the Grand Duchy of Berg, thus detaching them from the offices of Latour and Taxis, so named after the German family who for

a length of time had had the possession of them, and who were devoted to Austria.

After some days of negotiation I obtained the suppression of these offices, and their union with the post-office of the Grand Duc de Berg (Murat), who thus received letters from Italy, Hungary, Germany, Poland, part of Russia, and the letters from England for these countries.

The affair of the post-offices gained for me the approbation of Napoleon. He expressed his satisfaction through the medium of a letter I received from Duroc, who at the same time recommended me to continue informing the Emperor of all that was doing in Germany with relation to the plans of the Confederation of the North. I therefore despatched to the Minister for Foreign Affairs a detailed letter, announcing that Baron Grote, the Prussian Minister at Hamburg, had set off on a visit to Bremen and Lübeck. Among those who accompanied him on this excursion was a person wholly devoted to me; and I knew that Baron Grote's object was to offer to these towns verbal propositions for their union with the Confederation of the North, which the King of Prussia wished to form as a counterpoise to the Confederation of the Rhine, just created by Napoleon.[1] Baron Grote observed the strictest

[1] In July, 1806, after Austerlitz, Napoleon had formed the "Confédération du Rhin," to include the smaller States of Germany, who threw off all connection with the German Empire, and formed a Confederation furnishing a considerable army. It eventually included the following States, with contingents as stated opposite each. The Princes against whom no figures are given furnished altogether 4000 men.

PROTECTOR. — Napoleon, 200,000.

PRESIDENT of the Diet and of the College of Kings. — The Prince Primate, Karl von Dalberg, formerly Archbishop of Mayence, then Archbishop of Regensburg, now Grand Duke of Frankfort (2800, as below).

KINGS, sitting in the College of Kings with the Grand Dukes. — Bavaria, 30,000; Saxony, 20,000; Westphalia, 26,000; Würtemberg, 12,000.

GRAND DUKES, sitting in the College of Kings. — Baden, 8000; Berg et Clèves, 5000; Frankfort, 2800; Hesse-Darmstadt, 4000; Warsaw, 30,000; Würzburg, 2000.

DUKES, sitting in the College of Princes under the presidency of the Duke of Nassau (Nassau-Usingen). — Anhalt-Bernburg, Anhalt-Cöthen, Anhalt-Dessau, 800; D'Arenberg, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, contingent not given; Mecklenburg-Strelitz, contingent not given; Nassau-Usingen, Oldenburg; Saxe-Coburg, Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Hildburghausen, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Weimar, 2800.

PRINCES, sitting in the College of Princes with the Dukes: Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Isemburg-Birstein, Leyen, Lichtenstein; Lippe-Detmold, Lippe-Schaumburg, 650; Nassau-Weil-

secrecy in all his movements. He showed, in confidence, to those to whom he addressed himself, a letter from M. Haugwitz, the Minister of the King of Prussia, who endeavored to point out to the Hanse Towns how much the Confederation of the North would turn to their advantage, it being the only means of preserving their liberty, by establishing a formidable power. However, to the first communication only an evasive answer was returned. M. Van Sienen, the Syndic of Hamburg, was commissioned by the Senate to inform the Prussian Minister that the affair required the concurrence of the burghers, and that before he could submit it to them it would be necessary to know its basis and conditions. Meanwhile the Syndic Doormann proceeded to Lübeck, where there was also a deputy from Bremen. The project of the Confederation, however, never came to anything.

I scrupulously discharged the duties of my functions, but I confess I often found it difficult to execute the orders I received, and more than once I took it upon myself to modify their severity. I loved the frank and generous character of the Hamburgers, and I could not help pitying the fate of the Hanse Towns, heretofore so happy, and from which Bonaparte had exacted such immense sacrifices.

On the principal gate of the Hanse Towns is inscribed the following motto, well expressing the pacific spirit of the people: *Da nobis pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris.* The paternal and elected government, which did everything to secure the happiness of these towns, was led to believe that the sacrifices imposed on them would be recompensed by the preservation of their neutrality. No distrust was entertained, and hope was kept alive by the assurances given by Napoleon.

burg, Reuss, Reuss-Ebersdorf, Reuss-Greiz, Reuss-Lobenstein; Reuss-Schleiz, 450; Salm-Kyrburg, Salm-Salm, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, 650; Waldeck, 400.

The Emperor of Germany, Francis II., had already in 1804, on Napoleon taking the title of Emperor, declared himself Hereditary Emperor of Austria. After the formation of the Rhenish Confederation and Napoleon's refusal to acknowledge the German Empire any longer, he released the States of the Holy Roman Empire from their allegiance, declared the Empire dissolved, and contented himself with the title of Emperor of Austria, as Francis I.

The Confédération du Nord, as already stated, was to have been formed of Prussia, Saxony, Hesse, and the Hanse Towns.

He published in the *Moniteur* that the Hanse Towns could not be included in any particular Confederation. He thus strangled in its birth the Confederation of the North, to which those feeble States would otherwise have been obliged to consent. When, in 1806, Napoleon marched against Prussia, he detached Marshal Mortier from the Grand Army when it had passed the Rhine, and directed him to invade the Electorate of Hesse, and march on Hamburg. On the 19th of November the latter town was occupied by the French army in the name of the Emperor, amidst the utmost order and tranquillity.

I must acknowledge that I was under much apprehension as to this event. At the intelligence of the approach of the French army consternation was great and universal in Hamburg, which was anxious to maintain its neutrality unimpaired. At the urgent request of the magistrates of the city I assumed functions more than diplomatic, and became, in some respects, the first magistrate of the town. I went to meet Marshal Mortier to endeavor to dissuade him from entering. I thought I should by this means better serve the interests of France than by favoring the occupation of a neutral town by our troops. But all my remonstrances were useless. Marshal Mortier had received formal orders from the Emperor.

No preparations having been made at Hamburg for the reception of Marshal Mortier, he quartered himself and his whole staff upon me. The few troops he had with him were disposed of in my courtyard, so that the residence of a Minister of peace was all at once converted into headquarters. This state of things continued until a house was got ready for the Marshal.

Marshal Mortier had to make very rigorous exactions, but my representations suspended for a while Napoleon's orders for taking possession of the Bank of Hamburg. I am here bound to bear testimony to the Marshal's honorable principles and integrity of character. The representations which I had sent to Marshal Mortier were transmitted by the latter to the Emperor at Berlin; and Mortier stated that he had suspended

the execution of the orders until he should receive others. The Emperor approved of this. It was, indeed, a happy event for France and for Europe, even more so than for Hamburg. Those who suggested to the Emperor the idea of pillaging that fine establishment must have been profoundly ignorant of its importance. They thought only of the 90,000,000 of marks banco deposited in its cellars.

By the famous decree of Berlin, dated 21st November, 1806, Mortier was compelled to order the seizure of all English merchandise in the Hanse Towns, but he enforced the decree only so far as to preserve the appearance of having obeyed his orders.

Mortier, on leaving Hamburg for Mecklenburg, was succeeded by General Michaud, who in his turn was succeeded by Marshal Brune in the beginning of 1807. I am very glad to take the present opportunity of correcting the misconceptions which arose through the execution of certain acts of Imperial tyranny. The truth is, Marshal Brune, during his government, constantly endeavored to moderate, as far as he could, the severity of the orders he received. Bernadotte became Governor of Hamburg when the battle of Jena rendered Napoleon master of Prussia and the north of Germany.

The Prince of Ponte-Corvo lightened, as far as possible, the unjust burdens and vexations to which that unfortunate town was subject. He never refused his assistance to any measures which I adopted to oppose a system of ruin and persecution. He often protected Hamburg against exorbitant exactions. The Hanse Towns revived a little under his government, which continued longer than that of Mortier, Michaud, and Brune. The memory of Bernadotte will always be dear to the Hamburgers; and his name will never be pronounced without gratitude. His attention was especially directed to moderate the rigor of the custom-houses; and perhaps the effect which his conduct produced on public opinion may be considered as having, in some measure, led to the decision which, four years after, made him Hereditary Prince of Sweden.[1]

[1] Marshal Brune was believed by the Hamburgers to have made money out of his command there, but Bernadotte was esteemed by them. See *Puymaigre*, p. 135.

CHAPTER V.

1806.

Ukase of the Emperor of Russia — Duroc's mission to Weimar — Napoleon's views defeated — Triumphs of the French armies — Letters from Murat — False report respecting Murat — Resemblance between Moreau and M. Billaud — Generous conduct of Napoleon — His interview with Madame Hatzfeld at Berlin — Letter from Bonaparte to Josephine — Blucher my prisoner — His character — His confidence in the future fate of Germany — Prince Paul of Würtemberg taken prisoner — His wish to enter the French service — Distinguished emigrants at Altona — Deputation of the Senate to the Emperor at Berlin — The German Princes at Altona — Fauche-Borel and the Comte de Gimel.

In September, 1806, it became very manifest that, as soon as war should break out between France and Prussia, Russia would not be slow in forming an alliance with the latter power. Peace had, however, been re-established between Napoleon and Alexander by virtue of a treaty just signed at Paris. By that treaty Russia was to evacuate the Bouches du Cattaro,[1] a condition with which she was in no hurry to comply. I received a number of the Court Gazette of St. Petersburg, containing a ukase of the Emperor of Russia, in which Alexander pointed out the danger which again menaced Europe, showed the necessity of adopting precautions for general tranquillity and the security of his own Empire, and declared his determination of not only completing but augmenting his army. He therefore ordered a levy of four men out of every 500 inhabitants.

[1] The Bouches du Cattaro, on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, had formed part of the Dalmatian possessions of Venice. By the treaty of Campo Formio, 17th October, 1797, and of Luneville, 9th February, 1801, they fell to Austria, who, however, had to cede them to France by the treaty of Presburg, 26th December, 1805, after Austerlitz. The Russians, assisted by an English fleet, with some complicity on the part of the Austrian garrison, then occupied them; and it was not till the 12th August, 1807, after the treaty of Tilsit, concluded July, 1807, that they were handed over to Marmont (see *Ragusa*, tome iii. p. 57). In 1815 they fell to Austria, and they have only lately been the subject of disputes between her and the Turks in the last Montenegrin affair.

Before the commencement of hostilities Duroc was sent to the King of Prussia with the view of discovering whether there was any possibility of renewing negotiations; but affairs were already too much embarrassed. All Duroc's endeavors were in vain, and perhaps it was no longer in the power of the King of Prussia to avoid war with France. Besides, he had just grounds of offence against the Emperor. Although the latter had given him Hanover in exchange for the two Margravates, he had, nevertheless, offered to England the restoration of that province as one of the terms of the negotiations commenced with Mr. Fox. This underhand work was not unknown to the Berlin Cabinet, and Napoleon's duplicity rendered Duroc's mission useless. At this time the King of Prussia was at Weimar.

Victory everywhere favored the French arms. Prince Hohenlohe, who commanded a corps of the Prussian army, was forced to capitulate at Prentzlau. After this capitulation General Blucher took the command of the remains of the corps, to which he joined the troops whose absence from Prentzlau exempted them from the capitulation. These corps, added to those which Blucher had at Auerstädt, were then almost the only ramparts of the Prussian monarchy. Soult and Bernadotte received orders from Murat to pursue Blucher, who was using all his efforts to draw from Berlin the forces of those two generals. Blucher marched in the direction of Lübeck.

General Murat pursued the wreck of the Prussian army which had escaped from Saxony by Magdeburg. Blucher was driven upon Lübeck. It was very important to the army at Berlin that this numerous corps should be destroyed, commanded as it was by a skilful and brave general, who drew from the centre of the military operations numerous troops, with which he might throw himself into Hanover, or Hesse, or even Holland, and by joining the English troops harass the rear of the Grand Army. The Grand Duke of Berg explained to me his plans and expectations, and soon after announced their fulfilment in several letters which contained, among other things, the particulars of the taking of Lübeck.

In two of these letters Murat, who was probably deceived by his agents, or by some intriguer, informed me that General Moreau had passed through Paris on the 12th of October, and had arrived in Hamburg on the 28th of October. The proof which Murat possessed of this circumstance was a letter of Fauche-Borel, which he had intercepted. I recollect a curious circumstance which serves to show the necessity of mistrusting the vague intelligence furnished to persons in authority. A fortnight before I received Murat's first letter a person informed me that General Moreau was in Hamburg. I gave no credit to the intelligence, yet I endeavored to ascertain whether it had any foundation, but without effect. Two days later I was assured that an individual had met General Moreau, that he had spoken to him, that he knew him well from having served under him,— together with various other circumstances, the truth of which there appeared no reason to doubt. I immediately sent for the individual in question, who told me that he knew Moreau, that he had met him, that the general had inquired of him the way to the Jungfersteige (a promenade at Hamburg), that he had pointed it out to him, and then said, "Have I not the honor to speak to General Moreau?" upon which the general answered, "Yes, but say nothing about having seen me; I am here incognito." All this appeared to me so absurd that, pretending not to know Moreau, I asked the person to describe him to me. He described a person bearing little resemblance to Moreau, and added that he wore a braided French coat and the national cockade in his hat. I instantly perceived the whole was a mere scheme for getting a little money. I sent the fellow about his business. In a quarter of an hour after I had got rid of him M. la Chevardière called on me, and introduced M. Billaud, the French Consul at Stettin. This gentleman wore a braided coat and the national cockade in his hat. He was the hero of the story I had heard from the informer. A slight personal resemblance between the Consul and the General had caused several persons to mistake them for each other.

During the Prussian campaign nothing was talked of throughout Germany but Napoleon's generous conduct with

respect to Prince Hatzfeld. I was fortunate enough to obtain a copy of a letter which the Emperor wrote to Josephine on the subject, and which I shall presently lay before the reader. In conformity with the inquisitorial system which too frequently characterized the Emperor's government, and which he extended to every country of which he had military possession, the first thing done on entering a town was to take possession of the post-office, and then, Heaven knows how little respect was shown to the privacy of correspondence.[1] Among the letters thus seized at Berlin and delivered to Napoleon was one addressed to the King of Prussia by Prince Hatzfeld, who had imprudently remained in the Prussian capital. In this letter the Prince gave his Sovereign an account of all that had occurred in Berlin since he had been compelled to quit it; and at the same time he informed him of the force and situation of the corps of the French army. The Emperor, after reading this letter, ordered that the Prince should be arrested, and tried by a court-martial on the charge of being a spy.

The Court was summoned, and little doubt could be entertained as to its decision when Madame Hatzfeld repaired to Duroc, who on such occasions was always happy when he could facilitate communication with the Emperor. On that day Napoleon had been at a review. Duroc knew Madame Hatzfeld, whom he had several times seen on his visits to Berlin. When Napoleon returned from the review he was astonished to see Duroc at the palace at that hour, and inquired whether he had brought any news. Duroc answered in the affirmative, and followed the Emperor into his Cabinet, where he soon introduced Madame Hatzfeld. The remainder of the scene is described in Napoleon's letter. It may easily be perceived that this letter is an answer to one from Josephine reproaching him for the manner in which he spoke of

[1] The seizure of the enemy's correspondence, private or public, is an undoubted and necessary right of war. It would, of course, have been absurd to neglect this means of obtaining information. Frequent and amusing instances of information obtained by seizing the telegraph wires were given in the late American War of Secession, and no one would have expected the Germans to respect the correspondence in the balloons sent from Paris.

women, and very probably of the beautiful and unfortunate Queen of Prussia, respecting whom he had expressed himself with too little respect in one of his bulletins. The following is Napoleon's letter: —

I have received your letter, in which you seem to reproach me for speaking ill of women. It is true that I dislike female intriguers above all things. I am used to kind, gentle, and conciliatory women. I love them, and if they have spoiled me it is not my fault, but yours. However, you will see that I have done an act of kindness to one deserving woman. I allude to Madame de Hatzfeld. When I showed her her husband's letter she stood weeping, and in a tone of mingled grief and ingenuousness said, "It is indeed his writing!" This went to my heart, and I said, "Well, madame, throw the letter into the fire, and then I shall have no proof against your husband." She burned the letter, and was restored to happiness. Her husband now is safe: two hours later, and he would have been lost. You see, therefore, that I like women who are simple, gentle, and amiable; because they alone resemble you.[1]

November 6, 1806, 9 o'clock P.M.

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[1] Rapp sustained a prominent part in the affair; and though his account of it, and that given by Bourrienne, be not precisely similar they nevertheless correspond in all important particulars.

"Prince Hatzfeld had come to Potsdam as a deputy from the city of Berlin, and had been well received. He rendered an account of his mission, as well as I can recollect, to Count Hohenlohe, and reported to him the state of the troops, artillery, and ammunition that were in the capital, or which he had met on the road. His letter was intercepted. Napoleon delivered it to me, with orders immediately to arrest the Prince and send him to the headquarters of Marshal Davoust, which were two leagues distant. Berthier, Duroc, Caulaincourt, and I vainly endeavored to appease the anger of Napoleon. He refused to listen to our representations. Prince Hatzfeld had transmitted reports relative to military affairs which were quite unconnected with his mission: he had evidently been acting the part of a spy. Savary, who, in his quality of commander of the military gendarmerie, usually took cognizance of affairs of this kind, was then on a mission. I was obliged to assume his functions during his absence. I gave orders for the arrest of the Prince; but instead of having him conducted to the headquarters of Davoust, I placed him in the chamber of the officer commanding the palace-guard, whom I directed to treat him with every mark of respect.

"Caulaincourt and Duroc withdrew from the Emperor's apartment. Napoleon was left alone with Berthier, and he directed him to sit down and write the order by which M. de Hatzfeld was to be arraigned before a military commission. The major-general made some representations in his favor. 'Your Majesty will not, for so trivial an offence, shoot a man who is connected with the first families in Berlin. The thing is impossible, you will not think of it.' The Emperor grew more angry. Neufchatel persisted in his intercession; Napoleon lost all patience, and Berthier quitted the room. I was called in. I had overheard the scene that had just taken place. I was afraid to hazard the least reflection: I was in a state of agony. Besides the repugnance I felt in being instrumental to so harsh a measure, it was necessary to write as rapidly as the Emperor spoke; and I must confess I never possessed that talent. He dictated to me the following order: —

CAULAINCOURT.

DUC DE VICENCE.

When Marshal Bernadotte had driven Blucher into Lübeck and made him prisoner, he sent to inform me of the circumstance; but I was far from expecting that the prisoner would be confided to my charge. Such, however, was the case. After his capitulation he was sent to Hamburg, where he had the whole city for his prison.

I was curious to become acquainted with this celebrated man, and I saw him very frequently. I found that he was an enthusiastic Prussian patriot — a brave man, enterprising even to rashness, of limited education, and almost to an incredible degree devoted to pleasure, of which he took an

"'Our cousin Marshal Davoust will appoint a military commission, consisting of seven colonels of his corps, of which he will be the president, to try Prince Hatzfeld on a charge of treason and espionage. The sentence must be pronounced and executed before six o'clock in the evening.'

"It was about noon. Napoleon directed me to despatch the order immediately, and to send with it Prince Hatzfeld's letter. The latter part of the instruction I did not, however, obey. My mind was racked by the most painful emotions. I trembled for the Prince, and I trembled for myself, since, instead of sending him to Davoust's headquarters, I had lodged him in the palace.

"Napoleon wished to have his horse saddled, as he intended to visit Prince and Princess Ferdinand. As I was going out to give the necessary orders I was informed that the Princess of Hatzfeld had fainted in the antechamber, and that she had previously expressed a wish to speak to me. I went to her. I did not conceal from her the displeasure of Napoleon. I told her that we were going to ride out on horseback, and I directed her to repair to Prince Ferdinand, and to interest him in favor of her husband. I know not whether she did so; but on our arrival at the palace we found her in one of the corridors, and she threw herself, in tears, at the feet of the Emperor, to whom I announced her name.

"The Princess was *enceinte*. Napoleon was moved by her situation, and directed her to proceed to the château. He at the same time desired me to write to Davoust to order the trial to be suspended. He thought Prince Hatzfeld had departed.

"Napoleon returned to the palace, where Madame Hatzfeld was waiting for him. He desired her to enter the *salon:* I was present. 'Your husband, madame,' said he, 'has brought himself into an unfortunate scrape. According to our laws he deserves to be sentenced to death. General Rapp, give me his letter. Here, madame, read this.' The lady trembled exceedingly. Napoleon immediately took the letter from her hand, tore it, and threw the fragments into the fire. 'I have no other proof against Prince Hatzfeld, madame, therefore he is at liberty.' He ordered me immediately to release him from his confinement at headquarters. I acknowledged that I had not sent him there; but he did not reproach me; he even seemed pleased at what I had done.

"In this affair Berthier, Duroc, and Caulaincourt behaved as they did on all occasions, that is to say, like gallant men: Berthier's conduct was particularly praiseworthy.

"No sooner had Prince Hatzfeld returned to his family than he was made acquainted with all that had passed. He wrote me a letter expressive of his gratitude, and the emotions by which he was agitated" (*Memoirs of General Rapp*, p. 107; see also *Savary*, tome ii. p. 314).

ample share while he remained in Hamburg. He sat an enormous time at table, and, notwithstanding his exclusive patriotism, he rendered full justice to the wines of France. His passion for women was unbounded, and one of his most favorite sources of amusement was the gaming-table, at which he spent a considerable portion of his time. Blucher was of an extremely gay disposition; and considered merely as a companion he was very agreeable. The original style of his conversation pleased me much. His confidence in the deliverance of Germany remained unshaken in spite of the disasters of the Prussian army. He often said to me, "I place great reliance on the public spirit of Germany — on the enthusiasm which prevails in our universities. The events of war are daily changing, and even defeats contribute to nourish in a people sentiments of honor and national glory. You may depend upon it that when a whole nation is determined to shake off a humiliating yoke it will succeed. There is no doubt but we shall end by having a landwehr very different from any militia to which the subdued spirit of the French people could give birth. England will always lend us the support of her navy and her subsidies, and we will renew alliances with Russia and Austria. I can pledge myself to the truth of a fact of which I have certain knowledge, and you may rely upon it; namely, that none of the allied powers engaged in the present war entertain views of territorial aggrandizement. All they unanimously desire is to put an end to the system of aggrandizement which your Emperor has established and acts upon with such alarming rapidity. In our first war against France, at the commencement of your Revolution, we fought for questions respecting the rights of sovereigns, for which, I assure you, I care very little; but now the case is altered, the whole population of Prussia makes common cause with its government. The people fight in defence of their homes, and reverses destroy our armies without changing the spirit of the nation. I rely confidently on the future because I foresee that fortune will not always favor your Emperor. It is impossible; but the time will come when all Europe, humbled by his exactions, and impa-

tient of his depredations, will rise up against him. The more he enslaves nations, the more terrible will be the re-action when they break their chains. It cannot be denied that he is tormented with an insatiable desire of acquiring new territories. To the war of 1805 against Austria and Russia the present war has almost immediately succeeded. We have fallen. Prussia is occupied; but Russia still remains undefeated. I cannot foresee what will be the termination of the war; but, admitting that the issue should be favorable to you, it will end only to break out again speedily. If we continue firm, France, exhausted by her conquests, must in the end fall. You may be certain of it. You wish for peace. Recommend it! By so doing you will give strong proofs of love for your country."

In this strain Blucher constantly spoke to me; and as I never thought it right to play the part of the public functionary in the drawing-room I replied to him with the reserve necessary in my situation. I could not tell him how much my anticipations frequently coincided with his; but I never hesitated to express to him how much I wished to see a reasonable peace concluded.[1]

Blucher's arrival at Hamburg was preceded by that of Prince Paul of Würtemberg, the second son of one of the two kings created by Napoleon, whose crowns were not yet a year old. This young Prince, who was imbued with the ideas of liberty and independence which then prevailed in Germany, had taken a headlong step. He had quitted Stuttgart to serve in the Prussian campaign without having asked his father's permission, which inconsiderate proceeding might have drawn Napoleon's anger upon the King of Würtemberg.

[1] Rapp mentions the following particulars relative to Blucher after his capture. At that time Rapp had been appointed Governor of Thorn, and he says: —

"I was now the Providence of the Prussian generals. They wrote to me entreating my intercession in their behalf. Blucher himself did not disdain to solicit the *grace* of His Majesty, the Emperor and King of Italy. He was at first to have been conducted to Dijon; but he had laid down arms, and therefore it signified little whether he was at Dijon or elsewhere. He was permitted to retire to Hamburg: but he soon grew tired of that city, and begged to be allowed to go to the neighborhood of Berlin. However, the Emperor did not grant his request" (Rapp's *Memoirs*, p. 130).

The King of Prussia advanced Prince Paul to the rank of general, but he was taken prisoner at the very commencement of hostilities. Prince Paul was not, as has been erroneously stated, conducted to Stuttgart by a captain of gendarmerie. He came to Hamburg, where I received many visits from him. He did not yet possess very definite ideas as to what he wished; for after he was made prisoner he expressed to me his strong desire to enter the French service, and often asked me to solicit for him an interview with the Emperor. He obtained this interview, and remained for a long time in Paris, where I know he has frequently resided since the Restoration.[1]

The individuals whom I had to observe in Hamburg gave me much less trouble than our neighbors at Altona. The number of the latter had considerably augmented, since the events of the war had compelled a great number of emigrants who had taken refuge at Munster to leave that town. They all proceeded to Altona. Conquered countries became as dangerous to them as the land which they had forsaken. The most distinguished amongst the individuals assembled at Altona were Vicomte de Sesmaisons, the Bailly d'Hautefeuille, the Duchess of Luxembourg, the Marquis de Bonnard, the Duc d'Aumont [then Duc de Villequier], the wife of Marshal de Broglie and her daughter, Cardinal de Montmorency, Madame de Cossé, her two daughters and her son (and a priest), and the Bishop of Boulogne.

Bonaparte staid long enough at Berlin to permit of the arrival of a deputation from the French Senate to congratulate him on his first triumphs. I learned that in this instance the Senatorial deputation, departing from its accustomed complaisance, ventured not to confine itself to compliments and felicitations, but went so far as to interfere with the Emperor's plan of the campaign, to speak of the danger that might be incurred in passing the Oder, and finally to express a desire to see peace concluded. Napoleon received this com-

[1] Rapp (p. 116) gives a different account, and says that the Prince came to Custrin and wished to see Napoleon, who refused the interview, and had him arrested and sent into his father's States, where he was detained for several years.

munication with a very bad grace. He thought the Senators very bold to meddle with his affairs, treated the conscript fathers of France as if they had been inconsiderate youths, protested, according to custom, his sincere love of peace, and told the deputation that it was Prussia, backed by Russia, and not he, who wished for war!

All the German Princes who had taken part against Napoleon fled to Altona after the battle of Jena with as much precipitation as the emigrants themselves. The Hereditary Prince of Weimar, the Duchess of Holstein, Prince Belmonte-Pignatelli, and a multitude of other persons distinguished for rank and fortune, arrived there almost simultaneously. Among the persons who took refuge in Altona were some intriguers, of whom Fauche-Borel was one. I remember receiving a report respecting a violent altercation which Fauche had the audacity to enter into with Comte de Gimel because he could not extort money from the Count in payment of his intrigues. Comte de Gimel had only funds for the payment of pensions, and, besides, he had too much sense to suppose there was any utility in the stupid pamphlets of Fauche-Borel, and therefore he dismissed him with a refusal. Fauche was insolent, which compelled Comte de Gimel to send him about his business as he deserved. The circumstance, which was first communicated to me in a report, has since been confirmed by a person who witnessed the scene. Fauche-Borel merely passed through Hamburg, and embarked for London on board the same ship which took Lord Morpeth back to England.[1]

[1] Louis Fauche-Borel (1762-1829), a Swiss who devoted himself to the cause of the Royalists. As Louis stepped on the shore of France in 1814 Fauche-Borel was ready to assist him from the boat, and was met with the gracious remark that he was always at hand when a service was required. His services were however left unrewarded!

CHAPTER VI.

1806.

Alarm of the city of Hamburg — The French at Bergdorff — Favorable orders issued by Bernadotte — Extortions in Prussia — False indorsements — Exactions of the Dutch — Napoleon's concern for his wounded troops — Duroc's mission to the King of Prussia — Rejection of the Emperor's demands — My negotiations at Hamburg — Displeasure of the King of Sweden — M. Netzel and M. Wetterstedt.

At this critical moment Hamburg was menaced on all sides; the French even occupied a portion of its territory. The French troops, fortunately for the country, were attached to the corps commanded by the Prince de Ponte-Corvo.[1] This military occupation alarmed the town of Hamburg, to which, indeed, it proved very injurious. I wrote to Marshal Bernadotte on the subject. The grounds on which the Senate appealed for the evacuation of their territory were such that Bernadotte could not but acknowledge their justice. The prolonged stay of the French troops in the bailiwick of Bergdorff, which had all the appearance of an occupation, might have led to the confiscation of all Hamburg property in England, to the laying an embargo on the vessels of the Republic, and consequently to the ruin of a great part of the trade of France and Holland, which was carried on under the flag of Hamburg. There was no longer any motive for occupying the bailiwick of Bergdorff when there were no Prussians in that quarter. It would have been an absurd misfortune that eighty men stationed in that bailiwick should, for the sake of a few louis and a few ells of English cloth, have occasioned the confiscation of Hamburg, French, and Dutch property to the amount of 80,000,000 francs.

Marshal Bernadotte replied to me on the 16th of November, and said, "I hasten to inform you that I have given orders for

[1] Bernadotte.

the evacuation of the bailiwick of Bergdorff and all the Hamburg territory. If you could obtain from the Senate of Hamburg, by the 19th of this month, two or three thousand pairs of shoes, you would oblige me greatly. They shall be paid for in goods or in money."

I obtained what Bernadotte required from the Senate, who knew his integrity, while they were aware that that quality was not the characteristic of all who commanded the French armies! What extortions took place during the occupation of Prussia! I will mention one of the means which, amongst others, was employed at Berlin to procure money. Bills of exchange were drawn, on which indorsements were forged, and these bills were presented to the bankers on whom they were purported to be drawn. One day some of these forged bills to a large amount were presented to Messrs Mathiesen and Silleine of Hamburg, who, knowing the indorsement to be forged, refused to cash them. The persons who presented the bills carried their impudence so far as to send for the gendarmes, but the bankers persisted in their refusal. I was informed of this almost incredible scene, which had drawn together a great number of people. Indignant at such audacious robbery, I instantly proceeded to the spot and sent away the gendarmes, telling them it was not their duty to protect robbers, and that it was my business to listen to any just claims which might be advanced. Under Clarke's government at Berlin the inhabitants were subjected to all kinds of oppression and exaction. Amidst these exactions and infamous proceedings, which are not the indispensable consequences of war, the Dutch generals distinguished themselves by a degree of rapacity which brought to mind the period of the French Republican peculations in Italy. It certainly was not their new King who set the example of this conduct. His moderation was well known, and it was as much the result of his disposition as of his honest principles. Louis Bonaparte, who was a King in spite of himself, afforded an example of all that a good man could suffer upon a usurped throne.

When the King of Prussia found himself defeated at every point he bitterly repented having undertaken a war which had

delivered his States into Napoleon's power in less time than that in which Austria had fallen the preceding year. He wrote to the Emperor, soliciting a suspension of hostilities. Rapp was present when Napoleon received the King of Prussia's letter. "It is too late," said he; "but, no matter, I wish to stop the effusion of blood; I am ready to agree to anything which is not prejudicial to the honor or interests of the nation." Then calling Duroc, he gave him orders to visit the wounded, and see that they wanted for nothing. He added, "Visit every man on my behalf; give them all the consolation of which they stand in need; afterwards find the King of Prussia, and if he offers reasonable proposals let me know them."

Negotiations were commenced, but Napoleon's conditions were of a nature which was considered inadmissible. Prussia still hoped for assistance from the Russian forces. Besides, the Emperor's demands extended to England, who at that moment had no reason to accede to the pretensions of France. The Emperor wished England to restore to France the colonies which she had captured since the commencement of the war, that Russia should restore to the Porte Moldavia and Wallachia, which she then occupied; in short, he acted upon the advice which some tragedy-king gives to his ambassador: "Demand everything, that you may obtain nothing." The Emperor's demands were, in fact, so extravagant that it was scarcely possible he himself could entertain the hope of their being accepted. Negotiations, alternately resumed and abandoned, were carried on with coldness on both sides until the moment when England prevailed on Russia to join Prussia against France; they then altogether ceased: and it was for the sake of appearing to wish for their renewal, on bases still more favorable to France, that Napoleon sent Duroc to the King of Prussia. Duroc found the King at Osterode, on the other side of the Vistula. The only answer he received from His Majesty was, "The time is passed;" which was very much like Napoleon's observation, "It is too late."

Whilst Duroc was on his mission to the King of Prussia I was myself negotiating at Hamburg. Bonaparte was very

anxious to detach Sweden from the coalition, and to terminate the war with her by a separate treaty. Sweden, indeed, was likely to be very useful to him if Prussia, Russia, and England should collect a considerable mass of troops in the north. Denmark was already with us, and by gaining over Sweden also the union of those two powers might create a diversion, and give serious alarm to the coalition, which would be obliged to concentrate its principal force to oppose the attack of the grand army in Poland. The opinions of M. Peyron, the Swedish Minister at Hamburg, were decidedly opposed to the war in which his sovereign was engaged with France. I was sorry that this gentleman left Hamburg upon leave of absence for a year just at the moment I received my instructions from the Emperor upon this subject. M. Peyron was succeeded by M. Netzel, and I soon had the pleasure of perceiving that his opinions corresponded in every respect with those of his predecessor.

As soon as he arrived M. Netzel sought an interview to speak to me on the subject of the Swedes, who had been taken prisoners on the Drave. He entreated me to allow the officers to return to Sweden on their parole. I was anxious to get M. Netzel's demand acceded to, and availed myself of that opportunity to lead him gradually to the subject of my instructions. I had good reason to be satisfied with the manner in which he received my first overtures. I said nothing to him of the justice of which he was not previously convinced. I saw he understood that his sovereign would have everything to gain by a reconciliation with France, and he told me that all Sweden demanded peace. Thus encouraged, I told him frankly that I was instructed to treat with him. M. Netzel assured me that M. de Wetterstedt, the King of Sweden's private secretary, with whom he was intimate, and from whom he showed me several letters, was of the same opinion on the subject as himself. He added, that he had permission to correspond with the King, and that he would write the same evening to his sovereign and M. de Wetterstedt, to acquaint them with our conversation.

It will be perceived, from what I have stated, that no nego-

tiation was ever commenced under more favorable auspices; but who could foresee what turn the King of Sweden would take? That unlucky Prince took M. Netzel's letter in very ill part, and M. de Wetterstedt himself received peremptory orders to acquaint M. Netzel with his sovereign's displeasure at his having presumed to visit a French Minister, and, above all, to enter into a political conversation with him, although it was nothing more than *conversation*. The King did not confine himself to reproaches; M. Netzel came in great distress to inform me he had received orders to quit Hamburg immediately, without even awaiting the arrival of his successor. He regarded his disgrace as complete. I had the pleasure of seeing M. Netzel again in 1809 at Hamburg, where he was on a mission from King Charles XIII.

CHAPTER VII.

1806.

The Continental system — General indignation excited by it — Sale of licenses by the French Government — Custom-house system at Hamburg — My letter to the Emperor — Cause of the rupture with Russia — Bernadotte's visit to me — Trial by a court-martial for the purchase of a sugar-loaf — Davoust and the captain "rapporteur" — Influence of the Continental system on Napoleon's fall.

I HAVE a few remarks to make on the famous Continental system, which was a subject of such engrossing interest. I had, perhaps, better opportunities than any other person of observing the fraud and estimating the fatal consequences of this system. It took its rise during the war in 1806, and was brought into existence by a decree, dated from Berlin. The project was conceived by weak counsellors, who, perceiving the Emperor's just indignation at the duplicity of England, her repugnance to enter into negotiations with him, and her constant endeavors to raise enemies against France, prevailed upon him to issue the decree, which I could only regard as an act of madness and tyranny. It was not a decree, but fleets, that were wanting. Without a navy it was ridiculous to declare the British Isles in a state of blockade, *whilst the English fleets were in fact blockading all the French ports.* This declaration was, however, made in the Berlin Decree. This is what was called the Continental system! which, in plain terms, was nothing but a system of fraud and pillage.

One can now scarcely conceive how Europe could for a single day endure that fiscal tyranny which extorted exorbitant prices for articles which the habits of three centuries had rendered indispensable to the poor as well as to the rich. So little of truth is there in the pretence that this system had for its sole and exclusive object to prevent the sale of English goods, that licenses for their disposal were procured at a high

price by whoever was rich enough to pay for them. The number and quality of the articles exported from France were extravagantly exaggerated. It was, indeed, necessary to take out some of those articles in compliance with the Emperor's wishes, but they were only thrown into the sea. And yet no one had the honesty to tell the Emperor that England sold on the Continent, but bought scarcely anything. The speculation in licenses was carried to a scandalous extent only to enrich a few, and to satisfy the short-sighted views of the contrivers of the system.

This system proves what is written in the annals of the human heart and mind, that the cupidity of the one is insatiable, and the errors of the other incorrigible. Of this I will cite an example, though it refers to a period posterior to the origin of the Continental system. At Hamburg, in 1811, under Davoust's government, a poor man had well-nigh been shot for having introduced into the department of the Elbe a small loaf of sugar for the use of his family, while at the same moment Napoleon was perhaps signing a license for the importation of a million of sugar-loaves.[1]

Smuggling on a small scale was punished with death, whilst the Government themselves carried it on extensively. The same cause filled the Treasury with money, and the prisons with victims.

The custom-house laws of this period, which waged open war against rhubarb, and armed the coasts of the Continent

[1] In this same year (1811) Murat, as King of Naples, not only winked at the infringement of the Continental system, but almost openly broke the law himself. His troops in Calabria, and all round his immense line of sea-coast, carried on an active trade with Sicilian and English smugglers. This was so much the case that an officer never set out from Naples to join, without being requested by his wife, his relations or friends, to bring them some English muslins, some sugar and coffee, together with a few needles, penknives, and razors. Some of the Neapolitan officers embarked in really large commercial operations, going shares with the custom-house people who were there to enforce the law, and making their soldiers load and unload the contraband vessels.

The Comte de——, a French officer on Murat's staff, was very noble, but very poor, and excessively extravagant. After making several vain efforts to set him up in the world, the King told him one day he would give him the command of all the troops round the Gulf of Salerno; adding that the devil was in it if he could not make a fortune in such a capital smuggling district in a couple of years. The Count took the hint, and did make a fortune. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

against the introduction of senna, did not save the Continental system from destruction.[1] Ridicule attended the installation of the odious prevotal courts. The president of the Prevotal Court at Hamburg, who was a Frenchman, delivered an address, in which he endeavored to prove that in the time of the Ptolemies there had existed extraordinary fiscal tribunals, and that it was to those Egypt owed her prosperity. Terror was thus introduced by the most absurd folly. The ordinary custom-house officers, formerly so much abhorred in Hamburg, declared with reason that they would soon be regretted, and that the difference between them and the prevotal courts would soon be felt. Bonaparte's counsellors led him to commit the folly of requiring that a ship which had obtained a license should export merchandise equivalent to that of the colonial produce to be imported under the authority of the license. What was the consequence? The speculators bought at a low price old stores of silks, which change of fashion had made completely unsalable, and as those articles were prohibited in England they were thrown into the sea without their loss being felt. The profits of the speculation made ample amends for the sacrifice. The Continental system was worthy only of the ages of ignorance and barbarism, and had it been admissible in theory, was impracticable in application. It cannot be sufficiently stigmatized. They were not the friends of the Emperor who recommended a system calculated to rouse the indignation of Europe, and which could not fail to create re-action. To tyrannize over the human species, and to exact uniform admiration and submission, is to require an impossibility. It would seem that fate, which had still some splendid triumphs in store for Bonaparte, intended to prepare beforehand the causes which were to deprive him of all his triumphs at once, and plunge him into reverses even greater than the good fortune which had favored his elevation.

The prohibition of trade, the habitual severity in the execution of this odious system, made it operate like a Continental

[1] Sydney Smith was struck with the ridiculous side of the war of tariffs: "We are told that the Continent is to be reconquered by the want of rhubarb and plums" (*Essays of Sydney Smith*, p. 533, edition of 1851).

impost. I will give a proof of this, and I state nothing but what came under my own observation. The fiscal regulations were very rigidly enforced at Hamburg, and along the two lines of Cuxhaven and Travemunde. M. Eudel, the director of that department, performed his duty with zeal and disinterestedness. I feel gratified in rendering him this tribute. Enormous quantities of English merchandise and colonial produce were accumulated at Holstein, where they almost all arrived by way of Kiel and Hudsum, and were smuggled over the line at the expense of a premium of 33 and 40 per cent. Convinced of this fact by a thousand proofs, and weary of the vexations of the preventive system, I took upon myself to lay my opinions on the subject before the Emperor. He had given me permission to write to him personally, without any intermediate agency, upon everything that I might consider essential to his service. I sent an extraordinary courier to Fontainebleau, where he then was, and in my despatch I informed him that, notwithstanding his preventive guard, every prohibited article was smuggled in because the profits on the sale in Germany, Poland, Italy, and even France, into which the contraband goods found their way, were too considerable not to induce persons to incur all risks to obtain them. I advised him, at the very time he was about to unite the Hanse Towns to the French Empire, to permit merchandise to be imported subject to a duty of 33 per cent, which was about equal to the amount of the premium for insurance. The Emperor adopted my advice without hesitation, and in 1811 the regulation produced a revenue of upwards of 60,000,000 francs in Hamburg alone.

This system, however, embroiled us with Sweden and Russia, who could not endure that Napoleon should exact a strict blockade from them, whilst he was himself distributing licenses in abundance. Bernadotte, on his way to Sweden, passed through Hamburg in October, 1810. He staid with me three days, during which time he scarcely saw any person but myself. He asked my opinion as to what he should do in regard to the Continental system. I did not hesitate to declare to him, not as French Minister, but as a private individual to his friend, that in his place, at the head of a poor nation, which

DAVOUST.

PRINCE D'ECKMUHL.

could only subsist by the exchange of its territorial productions with England, I would open my ports, and give the Swedes gratuitously that general license which Bonaparte sold in detail to intrigue and cupidity.

The Berlin decree could not fail to cause a re-action against the Emperor's fortune by raising up whole nations against him. The hurling of twenty kings from their thrones would have excited less hatred than this contempt for the wants of nations. This profound ignorance of the maxims of political economy caused general privation and misery, which in their turn occasioned general hostility. The system could only succeed in the impossible event of all the powers of Europe honestly endeavoring to carry it into effect. A single free port would have destroyed it. In order to insure its complete success it was necessary to conquer and occupy all countries, and never to evacuate them. As a means of ruining England it was contemptible. It was necessary that all Europe should be compelled by force of arms to join this absurd coalition, and that the same force should be constantly employed to maintain it. Was this possible? The captain "rapporteur" of a court-martial allowed a poor peasant to escape the punishment due to the offence of having bought a loaf of sugar beyond the custom-house barrier. This officer was some time afterwards at a dinner given by Marshal Davoust; the latter said to him, "You have a very scrupulous conscience, sir; go to headquarters and you will find an order there for you." This order sent him eighty leagues from Hamburg. It is necessary to have witnessed, as I have, the numberless vexations and miseries occasioned by the unfortunate Continental system to understand the mischief its authors did in Europe, and how much that mischief contributed to Napoleon's fall.[1]

[1] The so-called Continental system was framed by Napoleon in revenge for the English very extended system of blockades, after Trafalgar had put it out of his power to attempt to keep the seas. The principal decrees were Berlin, 21st November, 1806; Milan, 17th December, 1807; Paris, 11th January, 1808; Antwerp, 25th July, 1810; Trianon, 5th August, 1810; Fontainebleau, 19th October, 1810. By these decrees all ports occupied by the French were closed to the English, and all English goods were to be destroyed wherever found in any country occupied by the French. All States under French

influence had to adopt this system. It must be remembered that Napoleon eventually held or enforced his system on all the coast-lines of Europe, except that of Spain and Turkey; but, as Bourrienne shows, the plan of giving licenses to break his own system was too lucrative to be resisted by him, or, still more, by his officers. For the working of the system in the occupied lands see *Beugnot*, tome ii. p. 42. Lafitte, the banker, told Savary it was a grand idea, but impracticable (*Savary*, tome v. p. 110). The Emperor Alexander is reported to have said, after visiting England in 1814, that he believed the system would have reduced England if it had lasted another year (*Savary*, tome iv. p. 345). The English, who claimed the right of blockading any coast with but little regard to the effectiveness of the blockade, retaliated by orders in Council, the chief of which are dated 7th January, 1807, and 11th November, 1807, by which no ships of any power were allowed to trade between any French ports or the ports of any country closed to England. Whatever the real merits of the system, and although it was the cause of war between the United States and England, its execution did most to damage France and Napoleon, and to band all Europe against it. It is curious that even in 1831 a treaty had to be made to settle the claims of the United States on France for unjust seizures under these decrees; see Guizot's *Memoirs*, tome iii. p. 233.

CHAPTER VIII.

1806 — 1807.

New system of war — Winter quarters — The Emperor's proclamation — Necessity of marching to meet the Russians — Distress in the Hanse Towns — Order for 50,000 cloaks — Seizure of Russian corn and timber — Murat's entrance into Warsaw — Re-establishment of Poland — Duroc's accident — M. de Talleyrand's carriage stopped by the mud — Napoleon's power of rousing the spirit of his troops — His mode of dictating — The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin — His visits to Hamburg — The Duke of Weimar — His letter and present — Journey of the Hereditary Prince of Denmark to Paris — Butler, the English spy — Travelling clerks — Louis Bonaparte and the Berlin decree — Creation of the Kingdom of Saxony — Veneration of Germany for the King of Saxony — The Emperor's uncertainty respecting Poland — *Fêtes* and reviews at Warsaw — The French Government at the Emperor's headquarters — Ministerial portfolios sent to Warsaw — Military preparations during the month of January — Difference of our situation during the campaigns of Vienna and Prussia — News received and sent — Conduct of the Cabinet of Austria similar to that of the Cabinet of Berlin — Battle of Eylau — Unjust accusation against Bernadotte — Death of General d'Hautpoult — *Te Deum* chanted by the Russians — Gardanne's mission to Persia.

Bonaparte was not only beyond all comparison the greatest captain of modern times, but he may be said to have wrought a complete change in the art of war. Before his time the most able generals regulated the fighting season by the almanac. It was customary in Europe to brave the cannon's mouth only from the first fine days of spring to the last fine days of autumn; and the months of rain, snow, and frost were passed in what were called winter quarters. Pichegru, in Holland, had set the example of indifference to temperature. At Austerlitz, too, Bonaparte had braved the severity of winter; this answered his purpose well, and he adopted the same course in 1806. His military genius and activity seemed to increase, and, proud of his troops, he determined to commence a winter campaign in a climate more rigorous than any in which he had yet fought. The men, chained to his des-

tiny, were now required to brave the northern blast, as they had formerly braved the vertical sun of Egypt.[1] Napoleon, who, above all generals, was remarkable for the choice of his fields of battle, did not wish to wait tranquilly until the Russian army, which was advancing towards Germany, should come to measure its strength with him in the plains of conquered Prussia; he resolved to march to meet it, and to reach it before it should cross the Vistula; but before he left Berlin to explore, as a conqueror, Poland and the confines of Russia, he addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated all that had hitherto been achieved by the French army, and at the same time announced his future intentions. It was especially advisable that he should march forward; for, had he waited until the Russians had passed the Vistula, there could probably have been no winter campaign, and he would have been obliged either to take up miserable winter quarters between the Vistula and the Oder, or to recross the Oder to combat the enemy in Prussia. Napoleon's military genius and indefatigable activity served him admirably on this occasion, and the proclamation just alluded to, which was dated from Berlin before his departure from Charlotten-

1 A curious meteorological coincidence may be noted here. The passage of the Niemen by the French army, and its consequent entry on Russian territory, may be said to have been Napoleon's first step towards his ultimate defeat and ruin. A terrible thunderstorm occurred on this occasion, according to M. de Ségur's account of the Russian campaign. When Napoleon commenced the retreat by which he yielded all the country beyond the Elbe (and which may be therefore reckoned the second step towards his downfall), it was accompanied by a thunderstorm more remarkable from occurring at such a season. [Odelben says "C'était un phénomène bien extraordinaire dans une pareille saison et avec le froid qu'on venait d'éprouver," etc. *Campaign of* 1813, vol. i. p. 289.] The first step towards his second downfall, or the third towards his final ruin, was his advance against the British force at Quatre-Bras on the 17th of June, 1815. This also was accompanied by an awful thunderstorm, which (though gathering all the forenoon) commenced at the very moment he made his attack on the British rearguard with Ney's corps about 3 p.m., when the first gun fired was instantly responded to by a tremendous peal of thunder. Again at St. Helena, where thunderstorms are unknown, the last breath of Napoleon passed away in the midst of a furious tempest.

Thunder to Wellington was the precursor of victory and triumph. Witness the above-mentioned introduction to the crowning victory of Waterloo, the terrible thunder that scattered the horses of the dragoons on the eve of Salamanca, also the similar storm on the night preceding Sabugal; see *Notes and Queries*, 13th August, 1853.

burg, proves that he did not act fortuitously, as he frequently did, but that his calculations were well made.[1]

A rapid and immense impulse given to great masses of men by the will of a single individual[2] may produce transient lustre and dazzle the eyes of the multitude; but when, at a distance from the theatre of glory, we see only the melancholy

[1] Before leaving the capital of Prussia Bonaparte stole from the monument of Frederick the Great his sword and military orders. He also plundered the galleries of Berlin and Potsdam of their best pictures and statues, thus continuing the iniquitous system he had begun in Italy. All these things he sent to Paris as trophies of victory and glory.—*Editor of the 1836 edition.*

[2] Napoleon had one great advantage over his adversaries of combining in his person the powers of the head of the State and of a commander possessing the full confidence of the army. The Czar Alexander, even when nominally in command of his own army, had to reckon with his generals, Metternich remarking that he did not believe the Russian army would have advanced beyond the Oder in 1813 if old Kutusow had been alive. Most generals are subject to have to work on plans not fully approved by them, and thus see even their own defeats with mixed feelings, as Jourdan, after Vittoria, commenced his supper with the remark, "Well, they wished to give battle, and they have lost it" (*Miot*, tome iii. p. 320). Wellington, after gaining the confidence of the Government in Spain, and thus obtaining a position unique amongst English commanders, made some valuable remarks on his and on Napoleon's position. "Wellington said the other day that he had great advantages now over every other general. He could do what others dare not attempt, and he got the confidence of the three allied powers so that what he said or ordered was, right or wrong, always thought right. And it is the same," said he, "with the troops. When I come myself, the soldiers think what they have to do the most important, since I am there, and all will depend on their exertions. Of course these are increased in proportion, and they will do for me what, perhaps, no one else can make them do." He said "he had several of the advantages possessed by Bonaparte in regard to his freedom of action and power of risking, without being constantly called to account. Bonaparte was quite free from all inquiry, and that he himself was in fact very much so. The other advantage which Napoleon possessed, and of which he made so much use," Lord Wellington said, "was his full latitude of lying; *that*, if so disposed," he said, "he could not do" (Larpent's *Journal*, p. 227). It is only fair to remember this last remark when the falsehoods contained in Napoleon's bulletins are attacked. If he did lie, who ever had such great opportunities of lying, though perhaps some modern reports of *strategic movements*, might compete with his statements. Savary assumed the same advantages for Napoleon when he advised the evacuation of Madrid after Baylen, allowing that Napoleon would not have withdrawn. "I well know," said Savary to Joseph, "that if the Emperor were here he would not dream of retiring; but wherever he himself is, every one obeys at once, and no one complains. Here we are in a very different case. If we were to ask that anything should be done, every one would be tired or sick, while one glance of the Emperor would set all these idlers to work. No one can do what the Emperor is able to do, and whoever would try to imitate him would only ruin himself" (*Savary*, tome iii. p. 423–424). But it must be remembered that Napoleon assumed an independent position from the very beginning, and when a simple general in his first command in Italy would not submit to any of the usual checks. His letter to Carnot on refusing to serve if his army were divided, and his determined opposition to the plans of the Directory for marching into the south of Italy, are well known.

results which have been produced, the genius of conquest can only be regarded as the genius of destruction. What a sad picture was often presented to my eyes! I was continually doomed to hear complaints of the general distress, and to execute orders which augmented the immense sacrifices already made by the city of Hamburg. Thus, for example, the Emperor desired me to furnish him with 50,000 cloaks, which I immediately did. I felt the importance of such an order at the approach of winter, and in a climate the rigor of which our troops had not yet encountered. I also received orders to seize at Lübeck (which town, as I have already stated, had been alternately taken and retaken by Blucher and Bernadotte) 400,000 *lasts* of corn[1] and to send them to Magdeburg. This corn belonged to Russia. Marshal Mortier, too, had seized some timber for building, which also belonged to Russia, and which was estimated at 1,400,000 francs.

Meanwhile our troops continued to advance with such rapidity that before the end of November Murat arrived at Warsaw, at the head of the advanced guard of the Grand Army, of which he had the command. The Emperor's headquarters were then at Posen, and he received deputations from all parts soliciting the re-establishment and independence of the Kingdom of Poland. Rapp informed me that after receiving the deputation from Warsaw the Emperor said to him, "I love the Poles; their enthusiastic character pleases me; I should like to make them independent, but that is a difficult matter. Austria, Russia, and Prussia have all had a slice of the cake; when the match is once kindled who knows where the conflagration may stop? My first duty is towards France, which I must not sacrifice to Poland; we must refer this matter to the sovereign of all things — Time; he will presently show us what we must do." Had Sulkowsky lived Napoleon might have recollected what he had said to him in Egypt, and in all probability he would have raised up a power, the dismemberment of which, towards the close of the last century, began to overturn the political equilibrium which had subsisted in Europe since the peace of Westphalia in 1648.

[1] A *last* weighs 2000 kilogrammes.

It was at the headquarters at Posen that Duroc rejoined the Emperor after his mission to the King of Prussia. His carriage overturned on the way, and he had the misfortune to break his collar-bone. All the letters I received were nothing but a succession of complaints on the bad state of the roads. Our troops were absolutely fighting in mud, and it was with extreme difficulty that the artillery and caissons of the army could be moved along. M. de Talleyrand had been summoned to headquarters by the Emperor, in the expectation of treating for peace, and I was informed that his carriage stuck in the mud and he was detained on his journey for twelve hours. A soldier having asked one of the persons in M. de Talleyrand's suite who the traveller was, was informed that he was the Minister for Foreign Affairs. "Ah! bah!" said the soldier, "why does he come with his diplomacy to such a devil of a country as this?"

The Emperor entered Warsaw on the 1st of January, 1807. Most of the reports which he had received previous to his entrance had concurred in describing the dissatisfaction of the troops, who for some time had had to contend with bad roads, bad weather, and all sorts of privations.[1] Bonaparte said to the generals who informed him that the enthusiasm of his troops had been succeeded by dejection and discontent, "Does

[1] Rapp thus describes the entrance of the French into Warsaw, and adds a few anecdotes connected with that event: —

"At length we entered the Polish capital. The King of Naples had preceded us, and had driven the Russians from the city. Napoleon was received with enthusiasm. The Poles thought that the moment of their regeneration had arrived, and that their wishes were fulfilled. It would be difficult to describe the joy thus evinced, and the respect with which they treated us. The French troops, however, were not quite so well pleased; they manifested the greatest repugnance to crossing the Vistula. The idea of want and bad weather had inspired them with the greatest aversion to Poland, and they were inexhaustible in their jokes on the country.

"The French used to say that the four following words constituted the whole language of the Poles: — *Kleba? niema; rota? sura.* (Some bread? there is none; some water? we will go and fetch it.) This was all that was to be heard in Poland. Napoleon one day passed by a column of infantry in the neighborhood of Nasielsk, where the troops were suffering the greatest privations on account of the mud, which prevented the arrival of provisions. '*Papa, kleba?*' exclaimed a soldier. '*Niema,*' replied the Emperor. The whole column burst into a fit of laughter; they asked for nothing more.

"One evening at the theatre, when the curtain was very late in rising, a grenadier who was among the spectators became impatient at the delay. 'Begin!' he called out from the farther end of the pit, 'begin directly, or I will not cross the Vistula.'" (Rapp's *Memoirs*, 118–120).

their spirit fail them when they come in sight of the enemy?" — "No, Sire." — "I knew it; my troops are always the same." Then turning to Rapp he said, "I must rouse them;" and he dictated the following proclamation: —

SOLDIERS — It is a year this very hour since you were on the field of Austerlitz, where the Russian battalions fled in disorder, or surrendered up their arms to their conquerors. Next day proposals of peace were talked of; but they were deceptive. No sooner had the Russians escaped by, perhaps, blamable generosity from the disasters of the third coalition than they contrived a fourth. But the ally on whose tactics they founded their principal hope was no more. His capital, his fortresses, his magazines, his arsenals, 280 flags, and 700 fieldpieces have fallen into our power. The Oder, the Wartha, the deserts of Poland, and the inclemency of the season have not for a moment retarded your progress. You have braved all; surmounted all; every obstacle has fled at your approach. The Russians have in vain endeavored to defend the capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French eagle hovers over the Vistula. The brave and unfortunate Poles, on beholding you, fancied they saw the legions of Sobieski returning from their memorable expedition.

Soldiers, we will not lay down our arms until a general peace has secured the power of our allies and restored to us our colonies and our freedom of trade. We have gained on the Elbe and the Oder, Pondicherry, our Indian establishments, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. Why should the Russians have the right of opposing destiny and thwarting our just designs? They and we are still the soldiers who fought at Austerlitz.

When Bonaparte dictated his proclamations — and how many have I not written from his dictation! — he was for the moment inspired, and he evinced all the excitement which distinguishes the Italian *improvvisatori*. To follow him it was necessary to write with inconceivable rapidity. When I have read over to him what he has dictated I have often known him to smile triumphantly at the effect which he expected any particular phrase would produce. In general his proclamations turned on three distinct points — (1) Praising his soldiers for what they had done; (2) pointing out to them what they had yet to do; and (3) abusing his enemies. The proclamation to which I have just now alluded was circulated profusely through Germany, and it is impossible to conceive the effect it produced on the whole army. The corps

stationed in the rear burned to pass, by forced marches, the space which still separated them from headquarters; and those who were nearer the Emperor forgot their fatigues and privations and were only anxious to encounter the enemy. They frequently could not understand what Napoleon said in these proclamations; but no matter for that, they would have followed him cheerfully barefooted and without provisions. Such was the enthusiasm, or rather the fanaticism, which Napoleon could inspire among his troops when he thought proper to *rouse* them, as he termed it.

When, on a former occasion, I spoke of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and his family, I forgot a circumstance respecting my intercourse with him which now occurs to my memory. When, on his expulsion from his States, after the battle of Jena, he took refuge in Altona, he requested, through the medium of his Minister at Hamburg, Count von Plessen, that I would give him permission occasionally to visit that city. This permission I granted without hesitation; but the Duke observed no precaution in his visits, and I made some friendly observations to him on the subject. I knew the object of his visits. It was a secret connection in Hamburg; but in consequence of my observations he removed the lady to Altona, and assured me that he adopted that determination to avoid committing me. He afterwards came very seldom to Hamburg; but as we were on the best understanding with Denmark I frequently saw his daughter and son-in-law, who used to visit me at a house I had in Holstein, near Altona.

There I likewise saw, almost every day, the Duke of Weimar, an excellent old man. I had the advantage of being on such terms of intimacy with him that my house was in some measure his. He also had lost his States. I was so happy as to contribute to their restitution, for my situation enabled me to exercise some influence on the political indulgences or severities of the Government. I entertained a sincere regard for the Duke of Weimar, and I greatly regretted his departure. No sooner had he arrived in Berlin than he wrote me a letter of thanks, to which he added the present of a diamond, in token of his grateful remembrance of me. The

Duke of Mecklenburg was not so fortunate as the Duke of Weimar, in spite of his alliance with the reigning family of Denmark. He was obliged to remain at Altona until the July following, for his States were restored only by the Treaty of Tilsit. As soon as it was known that the Emperor had returned to Paris the Duke's son, the Hereditary Prince, visited me in Hamburg, and asked me whether I thought he could present himself to the Emperor, for the purpose of expressing his own and his father's gratitude. He was a very well-educated young man. He set out, accompanied by M. Oertzen and Baron von Brandstaten. Some time afterwards I saw his name in the *Moniteur*, in one of the lists of presentations to Napoleon, the collection of which, during the Empire, might be regarded as a general register of the nobility of Europe.

It is commonly said that we may accustom ourselves to anything, but to me this remark is subject to an exception; for, in spite of the necessity to which I was reduced of employing spies, I never could surmount the disgust I felt at them, especially when I saw men destined to fill a respectable rank in society degrade themselves to that infamous profession. It is impossible to conceive the artifices to which these men resort to gain the confidence of those whom they wish to betray. Of this the following example just now occurs to my mind.

One of those wretches who are employed in certain circumstances, and by all parties, came to offer his services to me. His name was Butler, and he had been sent from England to the Continent as a spy upon the French Government. He immediately came to me, complaining of pretended enemies and unjust treatment. He told me he had the greatest wish to serve the Emperor, and that he would make any sacrifice to prove his fidelity. The real motive of his change of party was, as it is with all such men, merely the hope of a higher reward. Most extraordinary were the schemes he adopted to prevent his old employers from suspecting that he was serving new ones. To me he continually repeated how happy he was to be revenged on his enemies in London. He asked me

to allow him to go to Paris to be examined by the Minister of Police. The better to keep up the deception he requested that on his arrival in Paris he might be confined in the Temple, and that there might be inserted in the French journals an announcement in the following terms: — "*John Butler, commonly called Count Butler, has just been arrested and sent to Paris under a good escort by the French Minister at Hamburg.*" At the expiration of a few weeks Butler, having received his instructions, set out for London, but by way of precaution he said it would be well to publish in the journals another announcement, which was as follows: "*John Butler, who has been arrested in Hamburg as an English agent, and conveyed to Paris, is ordered to quit France, and the territories occupied by the French armies and their allies, and not to appear there again until the general peace.*" In England Butler enjoyed the honors of French persecution. He was regarded as a victim who deserved all the confidence of the enemies of France. He furnished Fouché with a considerable amount of information, and he was fortunate enough to escape being hanged.

Notwithstanding the pretended necessity of employing secret agents, Bonaparte was unwilling that, even under that pretext, too many communications should be established between France and England. Fouché, nevertheless, actively directed the evolutions of his secret army. Ever ready to seize on anything that could give importance to the police and encourage the suspicions of the Emperor, Fouché wrote to me that the Government had received certain information that many Frenchmen, travelling for commercial houses in France, were at Manchester purchasing articles of English manufacture. This was true; but how was it to be prevented? These travelling clerks passed through Holland, where they easily procured a passage to England.

Louis Bonaparte, conceiving that the King of Holland ought not to sacrifice the interests of his new subjects to the wishes of his brother, was at first very lenient as to the disastrous Continental system. But at this Napoleon soon manifested his displeasure, and about the end of the year 1806

Louis was reduced to the necessity of ordering the strict observance of the blockade. The facility with which the travellers of French commercial houses passed from Holland to England gave rise to other alarms on the part of the French Government. It was said that since Frenchmen could so easily pass from the Continent to Great Britain, the agents of the English Cabinet might, by the same means, find their way to the Continent. Accordingly the consuls were directed to keep a watchful eye, not only upon individuals who evidently came from England, but upon those who might by any possibility come from that country. This plan was all very well, but how was it to be put into execution? . . . The Continent was, nevertheless, inundated with articles of English manufacture, for this simple reason, that, however powerful may be the will of a sovereign, it is still less powerful and less lasting than the wants of a people. The Continental system reminded me of the law created by an ancient legislator, who, for a crime which he conceived could not possibly be committed, condemned the person who should be guilty of it to throw a bull over Mount Taurus.

It is not my present design to trace a picture of the state of Europe at the close of 1806. I will merely throw together a few facts which came to my knowledge at the time, and which I find in my correspondence. I have already mentioned that the Emperor arrived at Warsaw on the 1st of January. During his stay at Posen he had, by virtue of a treaty concluded with the Elector of Saxony, founded a new kingdom, and consequently extended his power in Germany, by the annexation of the new Kingdom of Saxony to the Confederation of the Rhine. By the terms of this treaty Saxony, so justly famed for her cavalry, was to furnish the Emperor with a contingent of 20,000 men and horses.[1]

It was quite a new spectacle to the Princes of Germany, all accustomed to old habits of etiquette, to see an upstart

[1] The Duchy of Warsaw was formed under the Treaty of Tilsit, July, 1807, chiefly from the former Polish provinces of Prussia, which she had obtained after 1st January, 1772, about 400,000 souls. On the 17th of September, 1807, it was handed over to the King of Saxony as Grand Duke. It formed part of the Confederation of the Rhine, and the contingent of Saxony, formerly

sovereign treat them as subjects, and even oblige them to consider themselves as such. Those famous Saxons, who had made Charlemagne tremble, threw themselves on the protection of the Emperor; and the alliance of the head of the House of Saxony was not a matter of indifference to Napoleon, for the new King was, on account of his age, his tastes, and his character, more revered than any other German Prince.

From the moment of Napoleon's arrival at Warsaw until the commencement of hostilities against the Russians he was continually solicited to re-establish the throne of Poland, and to restore its chivalrous independence to the ancient empire of the Jagellons. A person who was at that time in Warsaw told me that the Emperor was in the greatest uncertainty as to what he should do respecting Poland. He was entreated to re-establish that ancient and heroic kingdom; but he came to no decision, preferring, according to custom, to submit to events, that he might appear to command them. At Warsaw, indeed, the Emperor passed a great part of his time in *fêtes* and reviews, which, however, did not prevent him from watching, with his eagle eye, every department of the public service, both interior and exterior.[1] He himself was in the capital of

20,000 men, was now increased to 30,000. In February, 1813, the duchy was broken up, Posen was restored to Prussia, part of Galicia to Austria, Cracow was made independent, and the rest annexed to Russia, Alexander taking the title of King of Poland. Saxony had been raised from an electorate to a kingdom when it joined the Confederation of the Rhine, 11th December, 1806; thus Bourrienne calls it the new kingdom.

[1] "Our halt at Warsaw was delightful. With the exception of theatres, the city presented all the gayeties of Paris. Twice a week the Emperor gave a concert; after which a court was held, which led again to numerous meetings in private parties. On these occasions the personal beauty and graceful manners of the Polish ladies were conspicuous. It may truly be said that they excited the jealousy of the most charming women of other nations. With the most polished elegance they combine a fund of information which is not usually found even among Frenchwomen; and they are very superior to the generality of women bred in cities, to whom habit renders company almost a necessary of life. The Polish ladies of rank always pass one-half of the year in the country, where probably they apply themselves to reading and the cultivation of their minds; and they return to spend the winter season in the capital, graced with those talents and accomplishments which render them so peculiarly attractive.

The Emperor and all the French officers paid their tribute of admiration to the charms of the fair Poles. There was one whose powerful fascinations made a deep impression on the Emperor's heart. He conceived an ardent affection for her, which she cordially returned. She received with pride the homage of a conquest which was the consummation of her happiness. It is

Poland, but his vast influence was present everywhere. I heard Duroc say, when we were conversing together about the campaign of Tilsit, that Napoleon's activity and intelligence were never more conspicuously developed.

One very remarkable feature of the imperial wars was, that, with the exception of the interior police, of which Fouché was the soul, the whole government of France was at the headquarters of the Emperor. At Warsaw Napoleon's attention was not only occupied with the affairs of his army, but he directed the whole machinery of the French Government just the same as if he had been in Paris. Daily estafettes, and frequently the useless auditors of the Council of State, brought him reports more or less correct, and curious disclosures which were frequently the invention of the police. The portfolios of the Ministers arrived every week, with the exception of those of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister of the War Department; the former had first stopped at Mayence with the Empress, but had been called on to Warsaw; and the latter, Clarke, was, for the misfortune of Berlin, governor of that city.[1] This state of things lasted during the ten months of the Emperor's absence from Paris. Louis XIV. said, "I am myself the State." Napoleon did not say this; but, in fact, under his reign the Government of France was always at his headquarters. This circumstance had well-nigh proved fatal to him, on the occasion of the extraordinary conspiracy of Malet, with some points of which I alone, perhaps, am thoroughly acquainted. The Emperor employed the month of January in military preparations for the approaching attack of the Russians, but at the same time he did not neglect the business of the cabinet: with him nothing was suffered to linger in arrear.

While Napoleon was at Warsaw a battle was not the only thing to be thought about; affairs were much more compli-

needless to name her, when I observe that her attachment remained unshaken amidst every danger, and that at the period of Napoleon's reverses she continued his faithful friend" (*Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo*, tome iii. p. 26).

[1] This is an error. Clarke was Governor of Berlin in 1806, and only succeeded Berthier as War Minister 9th August, 1807, that is, after the peace of Tilsit.

cated than during the campaign of Vienna. It was necessary on the one hand, to observe Prussia, which was occupied; and on the other to anticipate the Russians, whose movements indicated that they were inclined to strike the first blow. In the preceding campaign Austria, before the taking of Vienna, was engaged alone. The case was different now: Austria had had only soldiers; and Prussia, as Blucher declared to me, was beginning to have citizens.[1] There was no difficulty in returning from Vienna, but a great deal in returning from Warsaw, in case of failure, notwithstanding the creation of the Kingdom of Saxony, and the provisional government given to Prussia, and to the other States of Germany which we had conquered. None of these considerations escaped the penetration of Napoleon: nothing was omitted in the notes, letters, and official correspondence which came to me from all quarters. Receiving, as I did, accurate information from my own correspondents of all that was passing in Germany, it often happened that I transmitted to the Government the same news which it transmitted to me, not supposing that I previously knew it. Thus, for example, I thought I was apprising the Government of the arming of Austria, of which I received information from headquarters a few days after.

During the Prussian campaign Austria played precisely the same waiting game which Prussia had played during the campaign of Austria. As Prussia had, before the battle of Austerlitz, awaited the success or defeat of the French to decide whether she should remain neutral or declare herself against France, so Austria, doubtless supposing that Russia would be more fortunate as the ally of Prussia than she had been as *her* ally, assembled a corps of 40,000 men in Bohemia. That corps was called an army of observation; but the nature of these

[1] Speaking of the difference he remarked between the inhabitants of the provinces taken from Prussia to make up the Grand Duchy of Berg and of those taken for the other States, Beugnot (vol. i. p. 269) says, "The Prussians . . . had a love of their country amounting to idolatry. They retained that love . . . at the very time when Prussia was cut into fragments, which Napoleon was distributing to the right and left; and yet, when I took possession of the country of La Marck, I saw that all was not over with men who did not allow that they were conquered, and dreamed of victory even while their enemy had them under foot and was ready to give the finishing stroke."

armies of observation is well known; they belong to the class of armed neutralities, like the ingenious invention of sanitary cordons. The fact is, that the 40,000 men assembled in Bohemia were destined to aid and assist the Russians in case they should be successful (and who can blame the Austrian Government for wishing to wash away the shame of the Treaty of Presburg?). Napoleon had not a moment to lose, but his activity required no spur; he had hastened the battle of Austerlitz to anticipate Prussia, and he now found it necessary to anticipate Russia in order to keep Austria in a state of indecision.

The Emperor, therefore, left Warsaw about the end of January, and immediately gave orders for engaging the Russian army in the beginning of February; but, in spite of his desire of commencing the attack, he was anticipated. On the 8th of February, at seven in the morning, he was attacked by the Russians, who advanced during a terrible storm of snow, which fell in large flakes. They approached Preussich-Eylau, where the Emperor was, and the Imperial Guard stopped the Russian column. Nearly the whole French army was engaged in that battle — one of the most sanguinary ever fought in Europe.[1] The corps commanded by Bernadotte was not engaged in the contest; it had been stationed on the left at Mohrungen, whence it menaced Dantzic. The issues of the battle would have been very different had the four divisions of infantry and the two of cavalry composing Bernadotte's corps arrived in time; but unfortunately the officer instructed to convey orders to Bernadotte to march without delay on Preussich-Eylau was taken by a body of Cossacks; Bernadotte, therefore, did not arrive. Bonaparte, who always liked to throw blame on some one if things did not turn out exactly as he wished, attributed the doubtful success of the day to the absence of Bernadotte: in this he was right; but to make his absence a reproach to that Marshal was a gross injustice:[2] Bernadotte was accused of not having been willing to march on Preussich-Eylau, though, as it was alleged, General d'Hautpoult had informed him of the necessity of his presence. But

[1] Until Borodino. [2] See a previous foot note upon p. 36.

THE CHARGE OF THE CUIRASSIERS AT EYLAU.

how can that fact be ascertained, since General d'Hautpoult was killed on that same day? Who can assure us that that General had been able to communicate with the Marshal?

Those who knew Bonaparte, his cunning, and the artful advantage he would sometimes take of words which he attributed to the dead, will easily solve the enigma. The battle of Eylau was terrible. Night came on — Bernadotte's corps was instantly, but in vain, expected; and after a great loss the French army had the melancholy honor of passing the night on the field of battle. Bernadotte at length arrived, but too late. He met the enemy, who were retreating without the fear of being molested towards Konigsberg, the only capital remaining to Prussia. The King of Prussia was then at Memel, a small port on the Baltic, thirty leagues from Konigsberg.

After the battle of Eylau both sides remained stationary, and several days elapsed without anything remarkable taking place. The offers of peace made by the Emperor, with very little earnestness it is true, were disdainfully rejected, as if a victory disputed with Napoleon was to be regarded as a triumph. The battle of Eylau seemed to turn the heads of the Russians, who chanted *Te Deum* on the occasion. But while the Emperor was making preparations to advance, his diplomacy was taking effect in a distant quarter, and raising up against Russia an old and formidable enemy. Turkey declared war against her. This was a powerful diversion, and obliged Russia to strip her western frontiers to secure a line of defence on the south.[1]

[1] On this occasion the diplomacy of England was notoriously at fault. A clever and determined ambassador at Constantinople might have kept the Turks quiet, but Mr. Arbuthnot, the resident Minister, was not the man, and he was sick with a slow fever at the moment of crisis. The year before, when the Turks were on the point of going to war with Russia about Wallachia and Moldavia, they were bullied into peace by a young English diplomatist, who has since then made himself notorious in very different ways. This was the Honorable William Long Wellesley Pole, who was then second secretary to our embassy. Knowing that the Divan were coming to a decision he left the ambassador's house at Buyukderé, mounted his horse, and galloped to Constantinople, through a torrent of rain. He never stopped till he reached the Porte, where he leaped out of his saddle and presented himself to the Divan of Ministers, with his whip in his hand and covered all over with mud. He stormed the Turks to their beards — he threatened them with annihilation, and drawing on his imagination for his facts, he swore to them

Some time after General Gardanne set out on the famous embassy to Persia; for which the way had been paved by the success of the mission of my friend, Amédée Jaubert. This embassy was not merely one of those pompous legations such as Charlemagne, Louis XIV., and Louis XVI. received from the Empress Irene, the King of Siam, and Tippoo Saib. It was connected with ideas which Bonaparte had conceived at the very dawn of his power. It was, indeed, the light from the East which first enabled him to see his greatness in perspective; and that light never ceased to fix his attention and dazzle his imagination. I know well that Gardanne's embassy was at first conceived on a much grander scale than that on which it was executed. Napoleon had resolved to send to the Shah of Persia 4000 infantry, commanded by chosen and experienced officers, 10,000 muskets, and 50 pieces of cannon; and I also know that orders were given for the execution of this design. The avowed object of the Emperor was to enable the Shah of Persia to make an important diversion, with 80,000 men, in the eastern provinces of Russia. But there was likewise another, an old and constant object, which was always uppermost in Napoleon's mind, namely the wish to strike at England in the very heart of her Asiatic possessions. Such was the principal motive of Gardanne's mission, but circumstances did not permit the Emperor to give it all the importance he desired. He contented himself with sending a few officers of engineers and artillery to Persia, who, on their arrival, were astonished at the number of English they found there.

that a tremendous English fleet which had already set out from Gibraltar would force the passage of the Dardanelles, and be before Constantinople in a few days, to dictate the law to the Sultan. The Turks, terrified at his menaces, came to terms for the nonce. See Juchereau de St. Denis, *Révolution de Constantinople.*

CHAPTER IX.

1807.

Abuse of military power — Defence of diplomatic rights — Marshal Brune — Army supplies — English cloth and leather — Arrest on a charge of libel — Despatch from M. de Talleyrand — A page of Napoleon's glory — Interview between the two Emperors at Tilsit — Silesia restored to the Queen of Prussia — Unfortunate situation of Prussia — Impossibility of re-establishing Poland in 1807 — Foundation of the Kingdom of Westphalia — The Duchy of Warsaw and the King of Saxony.

Meanwhile the internal affairs of the towns over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended soon gave me more employment than ever. The greatest misfortune of the Empire was, perhaps, the abuse of the right arrogated by the wearers of epaulets. My situation gave me an opportunity of observing all the odious character of a military government. Another in my place could not have done all that I did. I say this confidently, for my situation was a distinct and independent one, as Bonaparte had told me. Being authorized to correspond directly with the Emperor, the military chiefs feared, if they did not yield to my just representations, that I would make private reports; this apprehension was wonderfully useful in enabling me to maintain the rights of the towns, which had adopted me as their first citizen.

A circumstance occurred in which I had to defend the rights of the diplomatic and commercial agents against the pretensions of military power. Marshal Brune during his government at Hamburg, went to Bremen to watch the strict execution of the illusive blockade against England. The Marshal, acting, no doubt, in conformity with the instructions of Clarke, then Minister of War and Governor of Berlin, wished to arrogate the right of deciding on the captures made by our cruisers.

He attempted to prevent the Consul Lagau from selling

the confiscated ships in order to sell them himself. Of this M. Lagau complained to me. The more I observed a disposition to encroach on the part of the military authorities, the more I conceived it necessary to maintain the rights of the consuls, and to favor their influence, without which they would have lost their consideration. To the complaints of M. Lagau I replied, "That to him alone belonged the right of deciding, in the first instance, on the fate of the ships; that he could not be deprived of that right without changing the law; that he was free to sell the confiscated Prussian ships; that Marshal Brune was at Bremen only for the execution of the decree respecting the blockade of England, and that he ought not to interfere in business unconnected with that decree." Lagau showed this letter to Brune, who then allowed him to do as he wished; but it was an affair of profit, and the Marshal for a long time owed me a grudge.

Bernadotte was exceedingly disinterested, but he loved to be talked about. The more the Emperor endeavored to throw accusations upon him, the more he was anxious to give publicity to all his actions. He sent to me an account of the brilliant affair of Braunsburg, in which a division of the first corps had been particularly distinguished. Along with this narrative he sent me a note in the following terms: — "I send you, my dear Minister, an account of the affair of Braunsburg. You will, perhaps, think proper to publish it. In that case I shall be obliged by your getting it inserted in the Hamburg journals." I did so. The injustice of the Emperor, and the bad way in which he spoke of Bernadotte, obliged the latter, for the sake of his own credit, to make the truth known to the world.

I have already mentioned that I received an order from the Emperor to supply 50,000 cloaks for the army. With this order, which was not the only one I received of the same kind, some circumstances were connected which I may take the present opportunity of explaining.

The Emperor gave me so many orders for army clothing that all that could be supplied by the cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck would have been insufficient for execut-

ing the commissions. I entered into a treaty with a house in Hamburg, which I authorized, in spite of the Berlin decree, *to bring cloth and leather from England.* Thus I procured these articles in a sure and cheap way. Our troops might have perished of cold had the Continental system and the absurd mass of inexecutable decrees relative to English merchandise been observed.

The Director of the Customs at Hamburg got angry, but I held firm: my cloths and my leather arrived; cloaks, coats, boots, all were promptly made, and our soldiers thus were sheltered from the severity of the season. To preserve peace with the Imperial Custom-house, I wrote to M. Collin, then Director-General, that M. Eudel having wished to put in execution the law of the 10th Brumaire an V., complaints had been made on every side. Marshal Brune asked for my opinion on this matter, and I gave it to him. I declared to M. Collin that the full execution of the decree of 31st October, 1796, was impracticable, injurious to France, and to the Hanseatic Towns, without doing harm to England. Indeed, what said article 5 of this law? "All goods imported from foreign countries, whatever may be their origin, are to be considered as coming from English manufacturers." According to this article France was a foreign country for the Hanseatic Towns, and none of the objects enumerated in this article ought to enter Hamburg! But the town received from France a large quantity of fine cloths, buttons, ironmongery, toys, china; and from France only clocks, bronzes, jewelry, ribbons, bonnets, gauzes, and gloves. "Let," said I to M. Eudel, "the Paris Douane be asked what that town alone exports in matters of this sort, and it will be seen how important it is not to stop a trade all the more profitable to France, as the workmanship forms the greatest part of the price of the goods which make up this trade. What would happen if the importation of these goods were absolutely prohibited in Hamburg? The consignments would cease, and one of the most productive sources of trade for France, and especially for Paris, would be cut off.

At this time neither Hamburg nor its territory had any

manufacture of cloth. All woollen stuffs were prohibited, according to M. Eudel, and still my duty was to furnish, and I had furnished, 50,000 cloaks for the Grand Army. In compliance with a recent Imperial decree I had to have made without delay 16,000 coats, 37,000 waistcoats, and the Emperor required of me 200,000 pairs of boots, besides the 40,000 pairs I had sent him. Yet M. Eudel said that tanned and worked leather ought not to enter Hamburg! If such a ridiculous application of the law of 1796 had been made it would have turned the decree of 21st November, 1796, against France, without fulfilling its object.

These reflections, to which I added other details, made the Government conclude that I was right, and I traded with England to the great advantage of the armies, which were well clothed and shod. What in the world can be more ridiculous than commercial laws carried out to one's own detriment?

At the beginning of 1807 my occupations at Hamburg were divided between the furnishing of supplies for the army and the inspection of the emigrants, whom Fouché pretended to dread in order to give greater importance to his office.

I never let slip an opportunity of mitigating the rigor of Fouché's orders, which, indeed, were sometimes so absurd that I did not attempt to execute them. Of this an instance occurs to my recollection. A printer at Hamburg had been arrested on the charge of having printed a libel in the German language. The man was detained in prison because, very much to his honor, he would not disclose the name of the writer of the pamphlet. I sent for him and questioned him. He told me, with every appearance of sincerity, that he had never but once seen the man who had brought him the manuscript. I was convinced of the truth of what he said, and I gave an order for his liberation. To avoid irritating the susceptibility of the Minister of Police I wrote to him the following few lines: — "The libel is the most miserable rhapsody imaginable. The author, probably with the view of selling his pamphlet in Holstein, predicts that Denmark will conquer every other nation and become the greatest kingdom in the

world. This alone will suffice to prove to you how little danger there is in rubbish written in the style of the Apocalypse."

After the battle of Eylau I received a despatch from M. de Talleyrand, to which was added an account in French of that memorable battle, which was more fatal to the conqueror than to the other party, — I cannot say the conquered in speaking of the Russians, the more especially when I recollect the precautions which were then taken throughout Germany to make known the French before the Russian version. The Emperor was exceedingly anxious that every one should view that event as he himself viewed it. Other accounts than his might have produced an unfavorable impression in the north. I therefore had orders to publish that account. I caused 2000 copies of it to be issued, which were more than sufficient for circulation in the Hanse Towns and their territories.

The reader will perhaps complain that I have been almost silent with respect to the grand manœuvres of the French army from the battle of Eylau to that of Friedland, where, at all events, our success was indisputable. There was no necessity for printing favorable versions of that event, and, besides, its immense results were soon felt throughout Europe. The interview at Tilsit is one of the culminating points of modern history, and the waters of the Niemen reflected the image of Napoleon at the height of his glory. The interview between the two Emperors at Tilsit, and the melancholy situation of the King of Prussia, are generally known. I was made acquainted with but few secret details relative to those events, for Rapp had gone to Dantzic, and it was he who most readily communicated to me all that the Emperor said and did, and all that was passing around him.[1]

[1] Savary gives the following account of the interview between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit: —

"The Emperor Napoleon, whose courtesy was manifest in all his actions, ordered a large raft to be floated in the middle of the river, upon which was constructed a room well covered in and elegantly decorated, having two doors on opposite sides, each of which opened into an antechamber. The work could not have been better executed in Paris. The roof was surmounted by two weathercocks: one displaying the eagle of Russia, and the

I, however, learned one circumstance peculiarly worthy of remark which occurred in the Emperor's apartments at Tilsit the first time he received a visit from the King of Prussia. That unfortunate monarch, who was accompanied by Queen Louisa, had taken refuge in a mill beyond the town. This was his sole habitation, whilst the Emperors occupied the two portions of the town, which is divided by the Niemen. The fact I am about to relate reached me indirectly through the medium of an officer of the Imperial Guard, who was on duty in Napoleon's apartments and was an eyewitness of it. When the Emperor Alexander visited Napoleon they continued for a long time in conversation on a balcony below, where an immense crowd hailed their meeting with enthusiastic shouts. Napoleon commenced the conversation, as he did the year preceding with the Emperor of Austria, by speaking of the uncertain fate of war.[1] Whilst they were convers-

other the eagle of France. The two outer doors were also surmounted by the eagles of the two countries.

"The raft was precisely in the middle of the river, with the two doors of the *salon* facing the two opposite banks.

"The two sovereigns appeared on the banks of the river, and embarked at the same moment. But the Emperor Napoleon having a good boat, manned by marines of the Guard, arrived first on the raft, entered the room, and went to the opposite door, which he opened, and then stationed himself on the edge of the raft to receive the Emperor Alexander, who had not yet arrived, not having such good rowers as the Emperor Napoleon.

"The two Emperors met in the most amicable way, at least to all appearance. They remained together for a considerable time, and then took leave of each other with as friendly an air as that with which they had met.

"Next day the Emperor of Russia established himself at Tilsit with a battalion of his Guard. Orders were given for evacuating that part of the town where he and his battalion were to be quartered; and, though we were very much pressed for room, no encroachment on the space allotted to the Russians was thought of.

"On the day the Emperor Alexander entered Tilsit the whole army was under arms. The Imperial Guard was drawn out in two lines of three deep from the landing-place to the Emperor Napoleon's quarters, and from thence to the quarters of the Emperor of Russia. A salute of 100 guns was fired the moment Alexander stepped ashore on the spot where the Emperor Napoleon was waiting to receive him. The latter carried his attention to his visitor so far as to send from his quarters the furniture for Alexander's bedchamber. Among the articles sent was a camp-bed belonging to the Emperor, which he presented to Alexander, who appeared much pleased with the gift.

"This meeting, the first which history records of the same kind and of equal importance, attracted visitors to Tilsit from 100 leagues round. M. de Talleyrand arrived, and after the observance of the usual ceremonies business began to be discussed" (*Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo*, tome iii. p. 117).

[1] "When," said Napoleon, "I was at Tilsit with the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, I was the most ignorant of the three in military affairs. These two sovereigns, especially the King of Prussia, were com-

ing the King of Prussia was announced. The King's emotion was visible, and may easily be imagined; for as hostilities were suspended, and his territory in possession of the French, his only hope was in the generosity of the conqueror. Napoleon himself, it is said, appeared moved by his situation, and invited him, together with the Queen, to dinner. On sitting down to table Napoleon with great gallantry told the beautiful Queen that he would restore to her Silesia, a province which she earnestly wished should be retained in the new arrangements which were necessarily about to take place.[1]

The treaty of peace concluded at Tilsit between France and Russia on the 7th of July, and ratified two days after, produced no less striking a change in the geographical division of Europe than had been effected the year preceding by the Treaty of Presburg. The treaty contained no stipulation dishonorable to Russia, whose territory was preserved inviolate; but how was Prussia treated? Some historians, for the vain pleasure of flattering by posthumous praises the pretended moderation of Napoleon, have almost reproached him for having suffered some remnants of the monarchy of

pletely *au fait* as to the number of buttons there ought to be in front of a jacket, how many behind, and the manner in which the skirts ought to be cut. Not a tailor in the army knew better than King Frederick how many measures of cloth it took to make a jacket. In fact," continued he laughing, "'I was nobody in comparison with them. They continually tormented me about matters belonging to tailors, of which I was entirely ignorant, although, in order not to affront them, I answered just as gravely as if the fate of an army depended upon the cut of a jacket. When I went to see the King of Prussia, instead of a library, I found that he had a large room, like an arsenal, furnished with shelves and pegs, on which were hung fifty or sixty jackets of different patterns. Every day he changed his fashion and put on a different one. He attached more importance to this than was necessary for the salvation of a kingdom" (O'Meara's *Napoleon in Exile*, vol. ii. p. 48).

[1] Las Casas mentions that at the time of the treaty of Tilsit Napoleon wrote to the Empress Josephine as follows: —

"'The Queen of Prussia is really a charming woman. She is fond of coquetting with me; but do not be jealous: I am like oilcloth, along which everything of this sort slides without penetrating. It would cost me too dear to play the gallant.'

"On this subject an anecdote was related in the *salon* of Josephine. It was said that the Queen of Prussia one day had a beautiful rose in her hand, which the Emperor asked her to give him. The Queen hesitated for a few moments, and then presented it to him, saying, 'Why should I so readily grant what you request, while you remain deaf to all my entreaties?' (She alluded to the fortress of Magdeburg, which she had earnestly solicited)" (*Mémorial de St. Hélène*).

the great Frederick to survive. There is, nevertheless, a point on which Napoleon has been wrongfully condemned, at least with reference to the campaign of 1807. It has been said that he should at that period have re-established the kingdom of Poland; and certainly there is every reason to regret, for the interests of France and Europe, that it was not re-established. But when a desire, even founded on reason, is not carried into effect, should we conclude that the wished-for object ought to be achieved in defiance of all obstacles? At that time, that is to say, during the campaign of Tilsit, insurmountable obstacles existed.[1]

If, however, by the Treaty of Tilsit, the throne of Poland was not restored to serve as a barrier between old Europe and the Empire of the Czars, Napoleon founded a Kingdom of Westphalia,[2] which he gave to the young *enseigne de vaisseau* whom he had scolded as a schoolboy, and whom he now made a King, that he might have another crowned prefect under his control. The Kingdom of Westphalia was composed of the States of Hesse-Cassel, of a part of the provinces taken from Prussia by the *moderation* of the Emperor, and of the States of Paderborn, Fulda, Brunswick, and a part of the Electorate of Hanover. Napoleon, at the same time, though he did not like to do things by halves, to avoid touching the Russian and Austrian provinces of old Poland, planted on the banks of the Vistula the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which he

[1] The re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland would probably have been carried out by Napoleon if the war against Russia in 1812 had been successful. He could then have come to terms with the three powers concerned. Russia and Prussia would have been crushed, at all events for the time. As for Austria, she would have been offered the Illyrian provinces instead of Galicia; indeed, the offer was actually made to Metternich in 1810, and it is evident from Metternich's answer that the bargain could have been effected. Indeed, Metternich seems to have considered Poland as practically restored. "A kingdom of Poland is nothing more than the Duchy of Warsaw with another name, and with the new boundaries for which it has striven ever since it was made." See *Metternich*, vol. i. pp. 136–140.

[2] The Kingdom of Westphalia, founded by the Treaty of Tilsit, July, 1807, was chiefly composed of Westphalia, etc., taken from Prussia; Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, taken from its Duke; and of Hesse-Cassel, taken from its Elector. Hanover was added in 1810. It lost Osnabruck, etc., to France in 1810. It formed part of the Confederation of the Rhine, to which it furnished a contingent of 25,000 and eventually of 26,000 men. Jerôme Bonaparte was made its King, and was married to the Princess Catherine of Würtemberg. He had to abandon it in 1813, and it was broken up in 1814, — its States returning to their former possessors.

gave to the King of Saxony, with the intention of increasing or destroying it afterwards as he might find convenient. Thus he allowed the Poles to hope better things for the future, and insured to himself partisans in the north should the chances of fortune call him hither. Alexander, who was cajoled even more than his father had been by what I may call the political coquetry of Napoleon, consented to all these arrangements, acknowledged *in globo* all the kings crowned by the Emperor, and accepted some provinces which had belonged to his despoiled ally, the King of Prussia, doubtless by way of consolation for not having been able to get more restored to Prussia. The two Emperors parted the best friends in the world; but the Continental system was still in existence.

CHAPTER X.

1807.

Effect produced at Altona by the Treaty of Tilsit — The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin's departure from Hamburg — English squadron in the Sound — Bombardment of Copenhagen — Perfidy of England — Remark of Bonaparte to M. Lemercier — Prussia erased from the map — Napoleon's return to Paris — Suppression of the Tribunate — Confiscation of English merchandise — Nine millions gained to France — M. Caulaincourt Ambassador to Russia — Repugnance of England to the intervention of Russia — Affairs of Portugal — Junot appointed to command the army — The Prince Regent's departure for the Brazils — The Code Napoléon — Introduction of French laws into Germany — Leniency of Hamburg juries — The stolen cloak and the Syndic Doormann.

The Treaty of Tilsit, as soon as it was known at Altona, spread consternation amongst the emigrants. As to the German Princes, who were awaiting the issue of events either at Altona or Hamburg, when they learned that a definitive treaty of peace had been signed between France and Russia, and that two days after the Treaty of Tilsit, the Prussian monarchy was placed at the mercy of Napoleon, every courier that arrived threw them into indescribable agitation. It depended on the Emperor's will whether they were to be or not to be. The Duke of Mechlenburg-Schwerin had not succeeded in getting himself re-established in his states, by an exceptional decision, like the Duke of Weimar; but at length he obtained the restitution of his territory at the request of the Emperor Alexander, and on the 28th of July he quitted Hamburg to return to his Duchy.

The Danish *chargé d'affaires* communicated to me about the same time an official report from his Government. This report announced that on Monday, the 3d of August, a squadron consisting of twelve ships of the line and twelve frigates, commanded by Admiral Gambier, had passed the Sound. The rest of the squadron was seen in the Categat. At the same time the English troops which were in the island of Rugen

had re-embarked. We could not then conceive what enterprise this considerable force had been sent upon. But our uncertainty was soon at an end. M. Didelot, the French Ambassador at Copenhagen, arrived at Hamburg, at nine o'clock in the evening of the 12th of August. He had been fortunate enough to pass through the Great Belt, though in sight of the English, without being stopped. I forwarded his report to Paris by an extraordinary courier.

The English had sent 20,000 men and twenty-seven vessels into the Baltic; Lord Cathcart commanded the troops. The coast of Zealand was blockaded by ninety vessels. Mr. Jackson, who had been sent by England to negotiate with Denmark, which she feared would be invaded by the French troops, supported the propositions he was charged to offer to Denmark by a reference to this powerful British force. Mr. Jackson's proposals had for their object nothing less than to induce the King of Denmark to place in the custody of England the whole of his ships and naval stores. They were, it is true, to be kept in deposit, but the condition contained the words, "until the conclusion of a general peace," which rendered the period of their restoration uncertain. They were to be detained until such precautions should be no longer necessary. A menace and its execution followed close upon this demand. After a noble but useless resistance, and a terrific bombardment, Copenhagen surrendered, and the Danish fleet was destroyed. It would be difficult to find in history a more infamous and revolting instance of the abuse of power against weakness.

Some time after this event a pamphlet entitled "Germania" appeared, which I translated and sent to the Emperor. It was eloquently written, and expressed the indignation which the conduct of England had excited in the author as in every one else.[1]

[1] "That expedition," said Napoleon at St. Helena, "showed great energy on the part of your Ministers: but setting aside the violation of the laws of nations which you committed — for in fact it was nothing but a robbery — I think that it was injurious to your interests, as it made the Danish nation irreconcilable enemies to you, and in fact shut you out of the north for three years. When I heard of it, I said, I am glad of it, as it will embroil England irrecoverably with the Northern Powers. The Danes being able to join me

I have stated what were the principal consequences of the Treaty of Tilsit; it is more than probable that if the bombardment of Copenhagen had preceded the treaty the Emperor would have used Prussia even worse than he did. He might have erased her from the list of nations; but he did not do so, out of regard to the Emperor Alexander. The destruction of Prussia was no new project with Bonaparte. I remember an observation of his to M. Lemercier upon that subject when we first went to reside at Malmaison. M. Lemercier had been reading to the First Consul some poem in which Frederick the Great was spoken of. "You seem to admire him greatly," said Bonaparte to M. Lemercier; "what do you find in him so astonishing? He is not equal to Turenne." — "General," replied M. Lemercier, "it is not merely the warrior that I esteem in Frederick; it is impossible to refrain from admiring a man who was a philosopher even on the throne." To this the First Consul replied, in a half ill-humored tone, "Certainly, Lemercier; but Frederick's philosophy shall not prevent me from erasing his kingdom from the map of Europe." The kingdom of Frederick the Great was not, however, obliterated from the map, because the Emperor of Russia would not basely abandon a faithful ally who had incurred with him the chances of fortune. Prussia then bitterly had to lament the tergiversations which had prevented her from declaring herself against France during the campaign of Austerlitz.

Napoleon returned to Paris about the end of July after an absence of ten months, the longest he had yet made since he had been at the head of the French Government, whether as Consul or Emperor. The interview at Tilsit, the Emperor Alexander's friendship, which was spoken of everywhere in terms of exaggeration, and the peace established on the Continent, conferred on Napoleon a moral influence in public opinion which he had not possessed since his coronation.

with sixteen sail of the line was of but little consequence. I had plenty of ships, and only wanted seamen, whom you did not take, and whom I obtained afterwards, while by the expedition your Ministers established their characters as faithless, and as persons with whom no engagements, no laws, were binding" (*Voice from St. Helena*).

Constant in his hatred of deliberative assemblies, which he had often termed collections of babblers, ideologists, and phrasemongers, Napoleon, on his return to Paris, suppressed the Tribunate, which had been an annoyance to him ever since the first day of his elevation. The Emperor, who was skilful above all men in speculating on the favorable disposition of public opinion, availed himself at this conjuncture of the enthusiasm produced by his interview on the Niemen. He therefore discarded from the fundamental institutions of the government that which still retained the shadow of a popular character. But it was necessary that he should possess a Senate merely to vote men; a mute Legislative Body to vote money; that there should be no opposition in the one and no criticism in the other; no control over him of any description; the power of arbitrarily doing whatever he pleased; an enslaved press; — this was what Napoleon wished, and this he obtained. But the month of March, 1814, resolved the question of absolute power!

In the midst of these great affairs, and while Napoleon was dreaming of universal monarchy, I beheld in a less extensive sphere the inevitable consequences of the ambition of a single man. Pillage and robbery were carried on in all parts over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended. Rapine seemed to be legally authorized, and was perpetrated with such fury, and at the same time with such ignorance, that the agents were frequently unacquainted with the value of the articles which they seized. Thus, for example, the Emperor ordered the seizure at Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck of all English merchandise, whatever might be its nature or origin. The Prince of Neufchâtel (Berthier) wrote to me from the Emperor that I must procure 10,000,000 francs from the Hanse Towns. M. Daru, the Intendant-General, whose business it was to collect this sort of levy, which Napoleon had learned to make in Egypt, wrote to urge me to obtain a prompt and favorable decision. The unfortunate towns which I was thus enjoined to oppress had already suffered sufficiently. I had obtained, by means of negotiation, more than was demanded for the ransom of the English merchandise, which had been seized

according to order. Before I received the letters of M. Daru and the Prince of Neufchâtel I had obtained from Hamburg 16,000,000 instead of 10,000,000, besides nearly 3,000,000 from Bremen and Lübeck. Thus I furnished the Government with 9,000,000 more than had been required, and yet I had so managed that those enormous sacrifices were not over-oppressive to those who made them. I fixed the value of the English merchandise because I knew that the high price at which it sold on the Continent would not only cover the proposed ransom but also leave a considerable profit. Such was the singular effect of the Continental system that when merchandise was confiscated, and when afterwards the permission to sell it freely was given, the price fetched at the sale was so large that the loss was covered, and even great advantage gained.

Peace being concluded with Russia it was necessary to make choice of an Ambassador, not only to maintain the new relations of amity between Napoleon and Alexander, but likewise to urge on the promised intervention of Russia with England, — to bring about reconciliation and peace between the Cabinets of Paris and London. The Emperor confided this mission to Caulaincourt, with respect to whom there existed an unfounded prejudice relating to some circumstances which preceded the death of the Duc d'Enghien. This unfortunate and unjust impression had preceded Caulaincourt to St. Petersburg, and it was feared that he would not experience the reception due to the French Ambassador and to his own personal qualities. I knew at the time, from positive information, that after a short explanation with Alexander that monarch retained no suspicion unfavorable to our Ambassador, for whom he conceived and maintained great esteem and friendship.

Caulaincourt's mission was not, in all respects, easy of fulfilment, for the invincible repugnance and reiterated refusal of England to enter into negotiations with France through the medium of Russia was one of the remarkable circumstances of the period of which I am speaking. I knew positively that England was determined never to allow Napoleon

to possess himself of the whole of the Continent, — a project which he indicated too undisguisedly to admit of any doubt respecting it. For two years he had indeed advanced with rapid strides; but England was not discouraged. She was too well aware of the irritation of the sovereigns and the discontent of the people not to be certain that when she desired it, her lever of gold would again raise up and arm the Continent against the encroaching power of Napoleon. He, on his part, perceiving that all his attempts were fruitless, and that England would listen to no proposals, devised fresh plans for raising up new enemies against England.

It probably is not forgotten that in 1801 France compelled Portugal to make common cause with her against England. In 1807 the Emperor did again what the First Consul had done. By an inexplicable fatality Junot obtained the command of the troops which were marching against Portugal. I say against Portugal, for that was the fact, though France represented herself as a protector to deliver Portugal from the influence of England. Be that as it may, the choice which the Emperor made of a commander astonished everybody. Was Junot, a compound of vanity and mediocrity, the fit man to be intrusted with the command of an army in a distant country, and under circumstances in which great political and military talents were requisite? For my own part, knowing Junot's incapacity, I must acknowledge that his appointment astonished me. I remember one day, when I was speaking on the subject to Bernadotte, he showed me a letter he had received from Paris, in which it was said that the Emperor had sent Junot to Portugal only for the sake of depriving him of the government of Paris. Junot annoyed Napoleon by his bad conduct, his folly, and his incredible extravagance. He was alike devoid of dignity — either in feeling or conduct. Thus Portugal was twice the place of exile selected by Consular and Imperial caprice: first, when the First Consul wished to get rid of the familiarity of Lannes; and next, when the Emperor grew weary of the misconduct of a favorite.

The invasion of Portugal presented no difficulty. It was an

armed promenade and not a war; but how many events were connected with the occupation of that country! The Prince Regent of Portugal, unwilling to act dishonorably to England, to which he was allied by treaties, and unable to oppose the whole power of Napoleon, embarked for Brazil, declaring that all defence was useless. At the same time he recommended his subjects to receive the French troops in a friendly manner, and said that he consigned to Providence the consequences of an invasion which was without a motive. He was answered in the Emperor's name that, Portugal being the ally of England, we were only carrying on hostilities against the latter country by invading his dominions.

It was in the month of November that the code of French jurisprudence, upon which the most learned legislators had indefatigably labored, was established as the law of the State, under the title of the Code Napoléon. Doubtless this legislative monument will redound to Napoleon's honor in history;[1]

[1] This great code of Civil Law was drawn up under Napoleon's orders and personal superintendence. Much had been prepared under the Convention, and the chief merits of it were due to the labors of such men as Tronchet, Portalis, Bigot de Préameneu, Maleville, Cambacérès, etc. But it was debated under and by Napoleon, who took a lively interest in it. It was first called the "Code Civil," but in 1807 was named "Code Napoléon," or eventually "Les Cinq Codes de Napoléon." When completed in 1810 it included five Codes — the Code Civil, decreed March, 1803; Code de Procédure Civile, decreed April, 1806; Code de Commerce, decreed September, 1807; Code d'Instruction Criminelle, decreed November, 1808; and the Code Pénal, decreed February, 1810. It had to be retained by the Bourbons, and its principles have worked and are slowly working their way into the law of every nation. Napoleon was justly proud of this work. See *Thiers*, livre xiii. tome iii. p. 298, and *Laufrey*, tome ii. p. 409. The introduction of the Code into the conquered countries was, as Bourrienne says, made too quickly. Puymaigre, who was employed in the administration of Hamburg after Bourrienne left, says, "I shall always remember the astonishment of the Hamburgers when they were invaded by this cloud of French officials, who, under every form, made researches in their houses, and who came to apply the multiplied demands of the fiscal system. Like Proteus, the administration could take any shape. To only speak of my department, which certainly was not the least odious one, for it was opposed to the habits of the Hamburgers and annoyed all the industries, no idea can be formed of the despair of the inhabitants, subjected to perpetual visits, and exposed to be charged with contraventions of the law, of which they knew nothing.

"Remembering their former laws, they used to offer to meet a charge of fraud by the proof of their oath, and could not imagine that such a guaranty could be repulsed. When they were independent they paid almost nothing, and such was the national spirit, that in urgent cases when money was wanted the Senate taxed every citizen a certain proportion of his income, the tenth or twentieth. A Senator presided over the recovery of this tax, which was done in a very strange manner. A box, covered with a carpet, received

JUNOT.

DUC D'ABRANTÈS.

but was it to be supposed that the same laws would be equally applicable throughout so vast an extent as that comprised within the French Empire? Impossible as this was, as soon as the Code Napoléon was promulgated I received orders to establish it in the Hanse Towns. The long and frequent conversations I had on this subject with the Senators and the most able lawyers of the country soon convinced me of the immense difficulty I should have to encounter, and the danger of suddenly altering habits and customs which had been firmly established by time.

The jury system gave tolerable satisfaction; but the severe punishments assigned to certain offences by the Code were disapproved of. Hence resulted the frequent and serious abuse of men being acquitted whose guilt was evident to the jury, who pronounced them not guilty rather than condemn them to a punishment which was thought too severe. Besides, their leniency had another ground, which was, that the people being ignorant of the new laws were not aware of the penalties attached to particular offences. I remember that a man who was accused of stealing a cloak at Hamburg justified himself on the ground that he committed the offence in a fit of intoxication. M. Von Einingen, one of the jury, insisted that the prisoner was not guilty, because, as he said, the Syndic Doormann, when dining with him one day, having drunk more wine than usual, took away *his* cloak. This defence *per Baccho* was completely successful. An argument founded on the similarity between the conduct of the Syndic and the accused, could not but triumph, otherwise the little debauch of the former would have been condemned in the person of the latter. This trial, which terminated so whimsically, nevertheless proves that the best and the gravest institutions may become objects of ridicule when suddenly introduced into a country whose habits are not prepared to receive them.

The Romans very wisely reserved in the Capitol a place for the gods of the nations they conquered. They wished to

the offering of every citizen, without any person verifying the sum, and only on the simple moral guaranty of the honesty of the debtor, who himself judged the sum he ought to pay. When the receipt was finished the Senate always obtained more than it had calculated on" (*Puymaigre*, pp. 131-132).

annex provinces and kingdoms to their Empire. Napoleon, on the contrary, wished to make his empire encroach upon other states, and to realize the impossible Utopia of ten different nations, all having different customs and languages, united into a single State.[1] Could justice, that safeguard of human rights, be duly administered in the Hanse Towns when those towns were converted into French departments? In these new departments many judges had been appointed who did not understand a word of German, and who had no knowledge of law. The presidents of the tribunals of Lübeck, Stade, Bremerlehe, and Minden were so utterly ignorant of the German language that it was necessary to explain to them all the pleadings in the council-chamber. Was it not absurd to establish such a judicial system, and above all, to appoint such men in a country so important to France as Hamburg and the Hanse Towns? Add to this the impertinence of some favorites who were sent from Paris to serve official and legal apprenticeships in the conquered provinces, and it may be easily conceived what was the attachment of the people to Napoleon the Great.

[1] See map at the end of vol. iii.

CHAPTER XI.

1807–1808.

Disturbed state of Spain — Godoy, Prince of the Peace — Reciprocal accusations between the King of Spain and his son — False promise of Napoleon — Dissatisfaction occasioned by the presence of the French troops — Abdication of Charles IV. — The Prince of the Peace made prisoner — Murat at Madrid — Important news transmitted by a commercial letter — Murat's ambition — His protection of Godoy — Charles IV. denies his voluntary abdication — The crown of Spain destined for Joseph — General disapprobation of Napoleon's conduct — The Bourbon cause apparently lost — Louis XVIII. after his departure from France — As Comte de Provence at Coblentz — He seeks refuge in Turin and Verona — Death of Louis XVII. — Louis XVIII. refused an asylum in Austria, Saxony, and Prussia — His residence at Mittau and Warsaw — Alexander and Louis XVIII. — The King's departure from Milan and arrival at Yarmouth — Determination of the King of England — M. Lemercier's prophecy to Bonaparte — Fouché's inquiries respecting Comte de Rechteren — Note from Josephine — New demands on the Hanse Towns — Order to raise 3000 sailors in Hamburg.

The disorders of Spain, which commenced about the close of the year 1807, in a short time assumed a most complicated aspect. Though far from the theatre of events I obtained an intimate knowledge of all the important facts connected with the extraordinary transactions in the Peninsula. However, as this point of history is one of the most generally, though I cannot say the best, known, I shall omit in my notes and memoranda many things which would be but repetitions to the reading portion of the public. It is a remarkable fact that Bonaparte, who by turns cast his eyes on all the States of Europe, never directed his attention to Spain as long as his greatness was confined to mere projects. Whenever he spoke of his future destiny he alluded to Italy, Germany, the East, and the destruction of the English power; but never to Spain. Consequently, when he heard of the first symptoms of disorder in the Peninsula he paid but little attention to the business,

and some time elapsed before he took any part in events which subsequently had so great an influence on his fate.[1]

Godoy reigned in Spain under the name of the imbecile Charles IV.[2] He was an object of execration to all who were not his creatures; and even those whose fate depended upon him viewed him with the most profound contempt. The hatred of a people is almost always the just reward of favorites. What sentiments, therefore, must have been inspired by a man who, to the knowledge of all Spain, owed the favor of the king only to the favors of the queen! Godoy's ascendency over the royal family was boundless; his power was absolute: the treasures of America were at his command, and he made the most infamous use of them. In short, he had made the Court of Madrid one of those places to which the indignant muse of Juvenal conducts the mother of Britannicus. There is no doubt that Godoy was one of the principal causes of all the misfortunes which have overwhelmed Spain under so many various forms.

The hatred of the Spaniards against the Prince of the Peace was general. This hatred was shared by the Prince of the Asturias, who openly declared himself the enemy of Godoy. The latter allied himself with France, from which he hoped to obtain powerful protection against his enemies. This alliance gave rise to great dissatisfaction in Spain, and caused France to be regarded with an unfavorable eye. The

[1] Metternich (tome ii. p. 295) puts much of the blame of the Spanish affair on the shoulders of Napoleon's advisers: — "Guided by his own insatiable ambition, encouraged by the perfidious advice of Murat, who aimed at nothing less than filling the throne of Spain and of the Indies, all his measures were directed to one end. Misguided by the agents of the Prince of the Peace, he believed the expulsion of the Bourbons easy." In considering this reference to Murat, Metternich's intimate relation with Caroline Bonaparte, the wife of Murat, must be remembered. To Metternich himself Napoleon in August, 1808, explained his conduct as directed solely by a wish for security. After alluding to the increase of the Spanish army Napoleon went on: — "And then the throne was occupied by Bourbons; they are my personal enemies. They and I cannot occupy thrones at the same time in Europe. . . . I must have on the throne of Spain a Prince who would have no anxiety on my account, and who on his side gives me none; the interests of Spain, even of America, demand it" (*Metternich*, tome ii. pp. 252–253).

[2] Manuel Godoy, originally a private in the guards, became the paramour of Charles IV.'s Queen; then a grandee; and then the supreme ruler of the State. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

Prince of the Asturias[1] was encouraged and supported by the complaints of the Spaniards, who wished to see the overthrow of Godoy's power. Charles IV., on his part, regarded all opposition to the Prince of the Peace as directed against himself, and in November, 1807, he accused his son of wishing to dethrone him.[2]

The King of Spain did not confine himself to verbal complaints. He, or rather the Prince of the Peace, acting in his name, arrested the warmest partisans of the Prince of the Asturias. The latter, understanding the sentiments of his father, wrote to Napoleon, soliciting his support. Thus, the father and son, at open war, were appealing one against another for the support of him who wished only to get rid of them both, and to put one of his brothers in their place, that he might have one junior more in the college of European kings: but, as I have already mentioned, this new ambition was not premeditated; and if he gave the throne of Spain to his brother Joseph it was only on the refusal of his brother Louis (King of Holland) to accept it.

The Emperor had promised to support Charles IV. against his son; and, not wishing to take part in these family quarrels, he had not answered the first letters of the Prince of the Asturias. But finding that the intrigues of Madrid were taking a serious turn, he commenced provisionally, by sending

[1] Afterwards Ferdinand VII.

[2] This accusation is said to have been conveyed to Napoleon in the following letter, addressed to him by Charles IV.: —

"SIRE, MY BROTHER — At the moment when I was occupied with the means of co-operating for the destruction of our common enemy, when I believed that all the plots of the late Queen of Naples had been buried with her daughter, I perceive, with a horror that makes me tremble, that the most dreadful spirit of intrigue has penetrated even into the heart of my palace. Alas! my heart bleeds at reciting so dreadful an outrage. My eldest son, the heir-presumptive to my throne, entered into a horrible plot to dethrone me; he even went to the extreme of attempting the life of his mother. So dreadful a crime ought to be punished with the most exemplary rigor of the laws. *The law which calls him to the succession ought to be revoked; one of his brothers will be more worthy to occupy his place, both in my heart and on the throne.* I am at this moment in search of his accomplices, in order to sift thoroughly this plan of most atrocious wickedness; and I would not lose a moment in informing your imperial and royal Majesty of it, and beseeching you to assist me with your knowledge and counsel.

"For which I pray, etc.

"CHARLES.

"SAN LORENZO, *November* 29, 1807."

troops to Spain.[1] This gave offence to the people, who were averse to the interference of France. In the provinces through which the French troops passed it was asked what was the object of the invasion. Some attributed it to the Prince of the Peace, others to the Prince of the Asturias; but it excited general indignation, and troubles broke out at Madrid accompanied by all the violence peculiar to the Spanish character.

In these fearful circumstances Godoy proposed that Charles IV. should remove to Seville, where he would be the better enabled to visit the factious with punishment. A proposition from Godoy to his master was, in fact, a command, and Charles IV. accordingly resolved to depart. The people now looked upon Godoy as a traitor. An insurrection broke out, the palace was surrounded, and the Prince of the Peace was on the point of being massacred in an upper apartment, where he had taken refuge. One of the mob had the presence of mind to invoke in his favor the name of the Prince of the Asturias: this saved his life.[2]

[1] French troops had appeared in Spain some months before, on their way to Portugal, the conquest of which country by Junot was to be aided by Godoy and a Spanish force of 27,000 men, according to a treaty (more disgraceful to the Court of Spain than to Bonaparte) which had been ratified at Fontainebleau on the 28th of October, 1807. Charles IV. was little better than an idiot, and Godoy and the French made him believe that Bonaparte would give part, or the whole of Portugal, to Spain. At the time of Junot's march on Lisbon a reserve of 40,000 French troops was assembled at Bayonne — a pretty clear indication, though the factious infatuated Court of Madrid would not see it, that Bonaparte intended to seize the whole of the Peninsula. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

[2] The Prince of the Peace himself pretended to be alarmed, and perhaps was really so, when he saw the advance of our troops, of whom part had arrived at Burgos, and part entered Barcelona. He declared that the royal family had no alternative but to retire to Seville, and call the Spanish nation to arms. It was said to have been arranged that he should act this part to induce the King and the royal family to depart for Seville, and that he was to escape from them clandestinely at Seville, to go and enjoy the advantages insured to him by the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Such is the story I have heard; but I saw nothing that warranted me in believing it, at least as to the design entertained by the Prince of the Peace taking possession of the territories he had secured to himself in Portugal. Far from this, the Prince knew the decree of Milan, by which Junot was made Governor of Portugal, and authorized to exercise his functions in the name of the Emperor. The principality of the Algarves was now no longer talked of, and no doubt the Prince had ceased to flatter himself with any thought of that dominion. He assembled the King's Council at the palace of Aranjuez, and, after describing the misfortunes which threatened the monarchy, he succeeded in prevailing on the Council to adopt his advice, and decree the

Charles IV. did not preserve his crown; he was easily intimidated, and advantage was taken of a moment of alarm to demand that abdication which he had not spirit to refuse. He surrendered up his rights to his son, and thus was overthrown the insolent power of the Prince of the Peace; the favorite was made prisoner, and the Spaniards, who, like all ignorant people, are easily excited, manifested their joy on the occasion with barbarous enthusiasm. Meanwhile the unfortunate King, who had escaped from imaginary rather than real dangers, and who was at first content with having exchanged the right of reigning for the right of living, no sooner found himself in safety than he changed his mind. He wrote to the Emperor protesting against his abdication, and appealed to him as the arbiter of his future fate.

During these internal dissensions the French army was continuing its march towards the Pyrenees. Those barriers were speedily crossed, and Murat entered Madrid in the beginning of April, 1808. Before I received any despatch from our Government I learned that Murat's presence in Madrid, far from producing a good effect, had only increased the disorder. I obtained this information from a merchant of Lübeck who came to Hamburg on purpose to show me a letter he had received from his correspondent in Madrid. In this letter Spain was said to be a prey which Murat wished to appropriate to himself; and all that afterwards came to my knowledge served only to prove the accuracy of the writer's information. It was perfectly true that Murat wished to conquer Spain for himself, and it is not astonishing that the inhabitants of Madrid should have understood his designs, for he carried his indiscretion so far as openly to express his wish to become King of Spain. The Emperor was informed

removal of the royal family to Seville. On quitting this Council the Prince of the Asturias said to the guards, as he passed through the hall in which they were stationed, "The Prince of the Peace is a traitor: he wishes to send away my father. Prevent his departure."

This observation of the Prince of the Asturias was rapidly reported through the town. The populace repaired to the palace of the Prince of the Peace, ransacked it, and, after vigilant search, found the Prince concealed in a garret. He would undoubtedly have fallen a victim to the fury of the mob had not some of his attendants saved him by carrying him off to prison, pretending that they did so by order of the Prince of the Asturias (*Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo*, tome iii. p. 246).

of this, and gave him to understand, in very significant terms, that the throne of Spain was not destined for him, but that he should not be forgotten in the disposal of other crowns.

However, Napoleon's remonstrances were not sufficient to restrain the imprudence of Murat; and if he did not gain the crown of Spain for himself he powerfully contributed to make Charles IV. lose it. That monarch, whom old habits attached to the Prince of the Peace, solicited the Emperor to liberate his favorite, alleging that he and his family would be content to live in any place of security provided Godoy were with them. The unfortunate Charles seemed to be thoroughly disgusted with greatness.

Both the King and Queen so earnestly implored Godoy's liberation that Murat, whose vanity was flattered by these royal solicitations, took the Prince of the Peace under his protection; but he at the same time declared that, in spite of the abdication of Charles IV., he would acknowledge none but that Prince as King of Spain until he should receive contrary orders from the Emperor. This declaration placed Murat in formal opposition to the Spanish people, who, through their hatred of Godoy, embraced the cause of the heir of the throne, in whose favor Charles IV. had abdicated.

It has been remarked that Napoleon stood in a perplexing situation in this conflict between the King and his son. This is not correct. King Charles, though he afterwards said that his abdication had been forced from him by violence and threats, had nevertheless tendered it. By this act Ferdinand was King, but Charles declared it was done against his will, and he retracted. The Emperor's recognition was wanting, and he could give or withhold it as he pleased.

In this state of things Napoleon arrived at Bayonne. Thither Ferdinand was also invited to go, under pretence of arranging with the Emperor the differences between his father and himself. It was some time before he could form his determination, but at length his ill-advised friends prevailed on him to set off, and he was caught in the snare. What happened to him, as well as to his father, who repaired to Bayonne with his inseparable friend the Prince of the

Peace, is well known. Napoleon, who had undertaken to be arbiter between the father and son, thought the best way of settling the difference was to give the disputed throne to his brother Joseph, thus verifying the fable of the "Two Lawyers and the Oyster." The insurrection in Madrid on the 2d of May accelerated the fate of Ferdinand, who was accused of being the author of it; at least this suspicion fell on his friends and adherents.

Charles IV., it was said, would not return to Spain, and solicited an asylum in France. He signed a renunciation of his rights to the crown of Spain, which renunciation was also signed by the Infantas.

Napoleon now issued a decree, appointing "his dearly beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples and Sicily, to the crowns of Spain and the Indies." By a subsequent decree, 15th of July, he appointed "his dearly beloved cousin, Joachim Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, to the throne of Naples and Sicily, which remained vacant by the accession of Joseph Napoleon to the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies." Both these documents are signed Napoleon, and countersigned by the Minister Secretary of State, Maret.

The Prince Royal of Sweden, who was at Hamburg at this time, and the Ministers of all the European powers, loudly condemned the conduct of Napoleon with respect to Spain. I cannot say whether or not M. de Talleyrand advised the Emperor not to attempt the overthrow of a branch of the house of Bourbon; his good sense and elevated views might certainly have suggested that advice. But the general opinion was that, had he retained the portfolio of foreign affairs, the Spanish revolution would have terminated with more decorum and good faith than was exhibited in the tragi-comedy acted at Madrid and Bayonne.

After the Treaty of Tilsit and the bonds of friendship which seemed likely to produce a permanent union between the Emperors of France and Russia, the cause of the Bourbons must have been considered irretrievably lost. Indeed, their only hope consisted in the imprudence and folly of him who had usurped their throne, and that hope they cherished. I

will here relate what I had the opportunity of learning respecting the conduct of Louis XVIII. after his departure from France; this will naturally bring me to the end of November, 1807, at which time I read in the *Abeille du Nord* published on the 9th of the same month, that the Comte de Lille and the Duc d'Angoulême had set off for England.

The Comte de Provence,[1] as Louis' title then went, left Paris on the 21st of June, 1791. He constantly expressed his wish of keeping as near as possible to the frontiers of France. He at first took up his abode at Coblentz, and I knew from good authority that all the emigrants did not regard him with a favorable eye. They could not pardon the wise principles he had professed at a period when there was yet time to prevent, by reasonable concession, the misfortunes which imprudent irritation brought upon France. When the emigrants, after the campaign of 1792, passed the Rhine, the Comte de Provence resided in the little town of Ham on the Lippe, where he remained until he was persuaded that the people of Toulon had called him to Provence. As he could not, of course, pass through France, Monsieur repaired to the Court of his father-in-law, the King of Sardinia, hoping to embark at Genoa, and from thence to reach the coast of Provence. But the evacuation of Toulon, where the name of Bonaparte was for the first time sounded by the breath of fame, having taken place before he was able to leave Turin, Monsieur remained there four months, at the expiration of which time his father-in-law intimated to him the impossibility of his remaining longer in the Sardinian States. He was afterwards permitted to reside at Verona, where he heard of Louis XVI.'s death. After remaining two years in that city the Senate of Venice forbade his presence in the Venetian States. Thus forced to quit Italy the Comte repaired to the army of Condé.

The cold and timid policy of the Austrian Cabinet afforded no asylum to the Comte de Provence, and he was obliged to pass through Germany; yet, as Louis XVIII. repeated over and over again, ever since the Restoration, "He never in-

[1] Afterwards Louis XVIII.

tended to shed French blood in Germany for the sake of serving foreign interests." Monsieur had, indeed, too much penetration not to see that his cause was a mere pretext for the powers at war with France. They felt but little for the misfortunes of the Prince, and merely wished to veil their ambition and their hatred of France under the false pretence of zeal for the House of Bourbon.

When the Dauphin died, Louis XVIII. took the title of King of France, and went to Prussia, where he obtained an asylum.[1] But the pretender to the crown of France had not yet drained his cup of misfortune. After the 18th Fructidor the Directory required the King of Prussia to send away Louis XVIII., and the Cabinet of Berlin, it must be granted, was not in a situation to oppose the desire of the French Government, whose wishes were commands. In vain Louis XVIII.

[1] Meneval, tome iii. p. 378, gives the wanderings of Louis XVIII. as follows: — He emigrated 21st June, 1791, the same day that Louis XVI. fled to Varennes. He staid at Coblentz during 1791 and 1792. He followed the Prussian army into Champagne, and when it retired in 1792 he went to Ham in Westphalia. After the death of his brother, 21st January, 1793, he declared himself Regent, and went to Turin for four months, and then, Sardinia dreading the displeasure of the French, he applied to the Government of Venice, who allowed him to reside in Verona, where, on the death of his nephew in the Temple, in 1795, he took the title of King as Louis XVIII., but he was usually styled the Comte de Lille Quitting Verona in 1796, when Napoleon was conquering Italy, he went to the headquarters of the army of Condé, and from there to Blankenbourg in the Duchy of Brunswick, from which he had to retire in 1797, when the Treaty of Campo-Formio made Germany at peace with France, to Mittau in Russia till forced to leave it in January, 1801. Thence he went to Königsberg for a brief time, and then was permitted by Prussia to reside in Warsaw, which then belonged to her. In 1804 he went to Grodno in Russia, and then to Colmar in Sweden. Thence he soon removed to Mittau in Russia, his former abode, which he left after Tilsit in 1807, when he crossed to England. He passed the time till 1810 at Gosfield Hall, a seat of the Duke of Buckingham's, and then lived at Hartwell till he returned to France in 1814. Louis XVIII. did not reside at Holyrood, which was occupied by his brother. The youngest of the three grandsons of Louis XV. (Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., Charles X.), the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X., emigrated in 1789, and went to Turin and Mantua for 1789 and 1790. In 1791 and 1792 he lived at Coblentz, Worms, Brussels, Vienna, and at Turin. From 1792 to 1812 he lived at Ham on the Lippe at Westphalia, at London, and for most of the time at Holyrood, Edinburgh. During this time he visited Russia and Germany, and showed himself on the coast of France. In 1813 he went to Germany, and in 1814 entered France in rear of the allies. In risking his person in the daring schemes of the followers who were giving their lives for the cause of his family he displayed a circumspection which was characterized by them with natural warmth. "Sire, the cowardice of your brother has ruined all;" so Charette is said to have written to Louis XVIII., but see the whole matter treated in a bitter manner in the *Histoire Générale des Émigrés*, by Forneron, Paris, Plon., 1884, tome ii. pp. 131–145.

sought an asylum in the King of Saxony's States. There only remained Russia that durst offer a last refuge to the descendant of Louis XIV. Paul I., who was always in extremes, and who at that time entertained a violent feeling of hatred towards France, earnestly offered Louis XVIII. a residence at Mittau. He treated him with the honors of a sovereign, and loaded him with marks of attention and respect. Three years had scarcely passed when Paul was seized with mad enthusiasm for the man, who, twelve years later, ravaged his ancient capital, and Louis XVIII. found himself expelled from that Prince's territory with a harshness equal to the kindness with which he had at first been received.

It was during his three years' residence at Mittau that Louis XVIII., who was then known by the title of Comte de Lille, wrote to the First Consul those letters which have been referred to in these Memoirs. Prussia, being again solicited, at length consented that Louis XVIII. should reside at Warsaw; but on the accession of Napoleon to the Empire the Prince quitted that residence in order to consult respecting his new situation with the only sovereign who had not deserted him in his misfortune, viz. the King of Sweden. They met at Colmar, and from that city was dated the protest which I have already noticed. Louis XVIII. did not stay long in the States of the King of Sweden. Russia was now on the point of joining her eagles with those of Austria to oppose the new eagles of imperial France. Alexander offered to the Comte de Lille the asylum which Paul had granted to him and afterwards withdrawn. Louis XVIII. accepted the offer, but after the peace of Tilsit, fearing lest Alexander might imitate the second act of his father as well as the first, he plainly saw that he must give up all intention of residing on the Continent; and it was then that I read in the *Abeille du Nord* the article before alluded to. There is, however, one fact upon which I must insist, because I know it to be true, viz. that it was of his own free will that Louis XVIII. quitted Mittau; and if he was afraid that Alexander would imitate his father's conduct that fear was without foundation. The truth is, that Alexander was ignorant even of the King's intention to go away until

he heard from Baron von Driesen, Governor of Mittau, that he had actually departed. Having now stated the truth on this point I have to correct another error, if indeed it be only an error, into which some writers have fallen. It has been falsely alleged that the King left Mittau for the purpose of fomenting fresh troubles in France. The friends of Louis XVIII., who advised him to leave Mittau, had great hopes from the last war. They cherished still greater hopes from the new wars which Bonaparte's ambition could not fail to excite, but they were not so ill-informed respecting the internal condition of France as to expect that disturbances would arise there, or even to believe in the possibility of fomenting them. *The pear was not yet ripe* for Louis XVIII.

On the 29th of November the contents of a letter which had arrived from London by way of Sweden were communicated to me. This letter was dated the 3d of November, and contained some particulars respecting the Comte de Lille's arrival in England. That Prince had arrived at Yarmouth on the 31st of October, 1807, and it was stated that the King was obliged to wait some time in the port until certain difficulties respecting his landing and the continuance of his journey should be removed. It moreover appeared from this letter that the King of England thought proper to refuse the Comte de Lille permission to go to London or its neighborhood. The palace of Holyrood in Edinburgh was assigned as his place of residence; and Mr. Ross, secretary to Mr. Canning, conveyed the determination of the King of England to Louis XVIII. at Yarmouth.

The precaution of the English Ministry in not permitting the refugee King to go near London appeared to me remarkable, considering the relative position of the Governments of France and England, and I regarded it as a corroboration of what the Prince Wittgenstein had told me respecting Mr. Canning's inclination for an amicable arrangement. But the moment was approaching when the affairs of Spain were to raise an invincible obstacle to peace, to complicate more than ever the interests of the powers of Europe, and open to Napoleon that vast career of ambition which proved his ruin.

He did not long allow the hopes of the emigrants to remain chimerical, and the year 1814 witnessed the realization of the prophetic remark made by M. Lemercier, in a conversation with Bonaparte a few days before the foundation of the Empire: "If you get into the bed of the Bourbons, General, you will not lie in it ten years." Napoleon occupied it for nine years and nine months.

Fouché, the grand investigator of the secrets of Europe, did not fail, on the first report of the agitations in Spain, to address to me question on question respecting the Comte de Rechteren, the Spanish Minister at Hamburg, who, however, had left that city, with the permission of his Court, four months after I had entered on my functions. This was going back very far to seek information respecting the affairs of the day. At the very moment when I transmitted a reply to Fouché which was not calculated to please him, because it afforded no ground for suspicion as to the personal conduct of M. de Rechteren, I received from the amiable Josephine a new mark of her remembrance. She sent me the following note: —

"M. Milon, who is now in Hamburg, wishes me, my dear Bourrienne, to request that you will use your interest in his favor. I feel the more pleasure in making this request as it affords me an opportunity of renewing the assurance of my regard for you."

Josephine's letter was dated from Fontainebleau, whither the Emperor used to make journeys in imitation of the old Court of France. During these excursions he sometimes partook of the pleasures of the chase, but merely for the sake of reviving an old custom, for in that exercise he found as little amusement as Montaigne did in the game of chess. At Fontainebleau, as everywhere else, his mind was engaged with the means of augmenting his greatness, but, unfortunately, the exactions he imposed on distant countries were calculated to alienate the affections of the people. Thus, for example, I received an order emanating from him, and transmitted to me by M. Daru, the Intendant-General of the army, that the pay of all the French troops stationed in the Hanse Towns

should be defrayed by these towns. I lamented the necessity of making such a communication to the Senates of Bremen, Lübeck, and Hamburg; but my duty compelled me to do so, and I had long been accustomed to fulfil duties even more painful than this. I tried every possible means with the three States, not collectively but separately, to induce them to comply with the measure, in the hope that the assent of one would help me to obtain that of the two others. But, as if they had been all agreed, I only received evasive expressions of regret.

Knowing as I did, and I may say better than any one else, the hopes and designs of Bonaparte respecting the north of Germany, it was not without pain, nor even without alarm, that I saw him doing everything calculated to convert into enemies the inhabitants of a country which would always have remained quiet had it only been permitted to preserve its neutrality. Among the orders I received were often many which could only have been the result of the profoundest ignorance. For example, I was one day directed to press 3000 seamen in the Hanse Towns. Three thousand seamen out of a population of 200,000! It was as absurd as to think of raising 500,000 sailors in France. This project being impossible, it was of course not executed; but I had some difficulty in persuading the Emperor that a sixth of the number demanded was the utmost the Hanse Towns could supply. Five hundred seamen were accordingly furnished, but to make up that number it was necessary to include many men who were totally unfit for war service.

CHAPTER XII.

1808.

Departure of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo — Prediction and superstition — Stoppage of letters addressed to the Spanish troops — La Romana and Romanillos — Illegible notifications — Eagerness of the German Princes to join the Confederation of the Rhine — Attack upon me on account of M. Hue — Bernadotte's successor in Hamburg — Exactions and tyrannical conduct of General Dupas — Disturbance in Hamburg — Plates broken in a fit of rage — My letter to Bernadotte — His reply — Bernadotte's return to Hamburg, and departure of Dupas for Lübeck — Noble conduct of the *aide de camp* Barral.

In the spring of 1808 a circumstance occurred which gave me much uneasiness; it was the departure of Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte-Corvo, who received orders to repair to Copenhagen.[1] He left Hamburg on the 8th of March, as he was to reach his destination on the 14th of the same month. The Danish *chargé d'affaires* also received orders to join the Prince, and discharge the functions of King's commissary. It was during his government at Hamburg and his stay in Jutland that Bernadotte unconsciously paved his way to the throne of Sweden. I recollect that he had also his presages and his predestinations. In short, he believed in astrology, and I shall never forget the serious tone in which he one day said to me, "Would you believe, my dear friend, that it was predicted at Paris that I should be a King, but that I must cross the sea to reach my throne?" I could not help smiling with him at this weakness of mind, from which Bonaparte was not far removed. It certainly was not any supernatural influence which elevated Bernadotte to sovereign rank. That elevation was solely due to his excellent character. He had no other

[1] He was directed to take the command of the French troops whom the Emperor sent into Denmark after the bombardment of Copenhagen by the English. — *Bourrienne.* Whether the English had bombarded Copenhagen or not, Bernadotte would have been sent into Denmark, and if we had not secured the fleet he would have seized it for his then master. — *Editor of 1836 edition.*

talisman than the wisdom of his government, and the promptitude which he always showed to oppose unjust measures. This it was that united all opinions in his favor.

The bad state of the roads in the north prolonged Bernadotte's journey one day. He set out on the 8th of March; he was expected to arrive at Copenhagan on the 14th, but did not reach there till the 15th. He arrived precisely two hours before the death of Christian, King of Denmark, an event with which he made me acquainted by a letter written two days after his arrival.

On the 6th of April following I received a second letter from Bernadotte, in which he desired me to order the Grand Ducal postmaster to keep back all letters addressed to the Spanish troops, who had been placed under his command, and of which the corps of Romana formed part. The postmaster was ordered to keep the letters until he received orders to forward them to their destinations. Bernadotte considered this step indispensable, to prevent the intrigues which he feared might be set on foot in order to shake the fidelity of the Spaniards he commanded. I saw from his despatch that he feared the plotting of Romanillos,[1] who, however, was not a person to cause much apprehension. Romanillos was as commonplace a man as could well be conceived; and his speeches, as well as his writings, were too innocent to create any influence on public opinion.

In addition to the functions with which the Emperor at first invested me, I had to discharge the duties of French Consul-General at Hamburg, and in that character I was obliged to present to the Minister for Foreign Affairs a very singular request, viz. that the judicial notifications, which as Consul-General I had to make known to the people of Hamburg, might be written in a more legible hand. Many of these notifications had been disregarded on account of the impossibility of reading them. With respect to one of them it was declared that it was impossible to discover whether the writing was German, French, or Chinese.

[1] Romanillos was secretary of the Spanish Legation at Hamburg, and *chargé d'affaires* from the Cabinet of Madrid after the departure of M. de Rechteren. — *Bourrienne.*

I shall not record all the acts of spoliation committed by second-rate ambitious aspirants who hoped to come in for their share in the division of the Continent. The Emperor's lieutenants regarded Europe as a twelfth-cake,[1] but none of them ventured to dispute the best bit with Napoleon. Long would be the litany were I to enregister all the fraud and treachery which they committed, either to augment their fortunes or to win the favor of the chief who wished to have kings for his subjects. The fact is, that all the Princes of Germany displayed the greatest eagerness to range themselves under the protection of Napoleon by joining the Confederation of the Rhine.[2] I received from those Princes several letters which served to prove at once the influence of Napoleon in Germany and the facility with which men bend beneath the yoke of a new power. I must say that among the emigrants who remained faithful to their cause there were some who evinced more firmness of character than the foreign Princes. I may mention, for example, M. Hue, the *valet de chambre* of Louis XVI. I do not intend to deny the high regard I entertained for that faithful servant of the martyred King; but the attentions which I congratulate myself on having shown to an excellent man should not have subjected me to false imputations.

I have read the following statement in a publication: "M. Hue retired to Hamburg, where he passed nine months in perfect obscurity. He afterwards went to Holland, provided with a passport from Bourrienne, who was Napoleon's Minister, though in disgrace, and who, foreseeing what was to happen, sought to ingratiate himself in the favor of the Bourbons."

The above passage contains a falsehood in almost every line. M. Hue wished to reside in Hamburg, but he did not

[1] The Emperor's lieutenants regarded Europe as a twelfth-cake (*un gâteau des rois*), but none of them ventured to dispute *the bean* (*la fève*) with Napoleon. In French twelfth-cakes there is a bean concealed in the midst, and in the division of the cake the person to whose lot the bean falls is proclaimed king for the night. This stands in lieu of our custom of *drawing* for king and queen. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

[2] Many of these smaller German Princes had, it is said, to bribe Talleyrand heavily to buy their admission to the Confederation of the Rhine; see *M. de Talleyrand*, by Sainte-Beuve, p. 90.

wish to conceal himself. I invited him to visit me, and assured him that he might remain in Hamburg without apprehension, provided he acted prudently. He wished to go to Holland, and I took upon myself to give him a passport. I left M. Hue in the free management of his business, the nature of which I knew very well, and which was very honorable; he was deputed to pay the pensions which Louis XVIII. granted to the emigrants. As for myself, I had tendered my resignation of private secretary to Bonaparte; and even admitting I was in disgrace in that character, I was not so as Minister and Consul-General at Hamburg. My situation, which was of little consequence at the time I was appointed to it, was later on rendered exceedingly important by circumstances. It was, in fact, a sort of watch-tower of the Government, whence all the movements of northern Germany were observed; and during my residence in the Hanse Towns I continually experienced the truth of what Bonaparte said to me at my farewell audience — "Yours is a place independent and apart."

It is absurd to say that the kindness I showed to M. Hue was an attempt to ingratiate myself with the Bourbons. My attentions to him were dictated solely by humanity, unaccompanied by any afterthought. Napoleon had given me his confidence, and by mitigating the severity of his orders I served him better than they who executed them in a way which could not fail to render the French Government odious. If I am accused of extending every possible indulgence to the unfortunate emigrants, I plead guilty; and, far from wishing to defend myself against the charge, I consider it honorable to me. But I defy any one of them to say that I betrayed in their favor the interests with which I was intrusted. They who urged Bonaparte to usurp the crown of France served, though perhaps unconsciously, the cause of the Bourbons. I, on the contrary, used all my endeavors to dissuade him from that measure, which I clearly saw must, in the end, lead to the restoration, though I do not pretend that I was sufficiently clear-sighted to guess that Napoleon's fall was so near at hand. The kindness I showed to M. Hue and his companions in mis-

fortune was prompted by humanity, and not by mean speculation. As well might it be said that Bernadotte, who like myself, neglected no opportunity of softening the rigor of the orders he was deputed to execute, was by this means working his way to the throne of Sweden.

Bernadotte had proceeded to Denmark to take the command of the Spanish and French troops who had been removed from the Hanse Towns to occupy that kingdom, which was then threatened by the English. His departure was a great loss to me, for we had always agreed respecting the measures to be adopted, and I felt his absence the more sensibly when I was enabled to make a comparison between him and his successor. It is painful to me to detail the misconduct of those who injured the French name in Germany, but, in fulfilment of the task I have undertaken, I am bound to tell the truth.

In April, 1808, General Dupas came to take the command of Hamburg, but only under the orders of Bernadotte, who retained the supreme command of the French troops in the Hanse Towns. By the appointment of General Dupas the Emperor cruelly thwarted the wishes and hopes of the inhabitants of Lower Saxony. That General said of the people of Hamburg, "As long as I see those . . . driving in their carriages I can get money from them." It is, however, only just to add, that his dreadful exactions were not made on his own account, but for the benefit of another man to whom he owed his all, and to whom he had in some measure devoted his existence.

I will state some particulars respecting the way in which the generals who commanded the French troops at Hamburg were maintained. The Senate of Hamburg granted to the Marshals thirty friederichs a day for the expenses of their table exclusive of the hotel in which they were lodged by the city. The generals of division had only twenty friederichs. General Dupas wished to be provided for on the same footing as the Marshals. The Senate having, with reason, rejected this demand, Dupas required that he should be daily served with a breakfast and a dinner of thirty covers.

This was an inconceivable burden, and Dupas cost the city more than any of his predecessors.

I saw an account of his expenses, which during the twenty-one weeks he remained at Hamburg amounted to 122,000 marks, or about 183,000 francs. None but the most exquisite wines were drunk at the table of Dupas. Even his servants were treated with champagne, and the choicest fruits were brought from the fine hothouses of Berlin. The inhabitants were irritated at this extravagance, and Dupas accordingly experienced the resistance of the Senate.

Among other vexations there was one to which the people could not readily submit. In Hamburg, which had formerly been a fortified town, the custom was preserved of closing the gates at nightfall. On Sundays they were closed three-quarters of an hour later, to avoid interrupting the amusements of the people.

While General Dupas was Governor of Hamburg an event occurred which occasioned considerable irritation in the public mind, and might have been attended by fatal consequences. From some whim or other the General ordered the gates to be closed at seven in the evening, and consequently while it was broad daylight, for it was in the middle of spring; no exception was made in favor of Sunday, and on that day a great number of the inhabitants who had been walking in the outskirts of the city presented themselves at the gate of Altona for admittance. To their surprise they found the gate closed, though it was a greater thoroughfare than any other gate in Hamburg. The number of persons requiring admittance increased, and a considerable crowd soon collected. After useless entreaties had been addressed to the chief officer of the post the people were determined to send to the Commandant for the keys. The Commandant arrived, accompanied by the General. When they appeared it was supposed they had come for the purpose of opening the gates, and they were accordingly saluted with a general *hurrah!* which throughout almost all the north is the usual cry for expressing popular satisfaction. General Dupas not understanding the meaning of this *hurrah!* supposed it to be a signal for sedition, and

instead of ordering the gates to be opened he commanded the military to fire upon the peaceful citizens, who only wanted to return to their homes. Several persons were killed, and others more or less seriously wounded. Fortunately, after this first discharge the fury of Dupas was appeased; but still he persisted in keeping the gates closed at night. Next day an order was posted about the city prohibiting the cry of *hurrah!* under pain of a severe punishment. It was also forbidden that more than three persons should collect together in the streets. Thus it was that certain persons imposed the French yoke upon towns and provinces which were previously happy.

Dupas was as much execrated in the Hanse Towns as Clarke had been in Berlin when he was governor of that capital during the campaign of 1807. Clarke had burdened the people of Berlin with every kind of oppression and exaction. He, as well as many others, manifested a ready obedience in executing the Imperial orders, however tyrannical they might be; and Heaven knows what epithets invariably accompanied the name of Clarke when pronounced by the lips of a Prussian.

Dupas seemed to have taken Clarke as his model. An artillery officer, who was in Hamburg at the time of the disturbance I have just mentioned, told me that it was he who was directed to place two pieces of light artillery before the gate of Altona. Having executed this order, he went to General Dupas, whom he found in a furious fit of passion, breaking and destroying everything within his reach. In the presence of the officer he broke more than two dozen plates which were on the table before him: these plates, of course, had cost him very little!

On the day after the disturbance which had so fatal a termination I wrote to inform the Prince of Ponte-Corvo of what had taken place; and in my letter I solicited the suppression of an extraordinary tribunal which had been created by General Dupas. He returned me an immediate answer, complying with my request. His letter was as follows: —

I have received your letter, my dear Minister: it forcibly conveys the expression of your right feeling, which revolts against oppression, severity,

and the abuse of power. I entirely concur in your view of the subject, and I am distressed whenever I see such acts of injustice committed. On an examination of the events which took place on the 19th it is impossible to deny that the officer who ordered the gates to be closed so soon was in the wrong; and next, it may be asked, why were not the gates opened instead of the military being ordered to fire on the people? But, on the other hand, did not the people evince decided obstinacy and insubordination? were they not to blame in throwing stones at the guard, forcing the palisades, and even refusing to listen to the voice of the magistrates? It is melancholy that they should have fallen into these excesses, from which, doubtless, they would have refrained had they listened to the civil chiefs, who ought to be their first directors. Finally, my dear Minister, the Senator who distributed money at the gate of Altona to appease the multitude would have done better had he advised them to wait patiently until the gates were opened; and he might, I think, have gone to the Commandant or the General to solicit that concession.

Whenever an irritated mob resorts to violence there is no safety for any one. The protecting power must then exert its utmost authority to stop mischief. The Senate of ancient Rome, so jealous of its prerogatives, assigned to a Dictator, in times of trouble, the power of life and death, and that magistrate knew no other code than his own will and the axe of his lictors. The ordinary laws did not resume their course until the people returned to submission.

The event which took place in Hamburg produced a feeling of agitation of which evil-disposed persons might take advantage to stir up open insurrection. That feeling could only be repressed by a severe tribunal, which, however, is no longer necessary. General Dupas has, accordingly, received orders to dissolve it, and justice will resume her usual course.

J. BERNADOTTE.

DENSEL, *4th May*, 1808.

When Bernadotte returned to Hamburg he sent Dupas to Lübeck. That city, which was poorer than Hamburg, suffered cruelly from the visitation of such a guest. Dupas levied all his exactions in kind, and indignantly spurned every offer of accepting money, the very idea of which, he said, shocked his delicacy of feeling. But his demands became so extravagant that the city of Lübeck was utterly unable to satisfy them. Besides his table, which was provided in the same style of profusion as at Hamburg, he required to be furnished with plate, linen, wood, and candles; in short, with the most trivial articles of household consumption.

The Senate deputed to the incorruptible General Dupas M.

Nolting, a venerable old man, who mildly represented to him the abuses which were everywhere committed in his name, and entreated that he would vouchsafe to accept twenty louis a day to defray the expenses of his table alone. At this proposition General Dupas flew into a rage. To offer him money was an insult not to be endured! He furiously drove the terrified Senator out of the house, and at once ordered his *aide de camp* Barral to imprison him. M. de Barral, startled at this extraordinary order, ventured to remonstrate with the General, but in vain; and, though against his heart, he was obliged to obey. The *aide de camp* accordingly waited upon the Senator Nolting, and overcome by that feeling of respect which gray hairs involuntarily inspire in youth, instead of arresting him, he besought the old man not to leave his house until he should prevail on the General to retract his orders. It was not till the following day that M. de Barral succeeded in getting those orders revoked — that is to say, he obtained M. Nolting's release from confinement; for Dupas would not be satisfied until he heard that the Senator had suffered at least the commencement of the punishment to which his capricious fury had doomed him.

In spite of his parade of disinterestedness General Dupas yielded so far as to accept the twenty louis a day for the expense of his table which M. Nolting had offered him on the part of the Senate of Lübeck; but it was not without murmurings, complaints, and menaces that he made this generous concession; and he exclaimed more than once, "These *fellows* have portioned out my allowance for me." Lübeck was not released from the presence of General Dupas until the month of March, 1809, when he was summoned to command a division in the Emperor's new campaign against Austria. Strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless the fact, that, oppressive as had been his presence at Lübeck, the Hanse Towns soon had reason to regret him.

CHAPTER XIII.

1808.

Promulgation of the Code of Commerce — Conquests by *Sénatus-consulte* — Three events in one day — Recollections — Application of a line of Voltaire — Creation of the Imperial nobility — Restoration of the university — Aggrandizement of the Kingdom of Italy at the expense of Rome — Cardinal Caprara's departure from Paris — The interview at Erfurt.

The year 1808 was fertile in remarkable events. Occupied as I was with my own duties, I yet employed my leisure hours in observing the course of those great acts by which Bonaparte seemed determined to mark every day of his life. At the commencement of 1808 I received one of the first copies of the Code of Commerce, promulgated on the 1st of January by the Emperor's order. This code appeared to me an act of mockery; at least it was extraordinary to publish a code respecting a subject which it was the effect of all the Imperial decrees to destroy. What trade could possibly exist under the Continental system, and the ruinous severity of the customs? The line was already extended widely enough when, by a *Sénatus-consulte*, it was still further widened. The Emperor, to whom all the continent submitted, had recourse to no other formality for the purpose of annexing to the Empire the towns of Kehl, Cassel near Mayence, Wesel, and Flushing, with the territories depending on them.[1] These conquests,

[1] A resolution of the Senate, or a "Sénatus-consulte," was the means invented by Napoleon for altering the Imperial Constitutions, and even the extent of the Empire. By one of these, dated 21st January, 1808, the towns of Kehl, Cassel, and Wesel, with Flushing, already seized, were definitely united to France. The loss of Wesel, which belonged to Murat's Grand Duchy of Berg, was a very sore point with Murat, who talked of nothing less than that he would throw himself into the town of Wesel with his army and defend it. "He should see whether the Emperor would have the face to come and besiege him before the eyes of all Europe; and as for himself, he should hold out to the last extremity. These words were all smoke, and ended in a fine treaty of exchange." See Beugnot (tome i. p. 276), who goes on to say that "this ridiculous little struggle of the Grand Duke (Murat) may have contributed somewhat to his discomfiture in the affairs of this country (Spain). Possibly the petty strife raised up by the Marshal for the

gained by decrees and senatorial decisions, had at least the advantage of being effected without bloodshed. All these things were carefully communicated to me by the Ministers with whom I corresponded, for my situation at Hamburg had acquired such importance that it was necessary I should know everything.

At this period I observed among the news which I received from different places a singular coincidence of dates, worthy of being noted by the authors of ephemerides. On the same day — namely the 1st of February — Paris, Lisbon, and Rome were the scenes of events of different kinds, but, as they all happened on one day, affording a striking example of the rapidity of movement which marked the reign of Bonaparte. At Paris the niece of Josephine, Mademoiselle de Tascher,[1] whom Napoleon had lately exalted to the rank of Princess, was married to the reigning Prince of Ahremberg, while at the same time Junot declared to Portugal that the house of Braganza had *ceased to reign*,[2] and French troops were, under the command of General Miollis, occupying Rome. This occupation was the commencement of prolonged struggles, during which Pius VII. expiated the condescension he had shown in going to Paris to crown Napoleon.

Looking over my notes, I see it was the day after these three events occurred that Bonaparte gave to his brother-in-law, Prince Borghèse, the Governorship-General of the depart-

town of Wesel caused the Emperor to lay aside the idea of intrusting to him a position of so much importance as Spain and the Indies. So he had to resign himself to the throne of the Two Sicilies, which he received ungraciously enough. This is worth noting for the instruction of posterity" (*Beugnot*, vol. i. p. 277).

[1] Mademoiselle d'Avrillion, when she first entered the service of Josephine, was placed about the person of Mademoiselle Tascher de la Pagerie; and in her Memoirs she draws rather an interesting character of the young and handsome creole, who was singularly attached to her aunt, then only Madame Bonaparte, wife of the First Consul. "Everybody," says the *femme de chambre*, "was satisfied with this marriage, except the bride herself, whose taste was the first that ought to have been consulted. Mademoiselle de Tascher assented to the union with the greatest repugnance: she had a thorough antipathy for the Prince d'Ahremberg, and she never could overcome it, *but she never could have dared to resist the will and command of Napoleon*." The marriage was a wretched one: it ended in a divorce, after which Madame d'Ahremberg married the Comte de Guitry.

[2] This was a pet expression of Bonaparte's. In the same way he said, in 1806, when he made his brother Joseph King of Naples, "the Bourbons of Naples have ceased to reign."

ment beyond the Alps which he had just founded, and of which he made the eighth Grand Dignitary of the Empire. General Menou, whom I had not seen since Egypt, was obliged by this appointment to leave Turin, where he had always remained. Bonaparte, not wishing to permit him to come to Paris, sent Menou to preside over the Junta of Tuscany, of which he soon after made another General-Governorship, which he intrusted to the care of his sister Elisa.[1]

My correspondence relative to what passed in the south of France and of Europe, presented to me, if I may so express myself, merely an anecdotal interest. Not so the news which came from the north. At Hamburg I was like the sentinel of an advanced post, always on the alert. I frequently informed the Government of what would take place before the event actually happened. I was one of the first to hear of the plans of Russia relative to Sweden. The courier whom I sent to Paris arrived there at the very moment when Russia made the declaration of war. About the end of February the Russian troops entered Swedish Finland, and occupied also the capital of that province, which had at all times been coveted by the Russian Government. It has been said that at the interview at Erfurt Bonaparte consented to the usurpation of that province by Alexander in return for the complaisance of the latter in acknowledging Joseph as King of Spain and the Indies.

The removal of Joseph from the throne of Naples to the throne of Madrid belongs, indeed, to that period respecting which I am now throwing together a few recollections. Murat

[1] Prince Camille Philippe Louis Borghèse (1775–1832), an Italian, had married, 6th November, 1803, Pauline Bonaparte, the sister of Napoleon, and the widow of General Leclerc. He had been made Prince and Duke of Guastalla when that duchy was given to his wife, 30th March, 1806. He separated from his wife after a few years. Indeed Pauline was impossible as a wife if half of the stories about her are true. It was she who, finding that a lady was surprised at her having sat naked while a statue of her was being modelled for Canova, believed she had satisfactorily explained matters by saying "*but there was a fire in the room.*"

Elisa Bonaparte had married Felix Bacciochi, and had been made Princesse de Piombino et de Lucques 1805. In March, 1809, she was made Grande Duchesse de Toscane, the dignity to which Bourrienne alludes. It was on this occasion, as has already been stated, that 900 unopened letters were found in Menou's cabinet after he had left. See *Marmont*, tome i. p. 411.

had succeeded Joseph at Naples, and this accession of the brother-in-law of Napoleon to one of the thrones of the House of Bourbon gave Bonaparte another junior in the college of kings, of which he would have infallibly become the senior if he had gone on as he began.

I will relate a little circumstance which now occurs to me respecting the kings manufactured by Napoleon. I recollect that during the King of Etruria's stay in Paris the First Consul went with that Prince to the Comédie Française, where Voltaire's *Œdipus* was performed. This piece, I may observe, Bonaparte liked better than anything Voltaire ever wrote. I was in the theatre, but not in the First Consul's box, and I observed, as all present must have done, the eagerness with which the audience applied to Napoleon and the King of Etruria the line in which Philoctetes says —

"J'ai fait des souverains et n'ai pas voulu l'être."[1]

The application was so marked that it could not fail to become the subject of conversation between the First Consul and me. "You remarked it, Bourrienne?" . . . "Yes, General." . . . "The fools! . . . They shall see! They shall see!" We did indeed see. Not content with making kings, Bonaparte, when his brow was encircled by a double crown, after creating princes at length realized the object he had long contemplated, namely, to found a new nobility, endowed with hereditary rights. It was at the commencement of March, 1808, that he accomplished this project; and I saw in the *Moniteur* a long list of princes, dukes, counts, barons, and knights of the Empire; there were wanting only viscounts and marquises.[2]

[1] "I have made sovereigns, but have not wished to be one myself."

[2] For a list of the chief titles granted by Napoleon see *Madame Junot*, London, Bentley, 1883, vol iii. p. 512. The barons and counts were legion. It will be seen that all the territorial titles, if the phrase can be used in this case, were placed in foreign countries. This was one of the characteristic precautions taken by Napoleon in creating a fresh nobility. The passions of the Revolutionary party would have been violently excited by a creation of French titles, — a measure which would also have displeased the old nobility. But when titles such as Duc de Castiglione were given, it was difficult for any Frenchman to object to a dignity which recalled a French triumph and French ascendency. Their inconvenience was afterwards shown in the case of Marmont, whom the Court of Vienna refused to receive after the fall of Napoleon unless his title of Ragusa was dropped.

At the same time that Bonaparte was founding a new nobility he determined to raise up the old edifice of the university, but on a new foundation. The education of youth had always been one of his ruling ideas, and I had an opportunity of observing how he was changed by the exercise of sovereign power when I received at Hamburg the statutes of the new elder daughter of the Emperor of the French, and compared them with the ideas which Bonaparte, when General and First Consul, had often expressed to me respecting the education which ought to be given youth. Though the sworn enemy of everything like liberty, Bonaparte had at first conceived a vast system of education, comprising above all the study of history, and those positive sciences, such as geology and astronomy, which give the utmost degree of development to the human mind. The Sovereign, however, shrunk from the first ideas of the man of genius, and his university, confided to the elegant suppleness of M. de Fontaines, was merely a school capable of producing educated subjects but not enlightened men.

Before taking complete possession of Rome, and making it the second city of the Empire, the vaunted moderation of Bonaparte was confined to dismembering from it the legations of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino, which were divided into three departments, and added to the Kingdom of Italy. The patience of the Holy See could no longer hold out against this act of violence, and Cardinal Caprara, who had remained in Paris since the coronation, at last left that capital. Shortly afterwards the Grand Duchies of Parma and Piacenza were united to the French Empire, and annexed to the government of the departments beyond the Alps. These transactions were coincident with the events in Spain and Bayonne before mentioned.

After the snare laid at Bayonne the Emperor entered Paris on the 14th of August, the eve of his birthday. Scarcely had he arrived in the capital when he experienced fresh anxiety in consequence of the conduct of Russia, which, as I have stated, had declared open war with Sweden, and did not conceal the intention of seizing Finland. But Bonaparte, desirous

of actively carrying on the war in Spain, felt the necessity of removing his troops from Prussia to the Pyrenees. He then hastened the interview at Erfurt, where the two Emperors of France and Russia had agreed to meet. He hoped that this interview would insure the tranquillity of the Continent, while he should complete the subjection of Spain to the sceptre of Joseph. That Prince had been proclaimed on the 8th of June; and on the 21st of the same month he made his entry into Madrid, but having received, ten days after, information of the disaster at Baylen, he was obliged to leave the Spanish capital.[1]

Bonaparte's wishes must at this time have been limited to the tranquillity of the Continent, for the struggle between him and England was more desperate than ever. England had just sent troops to Portugal under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley. There was no longer any hope of a reconciliation with Great Britain. The interview at Erfurt having been determined on, the Emperor, who had returned from Bayonne to Paris, again left the capital about the end of September, and arrived at Metz without stopping, except for the purpose of reviewing the regiments which were echelonned on his route, and which were on their march from the Grand Army to Spain.[2]

I had heard some time previously of the interview which was about to take place, and which was so memorable in the

[1] The important battle of Baylen, where the French, under General Dupont, were beaten by the Spaniards, was fought on the 19th of July, 1808.

[2] Talleyrand talked a great deal after dinner about Napoleon at Erfurt, where he accompanied him as chamberlain. [He had given up the Foreign Office in August, 1807.] The cordiality amongst the sovereigns was more real at that time than at any other, and the adulation of Napoleon quite extraordinary. As an instance of this he told me that in all the theatrical pieces represented before the sovereigns any possible allusion to Napoleon's history was seized upon and rapturously applauded by all the Kings and Hereditary Princes present (*Leaves from Diary of Henry Greville*, p. 76).

Talleyrand at the time seems to have dreaded Napoleon's plans: thus he tried to induce the Emperor of Austria to attend, saying to Metternich, "The Prince who is not there will have the appearance of being either a neutral or an enemy. The Emperor of Austria cannot be in the first case, for nothing can take place in Europe without his offering either a hindrance or a facility. For myself, I would desire that at the right moment the Emperor Francis should arrive as a hindrance" (*Metternich*, tome ii. p. 270). As to the result of the conferences Metternich (tome ii. p. 288) says, "One truth very evident to me is that the result of the Erfurt conferences has not at all corresponded with the ideas which were taken there."

life of Napoleon. It excited so much interest in Germany that the roads were covered with the equipages of the Princes who were going to Erfurt to witness the meeting. The French Emperor arrived there before Alexander, and went forward three leagues to meet him.[1] Napoleon was on horseback, Alexander in a carriage. They embraced, it is said, in a manner expressive of the most cordial friendship. This interview was witnessed by most of the sovereign Princes of Germany. However, neither the King of Prussia nor the Emperor of Austria was present. The latter sovereign sent a letter to Napoleon, of which I obtained a copy. It was as follows: —

'SIRE, MY BROTHER — My Ambassador in Paris informs me that your Majesty is about to proceed to Erfurt to meet the Emperor Alexander. I eagerly seize the opportunity of your approach to my frontier to renew those testimonials of friendship and esteem which I have pledged to you; and I send my Lieutenant-General, Baron Vincent, to convey to you the assurance of my unalterable sentiments. If the false accounts that have been circulated respecting the internal institutions which I have established in my monarchy should for a moment have excited your Majesty's doubts as to my intentions, I flatter myself that the explanations given on that subject by Count Metternich to your Minister will have entirely removed them. Baron Vincent is enabled to confirm to your Majesty all that has been said by Count Metternich on the subject, and to add any further explanations you may wish for. I beg that your Majesty will grant him the same gracious reception he experienced at Paris and at Warsaw. The renewed marks of favor you may bestow on him will be an unequivocal pledge of the reciprocity of your sentiments, and will seal that confidence which will render our satisfaction mutual.

Deign to accept the assurance of the unalterable affection and respect

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[1] The whole of the month of September, 1808, was spent in settling the day for the departure of the respective sovereigns from St. Petersburg and Paris, so that each might regulate his journey so as to arrive neither too soon nor too late.

The Emperor Napoleon appointed the guards, provided the quarters, and defrayed the expenses of the tables, etc., not only for the Emperor of Russia, but also for the other sovereigns who attended the interview. Accordingly a troop of cooks, stewards, and lackeys were sent from the department of the grand marshal.

The company of the Théâtre Français also proceeded to Erfurt for the purpose of performing our best tragedies and comedies. Finally, nothing, however trifling, was neglected that could contribute to the amusement of the sovereigns during their stay at Erfurt (*Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo*, tome iii. p. 452).

with which I am, Sire, my Brother, Your imperial and royal Majesty's faithful brother and friend, (Signed) FRANCIS.

PRESBURG, *8th September*, 1808.

This letter appears to be a model of ambiguity, by which it is impossible Napoleon could have been imposed upon. However, as yet he had no suspicion of the hostility of Austria, which speedily became manifest; his grand object then was the Spanish business, and, as I have before observed, one of the secrets of Napoleon's genius was, that he did not apply himself to more than one thing at a time.

At Erfurt Bonaparte attained the principal object he had promised himself by the meeting. Alexander recognized Joseph in his new character of King of Spain and the Indies. It has been said that as the price of this recognition Napoleon consented that Alexander should have Swedish Finland; but for the truth of this I cannot vouch. However, I remember that when, after the interview at Erfurt, Alexander had given orders to his ambassador to Charles IV. to continue his functions under King Joseph, the Swedish *chargé d'affaires* at Hamburg told me that confidential letters received by him from Erfurt led him to fear that the Emperor Alexander had communicated to Napoleon his designs on Finland, and that Napoleon had given his consent to the occupation. Be this as it may, as soon as the interview was over Napoleon returned to Paris, where he presided with much splendor at the opening of the Legislative Body, and set out in the month of November for Spain.

CHAPTER XIV.

1808.

The Spanish troops in Hamburg — Romana's siesta — His departure for Funen — Celebration of Napoleon's birthday — Romana's defection — English agents and the Dutch troops — Facility of communication between England and the Continent — Delay of couriers from Russia — Alarm and complaints — The people of Hamburg — Montesquieu and the Minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany — Invitations at six months — Napoleon's journey to Italy — Adoption of Eugène — Lucien's daughter and the Prince of the Asturias — M. Auguste de Staël's interview with Napoleon.

Previous to the interview at Erfurt an event took place which created a strong interest in Hamburg and throughout Europe, an event which was planned and executed with inconceivable secrecy. I allude to the defection of the Marquis de la Romana, which I have not hitherto noticed, in order that I might not separate the different facts which came to my knowledge respecting that defection and the circumstances which accompanied it.

The Marquis de la Romana had come to the Hanse Towns at the head of an army corps of 18,000 men, which the Emperor in the preceding campaign claimed in virtue of treaties previously concluded with the Spanish Government. The Spanish troops at first met with a good reception in the Hanse Towns. The difference of language, indeed, occasionally caused discord, but when better acquainted the inhabitants and their visitors became good friends. The Marquis de la Romana was a little swarthy man, of unprepossessing and rather common appearance ; but he had a considerable share of talent and information. He had travelled in almost every part of Europe, and as he had been a close observer of all he saw his conversation was exceedingly agreeable and instructive.

During his stay at Hamburg General Romana spent almost every evening at my house, and invariably fell asleep over a game at whist. Madame de Bourrienne was usually his part-

ner, and I recollect he perpetually offered apologies for his involuntary breach of good manners. This, however, did not hinder him from being guilty of the same offence the next evening. I will presently explain the cause of this regular siesta.

On the King of Spain's birthday the Marquis de la Romana gave a magnificent entertainment. The decorations of the ball-room consisted of military emblems. The Marquis did the honors with infinite grace, and paid particular attention to the French generals. He always spoke of the Emperor in very respectful terms, without any appearance of affectation, so that it was impossible to suspect him of harboring disaffection. He played his part to the last with the utmost address. At Hamburg we had already received intelligence of the fatal result of the battle of the Sierra Morena,[1] and of the capitulation of Dupont, which disgraced him at the very moment when the whole army marked him out as the man most likely next to receive the *baton* of Marshal of France.

Meanwhile the Marquis de la Romana departed for the Danish island of Funen, in compliance with the order which Marshal Bernadotte had transmitted to him. There, as at Hamburg, the Spaniards were well liked, for their general obliged them to observe the strictest discipline. Great preparations were made in Hamburg on the approach of Saint Napoleon's day, which was then celebrated with much solemnity in every town in which France had representatives. The Prince de Ponte-Corvo was at Travemunde, a small seaport near Lübeck, but that did not prevent him from giving directions for the festival of the 15th of August. The Marquis de la Romana, the better to deceive the Marshal, despatched a courier, requesting permission to visit Hamburg on the day of the *fête* in order to join his prayers to those of the French, and to receive, on the day of the *fête*, from the hands of the Prince, the grand order of the Legion of Honor, which he had solicited, and which Napoleon had granted him. Three days after Bernadotte received intelligence of the defection of de la Romana. The Marquis had contrived to assemble a great

[1] The surrender of General Dupont at Baylen.

number of English vessels on the coast, and to escape with all his troops except a depot of 600 men left at Altona. We afterwards heard that he experienced no interruption on his passage, and that he landed with his troops at Corunna. I now knew to what to attribute the drowsiness which always overcame the Marquis de la Romana when he sat down to take a hand at whist. The fact was, he sat up all night making preparations for the escape which he had long meditated, while to lull suspicion he showed himself everywhere during the day as usual.[1]

On the defection of the Spanish troops I received letters from Government requiring me to augment my vigilance, and to seek out those persons who might be supposed to have been in the confidence of the Marquis de la Romana. I was informed that English agents, dispersed through the Hanse Towns, were endeavoring to foment discord and dissatisfaction among the King of Holland's troops. These manœuvres were connected with the treason of the Spaniards and the arrival of Danican in Denmark. Insubordination had already

[1] The Marquis of Londonderry's *Narrative of the Peninsular War* contains the following particulars relative to Romana's defection: —

"Whilst the naval and military commanders in the Mediterranean were exerting themselves an effort was made in the north, with complete success, to restore to the service of his country one of the ablest officers of which Spain could at that time boast. One of Bonaparte's first measures, when meditating the subjugation of the Peninsula, was to demand from Spain a corps of 16,000 veteran troops, whom, under the Marquis de la Romana, he employed for a time upon the banks of the Vistula, and afterwards removed to the shores of the Great Belt. They were distributed at different points in that district when the standard of independence was raised, and one of the earliest measures of the supreme junta was to issue a proclamation calling upon them, in the name of their country, to return to its defence. This was necessarily consigned to the care of the British cruisers; and it was not given to them in vain. A scheme for its delivery, as well as for the removal of the soldiers, should they, as it was believed they would, desire to comply with its terms, was immediately devised in London; and the execution of it was committed to Vice-Admiral Keats, an officer well worthy of the trust. It succeeded to admiration; and 7000 men, with Romana at their head, were transferred from the ranks of the enemy at a moment of critical interest to those of the patriotic army." Shut up at Funen in the Baltic the Spaniards for some time could obtain no information from their own distant country. The post-offices of Europe were in the hands of Napoleon — his spies were in the camp of Romana; but nevertheless a bold and skilful agent, a Catholic priest of Scotch extraction named Robertson, succeeded in getting ashore at Funen in disguise, and in opening communications between the Spanish general and the British Admiral Keats. The combinations then resorted to by Romana to extricate his troops are entitled to much praise. — *Editor of 1836 edition.*

broken out, but it was promptly repressed. Two Dutch soldiers were shot for striking their officers, but notwithstanding this severity desertion among the troops increased to an alarming degree. Indefatigable agents in the pay of the English Government labored incessantly to seduce the soldiers of King Louis (of Holland) from their duty. Some of these agents being denounced to me were taken almost in the act, and positive proof being adduced of their guilt they were condemned to death.

These indispensable examples of severity did not check the manœuvres of England, though they served to cool the zeal of her agents. I used every endeavor to second the Prince of Ponte-Corvo in tracing out the persons employed by England. It was chiefly from the small island of Heligoland that they found their way to the Continent. This communication was facilitated by the numerous vessels scattered about the small islands which lie along that coast. Five or six pieces of gold defrayed the expense of the passage to or from Heligoland. Thus the Spanish news, which was printed and often fabricated at London, was profusely circulated in the north of Germany. Packets of papers addressed to merchants and well-known persons in the German towns were put into the post-offices of Embden, Knipphausen, Varel, Oldenburg, Delmenhorst, and Bremen. Generally speaking, this part of the coast was not sufficiently well watched to prevent espionage and smuggling; with regard to smuggling, indeed, no power could have entirely prevented it. The Continental system had made it a necessity, so that a great part of the population depended on it for subsistence.

In the beginning of December, 1808, we remarked that the Russian courier, who passed through Königsberg and Berlin, was regularly detained four, five, and even six hours on his way to Hamburg. The trading portion of the population, always suspicious, became alarmed at this change in the courier's hours, into which they inquired and soon discovered the cause. It was ascertained that two agents had been stationed, by the postmaster of the Grand Duchy of Berg at Hamburg, in a village called Eschburg belonging to the

province of Lauenburg. There the courier from Berlin was stopped, and his packets and letters opened. As soon as these facts were known in Hamburg there was a general consternation among the trading class — that is to say, the influential population of the city. Important and well-grounded complaints were made. Some letters had been suppressed, enclosures had been taken from one letter and put into another, and several bills of exchange had gone astray. The intelligence soon reached the ears of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, and was confirmed by the official report of the commissioner for the Imperial and Royal Post-office, who complained of the delay of the courier, of the confusion of the packets, and of want of confidence in the Imperial Post-office. It was impolitic to place such agents in a village where there was not even a post-office, and where the letters were opened in an inn without any supervision. This examination of the letters, sometimes, perhaps, necessary, but often dangerous, and always extremely delicate, created additional alarm on account of the persons to whom the business was intrusted. If the Emperor wished to be made acquainted with the correspondence of certain persons in the north it would have been natural to intrust the business to his agents and his commissioner at Hamburg, and not to two unknown individuals — another inconvenience attending *black cabinets*. At my suggestion the Prince of Ponte-Corvo gave orders for putting a stop to the clandestine business at Eschburg. The two agents were taken to Hamburg and their conduct inquired into. They were severely punished. They deserved this, however, less than those who had intrusted them with such an *honorable* mission; but leaders never make much scruple about abandoning their accomplices in the lower ranks.

But for the pain of witnessing vexations of this sort, which I had not always power to prevent, especially after Bernadotte's removal, my residence at Hamburg would have been delightful. Those who have visited that town know the advantages it possesses from its charming situation on the Elbe, and above all, the delightful country which surrounds it like a garden, and extends to the distance of more than a

league along the banks of the Eyder. The manners and customs of the inhabitants bear the stamp of peculiarity; they are fond of pursuing their occupations in the open air. The old men are often seen sitting round tables placed before their doors sipping tea, while the children play before them, and the young people are at their work. These groups have a very picturesque effect, and convey a gratifying idea of the happiness of the people. On seeing the worthy citizens of Hamburg assembled round their doors I could not help thinking of a beautiful remark of Montesquieu. When he went to Florence with a letter of recommendation to the Prime Minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany he found him sitting at the threshold of his door, inhaling the fresh air and conversing with some friends. "I see," said Montesquieu, "that I am arrived among a happy people, since their Prime Minister can enjoy his leisure moments thus."

A sort of patriarchal simplicity characterizes the manners of the inhabitants of Hamburg. They do not visit each other much, and only by invitation; but on such occasions they display great luxury beneath their simple exterior. They are methodical and punctual to an extraordinary degree. Of this I recollect a curious instance. I was very intimate with Baron Woght, a man of talent and information, and exceedingly amiable manners. One day he called to make us a farewell visit as he intended to set out on the following day for Paris. On Madame de Bourrienne expressing a hope that he would not protract his absence beyond six months, the period he had fixed upon, he replied, "Be assured, madame, nothing shall prevent me getting home on the day I have appointed, for I have invited a party of friends to dine with me on the day after my return." The Baron returned at the appointed time, and none of his guests required to be reminded of his invitation at six months' date.[1]

[1] Among the peculiarities of a former Lord Guildford was a similar one: he would invite friends to dine with him at London six or eight months after the date of the invitation; he would then start for the Ionian Islands, where he was organizing a university for the Greeks — stay there for months, and then, getting over to Otranto or Brindisi, he would travel back through Italy, Switzerland, and France to meet his dinner-party in London. He generally so *timed* matters as to reach his home only a few hours before the dinner was

Napoleon so well knew the effect which his presence produced that after a conquest he loved to show himself to the people whose territories he added to the Empire. Duroc, who always accompanied him when he was not engaged on missions, gave me a curious account of Napoleon's journey in 1807 to Venice and the other Italian provinces, which, conformably with the Treaty of Presburg, were annexed to the Kingdom of Italy.

In this journey to the Kingdom of Italy Napoleon had several important objects in view. He was planning great alliances; and he loaded Eugène with favors for the purpose of sounding him and preparing him for his mother's divorce. At the same time he intended to have an interview with his brother Lucien, because, wishing to dispose of the hand of his brother's daughter, he thought of making her marry the Prince of the Asturias (Ferdinand), who before the Spanish war, when the first dissensions between father and son had become manifest, had solicited an alliance with the Emperor in the hope of getting his support.[1] This was shortly after the eldest son of Louis had died in Holland of croup. It has been wrongly believed that Napoleon had an affection for this

to be on table. In all this, no doubt, there was considerable calculation, and some affectation, but it amused his lordship, and did no harm to any one. He once refused an invitation to prolong his stay for a day or two in the city of Lecce, at the extremity of the Italian peninsula, because he had a party fixed for such a day in London, and must travel on in order to be punctual to the hour! This oddity certainly made the Italian gentry stare with astonishment. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

[1] For Lucien's account of the interview with his brother at Mantua on the 12th December, 1807, see Iung's *Lucien*, tome iii. pp. 82-157. Napoleon offered Lucien everything if he would divorce his second wife, Madame Jouberthon, and spoke of his own divorce from Josephine. He even hinted, says Lucien, that he might marry Charlotte, the daughter of Lucien. The brothers separated on fair terms, but did not see one another again till 1815. In February, 1810, Lucien's daughter Charlotte was sent to the Imperial Court to be ready for a marriage with the Prince of the Asturias, later Ferdinand VII. of Spain, who had prayed Napoleon to grant him the honor of an alliance with an august princess of his family (*Du Casse*, tome iv. p. 259). *Erreurs* (tome ii. p. 172) denies this, but Bourrienne is here right. Another possible claimant of her hand was the Archduke Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Wurzburg, brother of the Emperor Francis of Austria. Napoleon seems also to have felt his way in 1810 for a marriage between her and the Austrian Prince Imperial (see *Metternich*, tome ii. p. 372). The girl disliked the Court, and ridiculed its members and their manners in her letters to her parents. These letters were opened by Napoleon, and read by him to his indignant family, and the girl was sent back to her father. She married Prince Mario Gabrielli in 1815.

child beyond that of an uncle for a nephew. I have already said the truth about this.

However this may be, it is certain that Napoleon now seriously contemplated a divorce from Josephine. If there had been no other proof of this I, who from long habit knew how to read Napoleon's thoughts by his acts, found a sufficient one in the decree issued at Milan by which Napoleon adopted Eugène as his son and successor to the crown of Italy, in default of male and legitimate children directly descended from him. Lucien went to Mantua on his brother's invitation, and this was the last interview they had before the *Cent Jours*. Lucien consented to give his daughter to the Prince of the Asturias, but this marriage did not take place. I learned from Duroc to what a height the enmity of Lucien towards the Beauharnais family, an enmity which I have often had occasion to speak of, had been renewed on this occasion. Lucien could not pardon Josephine for the rebuff of the counsels which he had given her, and which she had rejected with such proper indignation. Lucien had besides another special reason for giving his daughter to the Prince of the Asturias. He particularly wished to prevent that Prince marrying Mademoiselle de Tascher, the niece of Josephine, a marriage for which M. de Beauharnais, then Ambassador of France at Madrid, was working with all his might. Lucien also, with his Republican stolidity, submitted without too much scruple to the idea of having a Bourbon King as son-in-law. It was also during this journey of Napoleon that he annexed Tuscany to the Empire.

Bonaparte returned to Paris on the 1st of January, 1808. On his way he stopped for a short time at Chambéry, where a young man had been waiting for him several days. This was Madame de Staël's son, who was then not more than seventeen years of age. M. Auguste de Staël lodged at the house of the postmaster of Chambéry, and as the Emperor was expected in the course of the night, he gave orders that he should be called up on the arrival of the first courier. The couriers, who had been delayed on the road, did not arrive until six in the morning, and were almost immediately fol-

lowed by the Emperor himself, so that M. de Staël was awakened by the cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* He had just time to dress himself hastily, and fly to meet Napoleon, to whom he delivered a letter, which he had prepared beforehand for the purpose of soliciting an audience. Lauriston, the *aide de camp* on duty, took the letter, it being his business to receive all the letters and petitions which were presented to Napoleon on his way. Before breakfast the Emperor opened the letters which Lauriston had laid on the table; he merely looked at the signatures, and then laid them aside. On opening M. de Staël's letter he said, "Ah! ah! what have we here? a letter from M. de Staël! . . . He wishes to see me. . . . What can he want? . . . Can there be anything in common between me and the refugees of Geneva?" — "Sire," observed Lauriston, "he is a very young man; and, as well as I could judge from the little I saw of him, there is something very prepossessing in his appearance." — "A very young man, say you? . . . Oh, then I will see him. . . . Rustan, tell him to come in." M. de Stael presented himself to Napoleon with modesty, but without any unbecoming timidity. When he had respectfully saluted the Emperor a conversation ensued between them, which Duroc described to me in nearly the following manner.

As M. de Staël advanced towards the Emperor the latter said, "Whence do you come?" — "From Geneva, Sire." — "Where is your mother?" — "She is either in Vienna or will soon be there." — "At Vienna! . . . Well, that is where she ought to be; and I suppose she is happy. . . . She will now have a good opportunity of learning German." — "Sire, how can you imagine my mother is happy when she is absent from her country and her friends? If I were permitted to lay before your Majesty my mother's confidential letter you would see how unhappy she is in her exile." — "Ah, bah! your mother unhappy, indeed! . . . However, I do not mean to say she is altogether a bad woman. . . . She has talent — perhaps too much; and hers is an unbridled talent. She was educated amidst the chaos of the subverted monarchy and the Revolution; and out of these events she makes an amalgamation of her own! All this might become very dangerous.

Her enthusiasm is likely to make proselytes. I must keep watch upon her. She does not like me; and for the interests of those whom she would endanger I must prohibit her coming to Paris."

Young de Staël stated that his object in seeking the interview with the Emperor was to petition for his mother's return to Paris. Napoleon having listened without impatience to the reasons he urged in support of his request, said, "But supposing I were to permit your mother to return to Paris, six months would not elapse before I should be obliged to send her to the Bicêtre or to the Temple. This I should be sorry to do, because the affair would make a noise, and injure me in public opinion. Tell your mother that my determination is formed, that my decision is irrevocable. She shall never set foot in Paris as long as I live." — "Sire, I cannot believe that you would arbitrarily imprison my mother if she gave you no reason for such severity." — "She would give me a dozen! . . . I know her well." — "Sire, permit me to say that I am certain my mother would live in Paris in a way that would afford no ground of reproach; she would live retired, and would see only a very few friends. In spite of your Majesty's refusal I venture to entreat that you will give her a trial, were it only for six weeks or a month. Permit her, Sire, to pass that time in Paris, and I conjure you to come to no final decision beforehand." — "Do you think I am to be deceived by these fair promises? . . . I tell you it cannot be. She would serve as a rallying-point for the Faubourg St. Germain. She see nobody, indeed! Could she make that sacrifice? She would visit and receive company. She would be guilty of a thousand follies. She would be saying things which she may consider as very good jokes, but which I should take seriously. My government is no joke: I wish this to be well known by everybody." — "Sire, will your Majesty permit me to repeat that my mother has no wish whatever to mingle in society? She would confine herself to the circle of a few friends, a list of whom she would give to your Majesty. You, Sire, who love France so well, may form some idea of the misery my mother suffers in her banishment. I conjure your

Majesty to yield to my entreaties, and let us be included in the number of your faithful subjects." — "You!" — "Yes, Sire; or if your Majesty persist in your refusal, permit a son to inquire what can have raised your displeasure against his mother. Some say that it was my grandfather's last work; but I can assure your Majesty that my mother had nothing to do with that." — "Yes, certainly," added Napoleon, with more ill humor than he had hitherto manifested. "Yes, certainly, that work is very objectionable. Your grandfather was an ideologist, a fool, an old lunatic. At sixty years of age to think of forming plans to overthrow my constitution! States would be well governed, truly, under such theorists, who judge of men from books and the world from the map." — "Sire, since my grandfather's plans are, in your Majesty's eyes, nothing but vain theories, I cannot conceive why they should so highly excite your displeasure. There is no political economist who has not traced out plans of constitutions." — "Oh! as to political economists, they are mere visionaries, who are dreaming of plans of finance while they are unfit to fulfil the duties of a schoolmaster in the most insignificant village in the Empire. Your grandfather's work is that of an obstinate old man who died abusing all governments." — "Sire, may I presume to suppose, from the way in which you speak of it, that your Majesty judges from the report of malignant persons, and that you have not yourself read it?" — "That is a mistake. I have read it myself from beginning to end." — "Then your Majesty must have seen how my grandfather renders justice to your genius." — "Fine justice, truly! . . . . He calls me the indispensable man, but, judging from his arguments, the best thing that could be done would be to cut my throat! Yes, I was indeed indispensable to repair the follies of your grandfather, and the mischief he did to France. It was he who overturned the monarchy and led Louis XVI. to the scaffold." — "Sire, you seem to forget that my grandfather's property was confiscated because he defended the King." — "Defended the King! A fine defence, truly! You might as well say that if I give a man poison and present him with an antidote when he is in the agonies of death I

wish to save him! Yet that is the way your grandfather defended Louis XVI. . . . As to the confiscation you speak of, what does that prove? Nothing. Why, the property of Robespierre was confiscated! And let me tell you that Robespierre himself, Marat, and Danton did much less mischief to France than M. Necker. It was he who brought about the Revolution. You, Monsieur de Staël, did not see this; but I did. I witnessed all that passed in those days of terror and public calamity. But as long as I live those days shall never return. Your speculators trace their Utopian schemes upon paper; fools read and believe them. All are babbling about general happiness, and presently the people have not bread to eat; then comes a revolution. Such is usually the fruit of all these fine theories! Your grandfather was the cause of the saturnalia which desolated France. He is responsible for all the blood shed in the Revolution!"

Duroc informed me that the Emperor uttered these last words in a tone of fury which made all present tremble for young De Staël. Fortunately the young man did not lose his self-possession in the conflict, while the agitated expression of his countenance evidently showed what was passing in his mind. He was sufficiently master of himself to reply to the Emperor in a calm though rather faltering voice: "Sire, permit me to hope that posterity will judge of my grandfather more favorably than your Majesty does. During his administration he was ranked by the side of Sully and Colbert; and let me repeat again that I trust posterity will render him justice." — "Posterity will, probably, say little about him." — "I venture to hope the contrary, Sire."

Then, added Duroc, the Emperor turning to us said with a smile, "After all, gentlemen, it is not for me to say too much against the Revolution since I have gained a throne by it." Then again turning to M. de Staël he said, "The reign of anarchy is at an end. I must have subordination. Respect the sovereign authority, since it comes from God.[1] You are

[1] This belief in the Divine origin of power was dear to the mind of Napoleon. "Napoleon was also much impressed with the idea of deriving the origin of supreme authority from the Divinity. He said to me one day at Compiègne, shortly after his marriage with the Archduchess, 'I see that the

young, and well educated, therefore, follow a better course, and avoid those bad principles which endanger the welfare of society."—"Sire, since your Majesty does me the honor to think me well educated, you ought not to condemn the principles of my grandfather and my mother, for it is in those principles that I have been brought up."—"Well, I advise you to keep right in politics, for I will not pardon any offences of the Necker kind. Every one should keep right in politics."

This conversation, Duroc informed me, had continued the whole time of breakfast, and the Emperor rose just as he pronounced these last words: "Every one should keep right in politics." At that moment young De Staël again renewed his solicitations for his mother's recall from exile. Bonaparte then stepped up to him and pinched his ear with that air of familiarity which was customary to him when he was in good humor or wished to appear so. "You are young," said he; "if you had my age and experience you would judge of things more correctly. I am far from being displeased with your frankness. I like to see a son plead his mother's cause. Your mother has given you a difficult commission, and you have executed it cleverly. I am glad I have had this opportunity of conversing with you. I love to talk with young people when they are unassuming and not too fond of arguing. But in spite of that I will not hold out false hopes to you. Murat has already spoken to me on the subject, and I have told him, as I now tell you, that my will is irrevocable. If your mother were in prison I should not hesitate to liberate her, but nothing shall induce me to recall her from exile."—"But, Sire, is she not as unhappy in being banished from her country and her friends as if she were in prison?"—"Oh! these are your mother's romantic ideas. She is exceedingly

Empress, in writing to her father, addresses her letter to *His Sacred and Imperial Majesty*. Is this title customary with you?' I told him that it was, from the tradition of the old German Empire, which bore the title of the Holy Empire, and because it was also attached to the Apostolic crown of Hungary. Napoleon then replied in a grave tone, 'It is a fine custom and a good expression. Power comes from God, and it is that alone which places it beyond the attack of men. Hence I shall adopt the title some day'" (*Metternich*, tome i. p. 276).

unhappy, and much to be pitied, no doubt! . . . With the exception of Paris she has all Europe for her prison." — "But, Sire, her friends are in Paris." — "With her talents she may make friends anywhere. After all, I cannot understand why she should be so anxious to come to Paris. Why should she wish to place herself immediately within the reach of my tyranny? Can she not go to Rome, to Berlin, to Vienna, to Milan, or to London? Yes, let her go to London; that is the place for her. There she may libel me as much as she pleases. In short, she has my full liberty to be anywhere but in Paris. You see, Monsieur de Staël, *that* is the place of my residence, and *there* I will have only those who are attached to me. I know from experience that if I were to allow your mother to come to Paris she would spoil everybody about me. She would finish the spoiling of Garat. It was she who ruined the Tribunate. I know she would promise wonders; but she cannot refrain from meddling with politics." — "I can assure your Majesty that my mother does not now concern herself about politics. She devotes herself exclusively to the society of her friends and to literature." — "Ah, there it is! . . . Literature! Do you think I am to be imposed upon by that word? While discoursing on literature, morals, the fine arts, and such matters, it is easy to dabble in politics. Let women mind their knitting. If your mother were in Paris I should hear all sorts of reports about her. Things might, indeed, be falsely attributed to her: but, be that as it may, I will have nothing of the kind going on in the capital in which I reside. All things considered, advise your mother to go to London. That is the best place for her. As for your grandfather, I have not spoken too severely of him. M. Necker knew nothing of the art of government. I have learned something of the matter during the last twenty years." — "All the world, Sire, renders justice to your Majesty's genius, and there is no one but acknowledges that the finances of France are now more prosperous than ever they were before your reign. But permit me to observe that your Majesty must, doubtless, have seen some merit in the financial regulations of my grandfather, since you have adopted some of them in the

admirable system you have established." — "That proves nothing; for two or three good ideas do not constitute a good system. Be that as it may, I say again, I will never allow your mother to return to Paris." — "But, Sire, if sacred interests should absolutely require her presence there for a few days would not ——" — "How! Sacred interests! What do you mean?" — "Yes, Sire, if you do not allow her to return I shall be obliged to go there, unaided by her advice, in order to recover from your Majesty's Government the payment of a sacred debt." — "Ah! bah! Sacred! Are not all the debts of the State sacred?" — "Doubtless, Sire; but ours is attended with circumstances which give it a peculiar character." — "A peculiar character! Nonsense! Does not every State creditor say the same of his debt? Besides, I know nothing of your claim. It does not concern me, and I will not meddle with it. If you have the law on your side so much the better; but if you want favor I tell you I will not interfere. If I did, I should be rather against you than otherwise." — "Sire, my brother and myself had intended to settle in France, but how can we live in a country where our mother cannot visit us?" — "I do not care for that. I do not advise you to come here. Go to England. The English like wrangling politicians. Go there, for in France, I tell you candidly, that I should be rather against you than for you."

"After this conversation," added Duroc, "the Emperor got into the carriage with me without stopping to look to the other petitions which had been presented to him. He preserved unbroken silence until he got nearly opposite the cascade, on the left of the road, a few leagues from Chambéry. He appeared to be absorbed in reflection. At length he said, 'I fear I have been somewhat too harsh with this young man. . . . But no matter, it will prevent others from troubling me. These people calumniate everything I do. They do not understand me, Duroc; their place is not in France. How can Necker's family be for the Bourbons, whose first duty, if ever they returned to France, would be to hang them all?'"[1]

[1] After all the outcry which has been raised about the tyrannical conduct of Napoleon towards Madame de Staël, there is some point in his question as

This conversation, related to me by Duroc, interested me so much that I noted it down on paper immediately after my interview.[2]

to why she was so anxious to place herself under his tyranny. Napoleon knew her as a clever, meddling, ambitious woman, and he prevented her from stirring up political strife in Paris at a time when the land called for internal even more than for external peace. As Napoleon said to Metternich, "If Madame de Staël would be, or could be, either a Royalist or a Republican, I should have nothing to say against her: but she is a machine in motion which will make a disturbance in the *salons*. It is only in France that such a woman is to be feared, and I will not agree to it (her return)" (*Metternich*, tome i. p. 281).

[2] After the fall of Bonaparte Auguste de Staël became an orator and a political writer of high reputation. See his *Œuvres diverses*, Paris, 1829.

CHAPTER XV.

1808.

The Republic of Batavia — The crown of Holland offered to Louis — Offer and refusal of the crown of Spain — Napoleon's attempt to get possession of Brabant — Napoleon before and after Erfurt — A remarkable letter to Louis — Louis summoned to Paris — His honesty and courage — His bold language — Louis' return to Holland, and his letter to Napoleon — Harsh letter from Napoleon to Louis — Affray at Amsterdam — Napoleon's displeasure and last letter to his brother — Louis' abdication in favor of his son — Union of Holland to the French Empire — Protest of Louis against that measure — Letter from M. Otto to Louis.

While Bonaparte was the chief of the French Republic he had no objection to the existence of a Batavian Republic in the north of France, and he equally tolerated the Cisalpine Republic in the south. But after the coronation all the Republics, which were grouped like satellites round the grand Republic, were converted into kingdoms subject to the Empire, if not avowedly, at least in fact. In this respect there was no difference between the Batavian and Cisalpine Republics.[1] The

[1] It may be interesting to detail the various Republics formed or renamed during the Revolutionary wars. France itself, declared a Republic on 21st September, 1792, became an Empire in 1804. The Batavian Republic was formed of Holland in 1795; it became a kingdom under Louis Bonaparte in 1806, and after being annexed to the French Empire in 1810 fell to the House of Orange in 1815. Switzerland became the Helvetian Republic in 1798, and the Swiss Confederation in 1803. The Valais, occupied by the French in 1801, was made a separate Republic in 1802: it was annexed to the Empire in 1810, and restored to Switzerland in 1815. Another of the Swiss States, the Pays de Vaud, was named the République Lemanique in 1798, and ended as a separate Canton. The Republic of the Seven Islands was formed of the Ionian Islands, taken from Venice and given to France in 1797 by the Treaty of Campo-Formio. Then, having been taken by the Russians and Turks, they were formed into the République des Sept Isles in 1800, and were so recognized by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. They were restored to France by Russia under the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, but were taken by the English in 1809. From 1815 the Republic remained under English protection till 1864, when the English withdrew, and the Republic joined Greece. The little Republic of Ragusa was occupied by the French in 1806, and its government was broken up in 1808, after which it became part of the Illyrian provinces, eventually falling to Austria in 1815. The Italian Republics were many. The Transpadane Republic had been intended by Napoleon to be formed of Lombardy, but in 1797 it was joined to the Cispadane to form the Cisalpine Republic. The Cispadane Republic was first formed by Napoleon, in 1796,

latter having been metamorphosed into the Kingdom of Italy, it was necessary to find some pretext for transforming the former into the Kingdom of Holland. The government of the Republic of Batavia had been for some time past merely the shadow of a government, but still it preserved, even in its submission to France, those internal forms of freedom which console a nation for the loss of independence. The Emperor kept up such an extensive agency in Holland that he easily got up a deputation soliciting him to choose a king for the Batavian Republic. This submissive deputation came to Paris in 1806 to solicit the Emperor, as a favor, to place Prince Louis on the throne of Holland. The address of the deputation, the answer of Napoleon, and the speech of Louis on being raised to the sovereign dignity, have all been published.

Louis became King of Holland much against his inclination, for he opposed the proposition as much as he dared, alleging as an objection the state of his health, to which certainly the climate of Holland was not favorable; but Bonaparte sternly replied to his remonstrance, "It is better to die a king than live a prince." He was then obliged to accept the crown. He went to Holland accompanied by Hortense, who, however, did not stay long there. The new King wanted to make himself beloved by his subjects, and as they were an entirely commercial people the best way to win their affections was not to adopt Napoleon's rigid laws against commercial intercourse with England. Hence the first coolness between the two brothers, which ended in the abdication of Louis.

from the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, etc. In 1797, the Cispadane and the Transpadane were united to form the Cisalpine Republic, which included Lombardy and the former Austrian and Venetian provinces of Modena, Reggio, Brescia, Mantua, the three Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, and the Valtelline, with a population of about 3,600,000. The Cisalpine became the Italian Republic in 1801, and in 1805 was changed into the Kingdom of Italy, Napoleon himself assuming the crown, which, however, was not to be again united to that of France. The Ligurian Republic was formed in 1797 of Genoa; in 1805 it was annexed to France, and in 1815 it fell to Sardinia, much to its discontent. The Roman or Tiberine Republic was formed in February, 1798, when Berthier occupied the city, but it fell when Italy was reconquered from the French in 1799, again coming under the Pope. The Parthenopean Republic, formed of Naples, in January, 1799, only existed till July, 1799, when the Bourbons retook it. The little Republic of Lucca, in 1805, was converted into a Principality for Elisa Bonaparte (Princess Bacciochi). Bâle was the Republic of Raurasia from 1792 to 1793.

I know not whether Napoleon recollected the motive assigned by Louis for at first refusing the crown of Holland, namely, the climate of the country, or whether he calculated upon greater submission in another of his brothers; but this is certain, that Joseph was not called from the throne of Naples to the throne of Spain until after the refusal of Louis. I have in my possession a copy of a letter written to him by Napoleon on the subject. It is without date of time or place, but its contents prove it to have been written in March or April, 1808. It is as follows: —

BROTHER — The King of Spain, Charles IV., has just abdicated. The Spanish people loudly appeal to me. Certain of obtaining no solid peace with England unless I cause a great movement on the Continent, I have determined to place a French King on the throne of Spain. The climate of Holland does not agree with you; besides, Holland cannot rise from her ruins. In the whirlwind of events, whether we have peace or not, there is no possibility of her maintaining herself. In this state of things I have thought of the throne of Spain for you. Give me your opinions categorically on this measure. If I were to name you King of Spain would you accept the offer? May I count on you? Answer me these two questions. Say, "I have received your letter of such a day, I answer *Yes*," and then I shall count on your doing what I wish; or say "*No*" if you decline my proposal. Let no one enter into your confidence, and mention to no one the object of this letter. The thing must be done before we confess having thought about it.[1]

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Before finally seizing Holland Napoleon formed the project of separating Brabant and Zealand from it in exchange for other provinces, the possession of which was doubtful, but Louis successfully resisted this first act of usurpation. Bonaparte was too intent on the great business in Spain to risk any commotion in the north, where the declaration of Russia against Sweden already sufficiently occupied him. He therefore did not insist upon, and even affected indifference to, the proposed augmentation of the territory of the Empire. This at least may be collected from another letter, dated St. Cloud,

[1] Garden (tome xi. p. 200) alleges that the throne of Spain was first offered by Napoleon to Louis on 27th March, 1808. Du Casse (tome iv. p. 285) allows that this may be true, as the first hint given to Joseph of his being called to Spain is dated 18th April, 1808; see *Du Casse*, tome iv. p. 227. Thiers (tome viii. p. 622) assumes that Joseph was the only choice.

17th August, written upon hearing from M. Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld, his Ambassador in Holland, and from his brother himself, the opposition of Louis to his project.

The letter was as follows : —

BROTHER — I have received your letter relating to that of the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld. He was only authorized to make the proposals indirectly. Since the exchange does not please you let us think no more about it. It was useless to make a parade of principles, though I never said that you ought not to consult the nation. The well-informed part of the Dutch people had already acknowledged their indifference to the loss of Brabant, which is connected with France rather than with Holland, and interspersed with expensive fortresses ; it might have been advantageously exchanged for the northern provinces. But, once for all, since you do not like this arrangement, let no more be said about it. It was useless even to mention it to me, for the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld was instructed merely to hint the matter.

Though ill humor here evidently peeps out beneath affected condescension, yet the tone of this letter is singularly moderate, — I may even say kind, in comparison with other letters which Napoleon addressed to Louis. This letter, it is true, was written previously to the interview at Erfurt, when Napoleon, to avoid alarming Russia, made his ambition appear to slumber. But when he got his brother Joseph recognized, and when he had himself struck an important blow in the Peninsula, he began to change his tone to Louis. On the 20th of December he wrote a very remarkable letter, which exhibits the unreserved expression of that tyranny which he wished to exercise over all his family in order to make them the instruments of his despotism. He reproached Louis for not following his system of policy, telling him that he had forgotten he was a Frenchman, and that he wished to become a Dutchman. Among other things he said : —

Your Majesty has done more: you took advantage of the moment when I was involved in the affairs of the Continent to renew the relations between Holland and England — to violate the laws of the blockade, which are the only means of effectually destroying the latter power. I expressed my dissatisfaction by forbidding you to come to France, and I have made you feel that even without the assistance of my armies, by merely closing the Rhine, the Weser, the Scheldt, and the Meuse against Holland, I should have placed her in a situation more critical than if I had declared

war against her. Your Majesty implored my generosity, appealed to my feelings as a brother, and promised to alter your conduct. I thought this warning would be sufficient. I raised my custom-house prohibitions, but your Majesty has returned to your old system. . . . Your Majesty received all the American ships that presented themselves in the ports of Holland after having been expelled from those of France. I have been obliged a second time to prohibit trade with Holland. In this state of things we may consider ourselves really at war. In my speech to the Legislative Body I manifested my displeasure; for I will not conceal from you that my intention is to unite Holland with France. This will be the most severe blow I can aim against England, and will deliver me from the perpetual insults which the plotters of your Cabinet are constantly directing against me. The mouths of the Rhine and of the Meuse ought, indeed, to belong to me. The principle that the *Thalweg* (towing-path) of the Rhine is the boundary of France is a fundamental principle. Your Majesty writes to me on the 17th that you are sure of being able to prevent all trade between Holland and England. I am of opinion that your Majesty promises more than you can fulfil. I shall, however, remove my custom-house prohibitions whenever the existing treaties may be executed. The following are my conditions: — First, The interdiction of all trade and communication with England. Second, The supply of a fleet of fourteen sail of the line, seven frigates and seven brigs or corvettes, armed and manned. Third, An army of 25,000 men. Fourth, The suppression of the rank of marshals. Fifth, The abolition of all the privileges of nobility which are contrary to the constitution which I have given and guaranteed. Your Majesty may negotiate on these bases with the Duc de Cadore, through the medium of your Minister; but be assured that on the entrance of the first packet-boat into Holland I will restore my prohibitions, and that *the first Dutch officer who may presume to insult my flag shall be seized and hanged at the mainyard.* Your Majesty will find in me a brother if you prove yourself a Frenchman; but if you forget the sentiments which attach you to our common country you cannot think it extraordinary that I should lose sight of those which nature created between us. In short, the union of Holland and France will be, of all things, most useful to France, to Holland, and the whole Continent, because it will be most injurious to England. This union must be effected willingly or by force. Holland has given me sufficient reason to declare war against her. However, I shall not scruple to consent to an arrangement which will secure to me the limit of the Rhine, and by which Holland will pledge herself to fulfil the conditions stipulated above.[1]

[1] Much of the manner in which Napoleon treated occupied countries such as Holland is explained by the spirit of his answer when Beugnot complained to him of the harm done to the Grand Duchy of Berg by the monopoly of tobacco. "It is extraordinary that you should not have discovered the motive that makes me persist in the establishment of the monopoly of tobacco in the Grand Duchy. The question is not about your Grand Duchy

Here the correspondence between the two brothers was suspended for a time; but Louis still continued exposed to new vexations on the part of Napoleon. About the end of 1809 the Emperor summoned all the sovereigns who might be called his vassals to Paris. Among the number was Louis, who, however, did not show himself very willing to quit his States. He called a council of his Ministers, who were of opinion that for the interest of Holland he ought to make this new sacrifice. He did so with resignation. Indeed, every day passed on the throne was a sacrifice made by Louis.

He lived very quietly in Paris, and was closely watched by the police, for it was supposed that as he had come against his will he would not protract his stay so long as Napoleon wished. The system of espionage under which he found himself placed, added to the other circumstances of his situation, inspired him with a degree of energy of which he was not believed to be capable; and amidst the general silence of the servants of the Empire, and even of the Kings and Princes assembled in the capital, he ventured to say, "I have been deceived by promises which were never intended to be kept. Holland is tired of being the sport of France." The Emperor, who was unused to such language as this, was highly incensed at it. Louis had now no alternative but to yield to the incessant exactions of Napoleon or to see Holland united to France. He chose the latter, though not before he had exerted all his feeble power in behalf of the subjects whom Napoleon had consigned to him; but he would not be the accomplice of the man who had resolved to make those subjects the victims of his hatred against England. Who, indeed, could be so blind as not to see that the ruin of the Continent would be the triumph of British commerce?

but about France. I am very well aware that it is not to your benefit, and that you very possibly lose by it, but what does that signify if it be for the good of France? I tell you, then, that in every country where there is a monopoly of tobacco, but which is contiguous to one where the sale is free, a regular smuggling infiltration must be reckoned on, supplying the consumption for twenty or twenty-five miles into the country subject to the duty. That is what I intend to preserve France from. You must protect yourselves as well as you can from this infiltration. It is enough for me to drive it back more than twenty or twenty-five miles from my frontier" (*Beugnot*, vol. ii. p. 26).

Louis was, however, permitted to return to his States to contemplate the stagnating effect of the Continental blockade on every branch of trade and industry formerly so active in Holland. Distressed at witnessing evils to which he could apply no remedy, he endeavored by some prudent remonstrances to avert the utter ruin with which Holland was threatened. On the 23d of March, 1810, he wrote the following letter to Napoleon: —

> If you wish to consolidate the present state of France, to obtain maritime peace, or to attack England with advantage, those objects are not to be obtained by measures like the blockading system, the destruction of a kingdom raised by yourself, or the enfeebling of your allies, and setting at defiance their most sacred rights and the first principles of the law of nations. You should, on the contrary, win their affections for France, and consolidate and re-enforce your allies, making them like your brothers, in whom you may place confidence. The destruction of Holland, far from being the means of assailing England, will serve only to increase her strength, by all the industry and wealth which will fly to her for refuge. There are, in reality, only three ways of assailing England, namely, by detaching Ireland, getting possession of the East Indies, or by invasion. These two latter modes, which would be the most effectual, cannot be executed without naval force. But I am astonished that the first should have been so easily relinquished. That is a more secure mode of obtaining peace on good conditions than the system of injuring ourselves for the sake of committing a greater injury upon the enemy.
>
> (Signed) Louis.

Written remonstrances were no more to Napoleon's taste than verbal ones at a time when, as I was informed by my friends whom fortune chained to his destiny, no one presumed to address a word to him except in answer to his questions. Cambacérès, who alone had retained that privilege in public as his old colleague in the Consulate, lost it after Napoleon's marriage with the daughter of Imperial Austria. His brother's letter highly roused his displeasure. Two months after he received it, being on a journey in the north, he replied from Ostend by a letter which cannot be read without a feeling of pain, since it serves to show how weak are the most sacred ties of blood in comparison with the interests of an insatiable policy. This letter was as follows: —

Brother — In the situation in which we are placed it is best to speak candidly. I know your secret sentiments, and all that you can say to the contrary can avail nothing. Holland is certainly in a melancholy situation. I believe you are anxious to extricate her from her difficulties; it is you, and you alone, who can do this. When you conduct yourself in such a way as to induce the people of Holland to believe that you act under my influence, that all your measures and all your sentiments are conformable with mine, then you will be loved, you will be esteemed, and you will acquire the power requisite for re-establishing Holland: when to be my friend, and the friend of France, shall become a title of favor at your court, Holland will be in her natural situation. Since your return from Paris you have done nothing to effect this object. What will be the result of your conduct? Your subjects, bandied about between France and England, will throw themselves into the arms of France, and will demand to be united to her. You know my character, which is to pursue my object unimpeded by any consideration. What, therefore, do you expect me to do? I can dispense with Holland, but Holland cannot dispense with my protection. If, under the dominion of one of my brothers, but looking to me alone for her welfare, she does not find in her sovereign my image, all confidence in your government is at an end; your sceptre is broken. Love France, love my glory — that is the only way to serve Holland: if you had acted as you ought to have done that country, having become a part of my Empire, would have been the more dear to me since I had given her a sovereign whom I almost regarded as my son. In placing you on the throne of Holland I thought I had placed a French citizen there. You have followed a course diametrically opposed to what I expected. I have been forced to prohibit you from coming to France, and to take possession of a part of your territory. In proving yourself a bad Frenchman you are less to the Dutch than a Prince of Orange, to whose family they owe their rank as a nation, and a long succession of prosperity and glory. By your banishment from France the Dutch are convinced that they have lost what they would not have lost under a Schimmelpenninck or a Prince of Orange. Prove yourself a Frenchman, and the brother of the Emperor, and be assured that thereby you will serve the interests of Holland. But you seem to be incorrigible, for you would drive away the few Frenchmen who remain with you. You must be dealt with, not by affectionate advice, but by threats and compulsion. What mean the prayers and mysterious fasts you have ordered? Louis, you will not reign long. Your actions disclose better than your confidential letters the sentiments of your mind. Return to the right course. Be a Frenchman in heart, or your people will banish you, and you will leave Holland an object of ridicule.[1]

[1] It was, on the contrary, because Louis made himself a Dutchman that his people *did not* banish him, and that he carried away with him the regret of all that portion of his subjects who could appreciate his excellent qualities and possessed good sense enough to perceive that he was not to blame

States must be governed by reason and policy, and not by the weakness produced by acrid and vitiated humors.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

A few days after this letter was despatched to Louis, Napoleon heard of a paltry affray which had taken place at Amsterdam, and to which Comte de la Rochefoucauld gave a temporary diplomatic importance, being aware that he could not better please his master than by affording him an excuse for being angry. It appeared that the honor of the Count's coachman had been put in jeopardy by the insult of a citizen of Amsterdam, and a quarrel had ensued, which, but for the interference of the guard of the palace, might have terminated seriously since it assumed the character of a party affair between the French and Dutch. M. de la Rochefoucauld immediately despatched to the Emperor, who was then at Lille, a full report of his coachman's quarrel, in which he expressed himself with as much earnestness as the illustrious author of the "Maxims" evinced when he waged war against kings. The consequence was that Napoleon instantly fulminated the following letter against his brother Louis: —

BROTHER — At the very moment when you were making the fairest protestations I learn that the servants of my Ambassador have been ill-treated at Amsterdam. I insist that those who were guilty of this outrage be delivered up to me, in order that their punishment may serve as an example to others. The Sieur Serrurier has informed me how you conducted yourself at the diplomatic audiences. I have, consequently, determined that the Dutch Ambassador shall not remain in Paris; and Admiral Verhuell has received orders to depart within twenty-four hours. I want no more phrases and protestations. It is time I should know whether you intend to ruin Holland by your follies. I do not choose that you should again send a Minister to Austria, or that you should dismiss the French who are in your service. I have recalled my Ambassador as I intend only to have a *chargé d'affaires* in Holland. The Sieur Serrurier, who remains there in that capacity, will communicate my intentions. My Ambassador shall no longer be exposed to your insults.

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for the evils that weighed upon Holland. — *Bourrienne.* The conduct of Bonaparte to Murat was almost a counterpart to this. When Murat attempted to consult the interests of Naples he was called a traitor to France. —*Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

Write to me no more of those set phrases which you have been repeating for the last three years, and the falsehood of which is proved every day.

This is the last letter I will ever write to you as long as I live.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Thus reduced to the cruel alternative of crushing Holland with his own hands, or leaving that task to the Emperor, Louis did not hesitate to lay down his sceptre. Having formed this resolution, he addressed a message to the Legislative Body of the Kingdom of Holland explaining the motives of his abdication. The French troops entered Holland under the command of the Duke of Reggio, and that marshal, who was more a king than the King himself, threatened to occupy Amsterdam. Louis then descended from his throne, and four years after Napoleon was hurled from his.

In his act of abdication Louis declared that he had been driven to that step by the unhappy state of his Kingdom, which he attributed to his brother's unfavorable feelings towards him. He added that he had made every effort and sacrifice to put an end to that painful state of things, and that, finally, he regarded himself as the cause of the continual misunderstanding between the French Empire and Holland. It is curious that Louis thought he could abdicate the crown of Holland in favor of his son, as Napoleon only four years after wished to abdicate his crown in favor of the King of Rome.

Louis bade farewell to the people of Holland in a proclamation, after the publication of which he repaired to the waters at Tœplitz. There he was living in tranquil retirement when he learned that his brother had united Holland to the Empire. He then published a protest, of which I obtained a copy, though its circulation was strictly prohibited by the police. In this protest Louis said: —

The constitution of the state guaranteed by the Emperor, my brother, gave me the right of abdicating in favor of my children. That abdication was made in the form and terms prescribed by the constitution. The Emperor had no right to declare war against Holland, and he has not done so.

There is no act, no dissent, no demand of the Dutch nation that can authorize the pretended union.

My abdication does not leave the throne vacant. I have abdicated only in favor of my children.

As that abdication left Holland for twelve years under a regency, that is to say, under the direct influence of the Emperor, according to the terms of the constitution, there was no need of that union for executing every measure he might have in view against trade and against England, since his will was supreme in Holland.

But I ascended the throne without any other conditions except those imposed upon me by my conscience, my duty, and the interest and welfare of my subjects. I therefore declare before God and the independent sovereigns to whom I address myself —

First, That the treaty of the 16th of March, 1810, which occasioned the separation of the province of Zealand and Brabant from Holland, was accepted by compulsion, and ratified conditionally by me in Paris, where I was detained against my will; and that, moreover, the treaty was never executed by the Emperor my brother. Instead of 6000 French troops which I was to maintain, according to the terms of the treaty, that number has been more than doubled; instead of occupying only the mouths of the rivers and the coasts, the French custom-houses have encroached into the interior of the country; instead of the interference of France being confined to the measures connected with the blockade of England, Dutch magazines have been seized and Dutch subjects arbitrarily imprisoned; finally, none of the verbal promises have been kept which were made in the Emperor's name by the Duc de Cadore to grant indemnities for the countries ceded by the said treaty and to mitigate its execution, if the King would refer entirely to the Emperor, etc. I declare, in my name, in the name of the nation and my son, the treaty of the 16th of March, 1810, to be null and void.

Second, I declare that my abdication was forced by the Emperor, my brother, that it was made only as the last extremity, and on this one condition — that I should maintain the rights of Holland and my children. My abdication could only be made in their favor.

Third, in my name, in the name of the King, my son,[1] who is as yet a

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[1] The eldest son of Louis, one of the fruits of his unhappy marriage with Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine, the wife of his brother Napoleon, was little more than six years of age when his father abdicated the crown of Holland in his favor. In 1830–31 this imprudent young man joined the ill-combined mad insurrection in the States of the Pope. He was present in one or two petty skirmishes, and was, we believe, wounded; but it was a *malaria* fever caught in the unhealthy Campagna of Rome that carried him to the grave in the twenty-seventh year of his age. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition*. The first child of Louis and of Hortense had died in 1807. The second son, Napoléon Louis (1804–1831) in whose favor he abdicated, had been created Grand Duc de Berg et de Clévès by Napoleon in 1809. He married in 1825 Charlotte, the daughter of Joseph Bonaparte, and died in 1831, while engaged in a revolutionary movement in Italy. On his death his younger brother, Charles Louis Napoleon, the future Napoleon III., first came forward as an aspirant.

minor, and in the name of the Dutch nation, I declare the pretended union of Holland to France, mentioned in the decree of the Emperor, my brother, dated the 9th of July last, to be null, void, illegal, unjust, and arbitrary in the eyes of God and man, and that the nation and the minor King will assert their just rights when circumstances permit them.

(Signed) Louis.

August 1, 1810.

Thus there seemed to be an end of all intercourse between these two brothers, who were so opposite in character and disposition. But Napoleon, who was enraged that Louis should have presumed to protest, and that in energetic terms, against the union of his Kingdom with the Empire, ordered him to return to France, whither he was summoned in his character of Constable and French Prince. Louis, however, did not think proper to obey this summons, and Napoleon, mindful of his promise of never writing to him again, ordered the following letter to be addressed to him by M. Otto, who had been Ambassador from France to Vienna since the then recent marriage of the Emperor with Maria Louisa: —

Sire — The Emperor directs me to write to your Majesty as follows: —

"It is the duty of every French Prince, and every member of the Imperial family, to reside in France, whence they cannot absent themselves without the permission of the Emperor. Before the union of Holland to the Empire the Emperor permitted the King to reside at Teeplitz, in Bohemia. His health appeared to require the use of the waters, but now the Emperor requires that Prince Louis shall return, at the latest by the 1st of December next, under pain of being considered as disobeying the constitution of the Empire and the head of his family, and being treated accordingly."

I fulfil, Sire, word for word the mission with which I have been intrusted, and I send the chief secretary of the embassy to be assured that this letter is rightly delivered. I beg your Majesty to accept the homage of my respect, etc. (Signed) Otto.

What a letter was this to be addressed by a subject to a prince and a sovereign! When I afterwards saw M. Otto in Paris, and conversed with him on the subject, he assured me how much he had been distressed at the necessity of writing such a letter to the brother of the Emperor. He had em-

ployed the expressions dictated by Napoleon in that irritation which he could never command when his will was opposed.[1]

[1] With regard to Louis and his conduct in Holland Napoleon thus spoke at St. Helena: —

"Louis is not devoid of intelligence, and has a good heart, but even with these qualifications a man may commit many errors, and do a great deal of mischief. Louis is naturally inclined to be capricious and fantastical, and the works of Jean Jacques Rousseau have contributed to increase this disposition. Seeking to obtain a reputation for sensibility and beneficence, incapable by himself of enlarged views, and, at most, competent to local details, Louis acted like a prefect rather than a King.

"No sooner had he arrived in Holland than, fancying that nothing could be finer than to have it said that he was thenceforth a true Dutchman, he attached himself entirely to the party favorable to the English, promoted smuggling, and thus connived with our enemies. It became necessary from that moment to watch over him, and even threaten to wage war against him. Louis then seeking a refuge against the weakness of his disposition in the most stubborn obstinacy, and mistaking a public scandal for an act of glory, fled from his throne, declaiming against me and against my insatiable ambition, my intolerable tyranny, etc. What then remained for me to do? Was I to abandon Holland to our enemies? Ought I to have given it another King? But in that case could I have expected more from him than from my own brother? Did not all the Kings that I created act nearly in the same manner? I therefore united Holland to the Empire, and this act produced a most unfavorable impression in Europe, and contributed not a little to lay the foundation of our misfortunes" (*Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*).

CHAPTER XVI.

1809.

Demands for contingents from some of the small States of Germany — M. Metternich — Position of Russia with respect to France — Union of Austria and Russia — Return of the English to Spain — Soult King of Portugal, and Murat successor to the Emperor — First levy of the landwehre in Austria — Agents of the *Hamburg Correspondant* — Declaration of Prince Charles — Napoleon's march to Germany — His proclamation — Bernadotte's departure for the army — Napoleon's dislike of Bernadotte — Prince Charles's plan of campaign — The English at Cuxhaven — Fruitlessness of the plots of England — Napoleon wounded — Napoleon's prediction realized — Major Schill — Hamburg threatened and saved — Schill in Lübeck — His death, and destruction of his band — Schill imitated by the Duke of Brunswick-Œls — Departure of the English from Cuxhaven.

Bonaparte, the foundations of whose Empire were his sword and his victories, and who was anxiously looking forward to the time when the sovereigns of Continental Europe should be his *juniors*, applied for contingents of troops from the States to which I was accredited.[1] The Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin was to furnish a regiment of 1800 men, and the other little States, such as Oldenburg and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, were to furnish regiments of less amount. All Europe was required to rise in arms to second the gigantic projects of the new sovereign. This demand for contingents, and the positive way in which the Emperor insisted upon them, gave rise to an immense correspondence, which, however, was unattended by any result. The notes and orders remained in the portfolios, and the contingents staid at home.[2]

M. Metternich,[3] whose talent has since been so conspicu-

[1] The contingents required were those the States of the Confederation of the Rhine were bound to furnish; see note on the Confederation, p. 40.

[2] On the contrary some served in Spain for several years, and others participated in the severities of the Russian campaign.

[3] Metternich arrived in Paris as Ambassador on 4th August, 1806, after Austria had been vanquished at Austerlitz. It does not seem probable, either from his views or his correspondence, that he advised the rash attempt

ously displayed, had been for upwards of a year Ambassador from Austria to Paris. Even then he excelled in the art of guiding men's minds, and of turning to the advantage of his policy his external graces and the favor he acquired in the drawing-room. His father, a clever man, brought up in the old diplomatic school of Thugut and Kaunitz, had early accustomed him to the task of making other Governments believe, by means of agents, what might lead them into error and tend to the advantage of his own Government. His manœuvres tended to make Austria assume a discontented and haughty tone; and wishing, as she said, to secure her independence, she publicly declared her intention of protecting herself against any enterprise similar to those of which she had so often been the victim. This language, encouraged by the complete evacuation of Germany, and the war in Spain, the unfortunate issue of which was generally foreseen, was used in time of peace between the two empires, and when France was not threatening war to Austria.

M. Metternich, who had instructions from his Court, gave no satisfactory explanation of those circumstances to Napoleon, who immediately raised a conscription, and brought soldiers from Spain into Germany.

It was necessary, also, to come to an understanding with Russia, who, being engaged with her wars in Finland and Turkey, appeared desirous neither to enter into alliance with Austria nor to afford her support. What, in fact, was the Emperor Alexander's situation with respect to France? He had signed a treaty of peace at Tilsit which he felt had been forced upon him, and he knew that time alone would render it

of Austria to attack Napoleon by herself; compare *Metternich*, tome i. p. 69, on the mistake of Prussia in 1805 and 1806; see also tome ii. p. 221, "To provoke a war with France would be madness" (1st July, 1808). On the other hand, the tone of his correspondence in 1808 seems calculated to make Austria believe that war was inevitable, and that her forces, "so inferior to those of France before the insurrection in Spain, will at least be equal to them immediately after that event" (tome ii. p. 308). What is curious is that Metternich's conduct toward Napoleon while Ambassador had led even such men as Duke Dalberg to believe that he was really so well disposed toward Napoleon as to serve his cause more than that of Austria; see *Memoirs of Vitrolles*, tome i. p. 69, where Vitrolles, the first messenger sent from Paris to plead the cause of the Bourbons, is advised to apply to Stadion, not Metternich; see also *Vitrolles*, tome i. p. 91.

possible for him to take part in a contest which it was evident would again be renewed either with Prussia or Austria.

Every person of common sense must have perceived that Austria, in taking up arms, reckoned, if not on the assistance, at least on the neutrality of Russia. Russia was then engaged with two enemies, the Swedes and the Turks, over whom she hoped to triumph. She therefore rejoiced to see France again engage in a struggle with Austria, and there was no doubt that she would take advantage of any chances favorable to the latter power to join her in opposing the encroachments of France. I never could conceive how, under those circumstances, Napoleon could be so blind as to expect assistance from Russia in his quarrel with Austria. He must, indeed, have been greatly deceived as to the footing on which the two Courts stood with reference to each other — their friendly footing and their mutual agreement to oppose the overgrowing ambition of their common enemy.

The English, who had been compelled to quit Spain, now returned there. They landed in Portugal, which might be almost regarded as their own colony, and marched against Marshal Soult, who left Spain to meet them. Any other man than Soult would perhaps have been embarrassed by the obstacles which he had to surmount. A great deal has been said about his wish to make himself King of Portugal. Bernadotte told me, when he passed through Hamburg, that the matter had been the subject of much conversation at head-quarters after the battle of Wagram. Bernadotte placed no faith in the report, and I am pretty sure that Napoleon also disbelieved it. However, this matter is still involved in the obscurity from which it will only be drawn when some person acquainted with the intrigue shall give a full explanation of it.[1]

[1] On the rather obscure and complicated subject of Soult's conduct in this matter see *Thiers*, tome xi. p. 70, and *Lanfrey*, tome v. p. 93. Soult was dreaming of being made King of Portugal at the request of the Portuguese; some of his officers were watching his conduct, prepared to seize him if he showed any sign of defection, while others had entered into a treacherous correspondence with the English. But Soult's own behavior is quite consistent with loyalty: the elevation of Murat to a throne had opened a wide range of ambition to the Marshals. Metternich (tome ii. p. 463) said to Napoleon in 1810, when the choice of Bernadotte for Sweden was in question:

SOULT.

DUC DE DALMATIE.

Since I have, with reference to Soult, touched upon the subject of his supposed ambition, I will mention here what I know of Murat's expectation of succeeding the Emperor. When Romanzow returned from his useless mission of mediation to London the Emperor proceeded to Bayonne. Bernadotte, who had an agent in Paris whom he paid highly, told me one day that he had received a despatch informing him that Murat entertained the idea of one day succeeding the Emperor. Sycophants, expecting to derive advantage from it, encouraged Murat in this chimerical hope. I know not whether Napoleon was acquainted with this circumstance, nor what he said of it, but Bernadotte spoke of it to me as a certain fact. It would, however, have been very wrong to attach great importance to an expression which, perhaps, escaped Murat in a moment of ardor, for his natural temperament sometimes betrayed him into acts of imprudence, the result of which, with a man like Napoleon, was always to be dreaded.

It was in the midst of the operations of the Spanish war, which Napoleon directed in person, that he learned Austria had for the first time raised the landwehr. I obtained some

"Your Majesty will soon be obliged to have one of them (the Marshals) shot, in order to moderate the lofty ideas of the rest." Napoleon treated the matter lightly, writing to Soult that he "only remembered Austerlitz" (*Savary*, tome iv. p. 200), but the whole matter seems to show that there must have been some truth in the reports of the existence of Republican conspiracies in the French army. The plan of Argenton, the officer who communicated with Wellington, was to let Soult proclaim himself King; the army would then revolt, not only against him but against Napoleon. This example being followed by the whole army in Spain, "the old army of the Republic and of the Empire, remembering what it had been, would be seen to abandon the Peninsula and retire to the Pyrenees, proclaiming the deliverance of France and of Europe." The plot of Malet in 1812 also points in the same direction. Meneval (tome iii. p. 73), however, denies the account of these conspiracies given by Nodier (in his *Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes de l'Armée et des Conspirations Militaires contre Bonaparte:* London, Longman, 1815); indeed Nodier is too imaginative a writer to be much trusted; see *Merlet*, tome ii. pp. 72–94. Metternich (tome iii. p. 667), apparently not speaking specially of the army, says: "It was under the Empire, and as a consequence of the expurgations made by Bonaparte in the administrations, that the secret societies began to be reconstituted. Strong of will, Bonaparte calculated that instead of employing useless efforts to hinder their re-organization it would be easier for him to restrain them by subjecting them to a severe control, and even making them subserve his designs. Hence, while covering them with ridicule he managed to establish an active police in the associations which seemed to him susceptible of being guided; towards all the others, on the contrary, he displayed an inflexible severity."

very curious documents respecting the armaments of Austria from the editor of the *Hamburg Correspondant*. This paper, the circulation of which amounted to not less than 60,000, paid considerable sums to persons in different parts of Europe who were able and willing to furnish the current news. The *Correspondant* paid 6000 francs a year to a clerk in the war-department at Vienna, and it was this clerk who supplied the intelligence that Austria was preparing for war, and that orders had been issued in all directions to collect and put in motion all the resources of that powerful monarchy. I communicated these particulars to the French Government, and suggested the necessity of increased vigilance and measures of defence. Preceding aggressions. especially that of 1805, were not to be forgotten. Similar information probably reached the French Government from many quarters. Be that as it may, the Emperor consigned the military operations in Spain to his generals, and departed for Paris, where he arrived at the end of January, 1809. He had been in Spain only since the beginning of November, 1808,[1] and his presence there had again rendered our banners victorious. But though the insurgent troops were beaten the inhabitants showed themselves more and more unfavorable to Joseph's cause; and it did not appear very probable that he could ever seat himself tranquilly on the throne of Madrid.

[1] The successes obtained by Napoleon during his stay of about three months in Spain were certainly very great, and mainly resulted from his own masterly genius and lightning-like rapidity. The Spanish armies, as yet unsupported by British troops, were defeated at Gomenal, Espinosa, Reynosa, Tudela, and at the pass of the Somosierra Mountains, and at an early hour of the morning of the 4th December Madrid surrendered. On the 20th of December Bonaparte marched with far superior forces against the unfortunate Sir John Moore, who had been sent to advance into Spain both by the wrong route *and at a wrong time*. On the 29th, from the heights of Benevento, his eyes were delighted by seeing the English in full retreat. But a blow struck him from another quarter, and leaving Soult to follow up Moore he took the road to Paris.

On 16th January, 1809, was fought the battle of Corunna, the results of which were the defeat of Soult, the death of the gallant Moore, and the safe embarkation of the British troops. "It excited universal surprise," says Mr. Lockhart, "that the Emperor did not immediately return from Benevento to Madrid to complete and consolidate his Spanish conquest. He, however, proceeded, not towards Madrid, but Paris, and this with his utmost speed, riding with post-horses on one occasion, not less than 75 English miles in five hours and a half, or fourteen miles an hour. The cause of this sudden change of purpose and extraordinary haste was a sufficient one, and it ere long transpired." Austria had armed, and was on the point of declaring that war which broke out three months later. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

The Emperor Francis, notwithstanding his counsellors, hesitated about taking the first step; but at length, yielding to the solicitations of England and the secret intrigues of Russia, and, above all, seduced by the subsidies of Great Britain, Austria declared hostilities, not at first against France, but against her allies of the Confederation of the Rhine. On the 9th of April Prince Charles, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops, addressed a note to the commander-in-chief of the French army in Bavaria, apprising him of the declaration of war.

A courier carried the news of this declaration to Strasburg with the utmost expedition, from whence it was transmitted by telegraph to Paris.[1] The Emperor, surprised but not disconcerted by this intelligence, received it at St. Cloud on the 11th of April, and two hours after he was on the road to Germany.[2] The complexity of affairs in which he was then involved seemed to give a new impulse to his activity. When he reached the army neither his troops nor his Guard had been able to come up, and under those circumstances he placed himself at the head of the Bavarian troops, and, as it were, adopted the soldiers of Maximilian. Six days after his departure from Paris the army of Prince Charles, which had passed the Inn, was threatened. The Emperor's headquarters were at Donaüwerth, and from thence he addressed to his soldiers one of those energetic and concise proclamations

[1] In one of De Quincey's essays a curious incident in connection with the use of the semaphore telegraphs is described. A ship had arrived at Plymouth or Portsmouth with despatches from Lord Wellington, and important news from the Peninsula. This was being transmitted in an epitomized form to London when a dense fog came on and interrupted, until the following morning, the transmission of the message. The words "*Wellington defeated*—" had been telegraphed to London, and the temporary ending of the message at this point gave rise to the greatest excitement in the Metropolis until the completion of the sentence, "*the French at Salamanca*," arrived the next morning, when the fog had cleared off.

[2] Jomini (tome iii. p. 158), saying that Napoleon on 12th, not 11th, April received the news of the Austrians having crossed the Inn on 10th April, remarks on the wise foresight by which the Emperor had established a line of telegraph stations (signal-posts) throughout Germany. Thiers (tome x. p. 121) takes the same date, 12th April. Metternich (tome ii. p. 351), who was then in Paris, says 3 A.M. 13th April. For the extraordinary folly of the Austrians in wasting time in bringing their army on to the Inn, instead of debouching from Bohemia, thus tripling their march, see Jomini (tome iii. p. 153), who attributes Napoleon's safety to this error.

which made them perform so many prodigies, and which was soon circulated in every language by the public journals. This complication of events could not but be fatal to Europe and France, whatever might be its result, but it presented an opportunity favorable to the development of the Emperor's genius. Like his favorite poet Ossian, who loved best to touch his lyre midst the howlings of the tempest, Napoleon required political tempests for the display of his abilities.[1]

During the campaign of 1809, and particularly at its commencement, Napoleon's course was even more rapid than it had been in the campaign of 1805.[2] Every courier who arrived at Hamburg brought us news, or rather prodigies. As soon as the Emperor was informed of the attack made by the Austrians upon Bavaria orders were despatched to all the generals having troops under their command to proceed with all speed to the theatre of the war. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo was summoned to join the Grand Army with the Saxon troops under his command and for the time he resigned the government of the Hanse Towns. Colonel Damas succeeded him at Hamburg during that period, but merely as commandant of the fortress, and he never gave rise to any murmur or complaint. Bernadotte was not satisfied with his situation, and indeed the Emperor, who was never much disposed to bring him forward, because he could not forgive him for his opposition on the 18th Brumaire, always appointed him to posts in which but little glory was to be acquired, and placed as few troops as possible under his command.

It required all the promptitude of the Emperor's march upon Vienna to defeat the plots which were brewing against

[1] Joseph Bonaparte denies that Ossian was the favorite poet of Napoleon, saying that he admired much more the great French and Italian poets, Homer, Virgil, Lucan, etc. (*Erreurs*, tome ii. p. 173). But perhaps the difference between the two statements may be attributable to the fact that Bourrienne left Napoleon comparatively early in his career, and we know that Napoleon progressed in his literary education. See *Sainte-Beuve*, tome i. p. 287, already quoted.

[2] The Archduke John defeated Eugène Beauharnais, then Viceroy of Italy, and took possession of Padua, Vicenza, and other cities, but, in consequence of Bonaparte's victories in Germany, he was obliged to retrace his steps, and being followed up by the re-enforced Beauharnais into Hungary, he was defeated in a great battle near the town of Raab.—*Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

his government, for in the event of his arms being unsuccessful, the blow was ready to be struck.[1] The English force in the north of Germany amounted to about 10,000 men. The Archduke Charles had formed the project of concentrating in the middle of Germany a large body of troops, consisting of the corps of General Am Eude, of General Radizwowitz, and of the English, with whom were to be joined the people who were expected to revolt. The English would have wished the Austrian troops to advance a little farther. The English agent made some representations on this subject to M. Stadion, the Austrian Minister; but the Archduke preferred making a diversion to committing the safety of the monarchy by departing from his present inactivity and risking the passage of the Danube, in the face of an enemy who never suffered himself to be surprised, and who had calculated every possible event. In concerting his plan the Archduke expected that the Czar would either detach a strong force to assist his allies, or that he would abandon them to their own defence. In the first case the Archduke would have had a great superiority, and in the second, all was prepared in Hesse and in Hanover to rise on the approach of the Austrian and English armies.

At the commencement of July the English advanced upon Cuxhaven with a dozen small ships of war. They landed 400 or 500 sailors and about 50 marines, and planted a standard on one of the outworks. The day after this landing at Cuxhaven the English, who were in Denmark, evacuated Copenhagen, after destroying a battery which they had erected there. All the schemes of England were fruitless on the Continent, for with the Emperor's new system of war, which consisted in making a push on the capitals, he soon obtained negotiations for peace. He was master of Vienna before England had even organized the expedition to which I have just

[1] The French agents in Germany had an anxious time, while the Grand Army was cooped up in the island of Lobau, between the battle of Essling and that of Wagram. "Every State, even Denmark, assumed a hostile attitude. . . . If at this critical moment, between the battles of Essling and Wagram, Russia had made one sign, no one can tell what would have happened" (*Beugnot*, vol. i. p. 302).

alluded. He left Paris on the 11th of April, was at Donaüwerth on the 17th, and on the 23d he was master of Ratisbon. In the engagement which preceded his entrance into that town Napoleon received a slight wound in the heel.[1] He nevertheless remained on the field of battle. It was also between Donaüwerth and Ratisbon that Davoust, by a bold manœuvre, gained and merited the title of Prince of Eckmühl.[2]

At this period fortune was not only bent on favoring Napoleon's arms, but she seemed to take pleasure in realizing even his boasting predictions; for the French troops entered Vienna within a month after a proclamation issued by Napoleon at Ratisbon, in which he said he would be master of the Austrian capital in that time.

[1] There was a curious belief among the English in Napoleon's time that he had never been wounded, and indeed that he carefully, if not cowardly, refrained from exposing himself. Of the incident referred to by Bourrienne, Meneval (tome i. p. 192) says, "The Emperor was sitting in a place from whence he could watch the attack on the town of Ratisbon. He was striking the ground with his whip when a ball, believed to have come from a Tyrolean carbine, struck him on the big toe. The report of this wound spread rapidly from rank to rank, and he was obliged to get on horseback to show himself to the troops. Though his boot was not penetrated the wound was very painful; still he put a good face on it. Nature, however, claimed her rights. When after this short ride he entered a little house, some musket-shots off the place where he had been wounded, his courage was exhausted, and he fainted right off. This wound, happily, had not bad results." As for his courage, Metternich (tome i. p. 279) has some very sensible remarks on the absence of any necessity for his exposing himself. "The history of his campaign suffices to prove that he was always at the place, dangerous or not, which was proper for the head of a great army." This place, however, was sometimes dangerous enough. At the battle of Wagram, says Savary (tome iv. p. 174), "I do not know what was in the Emperor's head, but he remained a good hour in this angle, which was regularly swept by bullets. The soldiers were stationary, and became demoralized. The Emperor knew better than any one that this situation could not last long, and he did not wish to go away, as he could remedy disorders. At the moment of greatest danger he rode along the front of the line of troops on a horse white as snow. This horse was called Euphrates, and had been given to him by the Sophi of Persia. . . . I expected to see him fall at every moment." Napoleon besides exposing himself freely when necessary to danger, as at Lodi or Arcola, was also, for a man in his position, very indifferent to precautions for his safety. On two occasions he was surrounded by Cossacks, and in imminent danger of his life, not being recognized by them, once at Malo Jaroslawitz in 1812, and once in France in 1814. See also footnote to vol. ii. p. 244.

After his death "the inspection of his body revealed several wounds, some very slight, and three very distinct. Of these three, the first was on the head, the second on the fourth finger of the left hand, the third on the left thigh. This last one was very deep, and was caused by a bayonet stab received at Toulon: it is the only one whose origin can be historically fixed (*Thiers*, tome xx. p. 708).

[2] The great battle of Eckmühl, where 100,000 Austrians were driven from all their positions, was fought on the 22d of April. —*Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

But while he was thus marching from triumph to triumph the people of Hamburg and the neighboring countries had a neighbor who did not leave them altogether without inquietude. The famous Prussian partisan, Major Schill, after pursuing his system of plunder in Westphalia came and threw himself into Mecklenburg, whence, I understood, it was his intention to surprise Hamburg. At the head of 600 well-mounted hussars and between 1500 and 2000 infantry badly armed, he took possession of the little fort of Domitz, in Mecklenburg, on the 15th of May, from whence he despatched parties who levied contributions on both banks of the Elbe. Schill inspired terror wherever he went. On the 19th of May a detachment of 30 men belonging to Schill's corps entered Wismar. It was commanded by Count Moleke, who had formerly been in the Prussian service, and who had retired to his estate in Mecklenburg, where the Duke had kindly given him an appointment. Forgetting his duty to his benefactor, he sent to summon the Duke to surrender Stralsund.

Alarmed at the progress of the partisan Schill, the Duke of Mecklenburg and his Court quitted Ludwigsburg, their regular residence, and retired to Doberan, on the sea-coast. On quitting Mecklenburg Schill advanced to Bergdorf, four leagues from Hamburg. The alarm then increased in that city. A few of the inhabitants talked of making a compromise with Schill and sending him money to get him away. But the firmness of the majority imposed silence on this timid council. I consulted with the commandant of the town, and we determined to adopt measures of precaution. The custom-house chest, in which there was more than a million of gold, was sent to Holstein under a strong escort. At the same time I sent to Schill a clever spy, who gave him a most alarming account of the means of defence which Hamburg possessed. Schill accordingly gave up his designs on that city, and leaving it on his left, entered Lübeck, which was undefended.

Meanwhile Lieutenant-General Gratien, who had left Berlin by order of the Prince de Neufchâtel, with 2500 Dutch and

3000 Swedish troops, actively pursued Schill, and tranquillity was soon restored throughout all the neighboring country, which had been greatly agitated by his bold enterprise. Schill, after wandering for some days on the shores of the Baltic, was overtaken by General Gratien at Stralsund, whence he was about to embark for Sweden. He made a desperate defence, and was killed after a conflict of two hours. His band was destroyed.[1] Three hundred of his hussars and 200 infantry, who had effected their escape, asked leave to return to Prussia, and they were conducted to the Prussian general commanding a neighboring town. A war of plunder like that carried on by Schill could not be honorably acknowledged by a power having any claim to respect. Yet the English Government sent Schill a colonel's commission, and the full uniform of his new rank, with the assurance that all his troops should thenceforth be paid by England.

Schill soon had an imitator of exalted rank. In August, 1809, the Duke of Brunswick-Œls sought the dangerous honor of succeeding that famous partisan. At the head of at most 2000 men he for some days disturbed the left bank of the Elbe, and on the 5th entered Bremen. On his approach the French Vice-Consul retired to Osterhulz. One of the Duke's officers presented himself at the house of the Vice-Consul and demanded 200 louis. The agent of the Vice-Consul, alarmed at the threat of the place being given up to pillage, capitulated with the officer, and with considerable difficulty got rid of him at the sacrifice of 80 louis, for which a receipt was presented to him in the name of the Duke. The Duke, who now went by the name of "the new Schill," did not remain long in Bremen. Wishing to repair with all possible speed to Holland he left Bremen on the evening of the 6th, and proceeded to Delmenhorst, where his advanced guard had already arrived. The Westphalian troops, commanded by Reubell,

[1] The Baron Seruzier in his *Memoirs* (Paris, Anselin), pp. 97–112, says that he was charged by General St. Hilaire to follow up Schill, whom he caught in Stralsund, when, to use his own words, "all the troop of Schill was then massacred — a half-hour of combat sufficed." Schill himself was killed by one of Seruzier's corporals Beckmann, sent into the town before the attack in disguise. This last statement may explain the rumor mentioned by Jomini (tome iii. p. 235), that Schill was killed by his own men.

entered Bremen on the 7th, and not finding the Duke of Brunswick, immediately marched in pursuit of him. The Danish troops, who occupied Cuxhaven, received orders to proceed to Bremerlehe, to favor the operations of the Westphalians and the Dutch. Meanwhile the English approached Cuxhaven, where they landed 3000 or 4000 men. The persons in charge of the custom-house establishment, and the few sailors who were in Cuxhaven, fell back upon Hamburg. The Duke of Brunswick, still pursued, crossed Germany from the frontiers of Bohemia to Elsfleth, a little port on the left bank of the Weser, where he arrived on the 7th, being one day in advance of his pursuers. He immediately took possession of all the transports at Elsfleth, and embarked for Heligoland.

The landing which the English effected at Cuxhaven while the Danes, who garrisoned that port, were occupied in pursuing the Duke of Brunswick, was attended by no result. After the escape of the Duke the Danes returned to their post, which the English immediately evacuated.

CHAPTER XVII.

1809.

The castle of Diernstein — Richard Cœur de Lion and Marshal Lannes — The Emperor at the gates of Vienna — The Archduchess Maria Louisa — Facility of correspondence with England — Smuggling in Hamburg — Brown sugar and sand — Hearses filled with sugar and coffee — Embargo on the publication of news — Supervision of the *Hamburg Correspondant* — Festival of Saint Napoleon — Ecclesiastical adulation — The King of Westphalia's journey through his States — Attempt to raise a loan — Jerôme's present to me — The present returned — Bonaparte's unfounded suspicions.

Rapp, who during the campaign of Vienna had resumed his duties as *aide de camp*, related to me one of those observations of Napoleon which, when his words are compared with the events that followed them, seem to indicate a foresight into his future destiny. When within some days' march of Vienna the Emperor procured a guide to explain to him every village and ruin which he observed on the road. The guide pointed to an eminence on which were a few decayed vestiges of an old fortified castle. "Those," said the guide, "are the ruins of the castle of Diernstein." Napoleon suddenly stopped, and stood for some time silently contemplating the ruins, then turning to Lannes, who was with him, he said, "See! yonder is the prison of Richard Cœur de Lion. He, like us, went to Syria and Palestine. But, my brave Lannes, the Cœur de Lion was not braver than you. He was more fortunate than I at St. Jean d'Acre. A Duke of Austria sold him to an Emperor of Germany, who imprisoned him in that castle. Those were the days of barbarism. How different from the civilization of modern times! Europe has seen how I treated the Emperor of Austria, whom I might have made prisoner — and I would treat him so again. I claim no credit for this. In the present age crowned heads must be respected. A conqueror imprisoned!"

A few days after the Emperor was at the gates of Vienna, but on this occasion his access to the Austrian capital was not so easy as it had been rendered in 1805 by the ingenuity and courage of Lannes and Murat. The Archduke Maximilian, who was shut up in the capital, wished to defend it, although the French army already occupied the principal suburbs. In vain were flags of truce sent one after the other to the Archduke. They were not only dismissed unheard, but were even ill-treated, and one of them was almost killed by the populace. The city was then bombarded, and would speedily have been destroyed but that the Emperor, being informed that one of the Archduchesses remained in Vienna on account of ill-health, ordered the firing to cease. By a singular caprice of Napoleon's destiny this Archduchess was no other than Maria Louisa. Vienna at length opened her gates to Napoleon, who for some days took up his residence at Schœnbrunn.

The Emperor was engaged in so many projects at once that they could not all succeed. Thus, while he was triumphant in the Hereditary States his Continental system was experiencing severe checks. The trade with England on the coast of Oldenburg was carried on uninterruptedly as if in time of peace. English letters and newspapers arrived on the Continent, and those of the Continent found their way into Great Britain, as if France and England had been united by ties of the firmest friendship. In short, things were just in the same state as if the decree for the blockade of the British Isles had not existed. When the custom-house officers succeeded in seizing contraband goods they were again taken from them by main force. On the 2d of July a serious contest took place at Brinskham between the custom-house officers and a party of peasantry, in which the latter remained masters of eighteen wagons laden with English goods: many were wounded on both sides.

If, however, trade with England was carried on freely along a vast extent of coast, it was different in the city of Hamburg, where English goods were introduced only by fraud; and I verily believe that the art of smuggling and the schemes

of smugglers were never before carried to such perfection. Above 6000 persons of the lower orders went backwards and forwards, about twenty times a day, from Altona to Hamburg, and they carried on their contraband trade by many ingenious stratagems, two of which were so curious that they are worth mentioning here.

On the left of the road leading from Hamburg to Altona there was a piece of ground where pits were dug for the purpose of procuring sand used for building and for laying down in the streets. At this time it was proposed to repair the great street of Hamburg leading to the gate of Altona. The smugglers overnight filled the sand-pit with brown sugar, and the little carts which usually conveyed the sand into Hamburg were filled with the sugar, care being taken to cover it with a layer of sand about an inch thick. This trick was carried on for a length of time, but no progress was made in repairing the street. I complained greatly of the delay, even before I was aware of its cause, for the street led to a country-house I had near Altona, whither I went daily. The officers of the customs at length perceived that the work did not proceed, and one fine morning the sugar-carts were stopped and seized. Another expedient was then to be devised.

Between Hamburg and Altona there was a little suburb situated on the right bank of the Elbe. This suburb was inhabited by sailors, laborers of the port, and landowners. The inhabitants were interred in the cemetery of Hamburg. It was observed that funeral processions passed this way more frequently than usual. The custom-house officers, amazed at the sudden mortality of the worthy inhabitants of the little suburb, insisted on searching one of the vehicles, and on opening the hearse it was found to be filled with sugar, coffee, vanilla, indigo, etc. It was necessary to abandon this expedient, but others were soon discovered.

Bonaparte was sensitive, in an extraordinary degree, to all that was said and thought of him, and Heaven knows how many despatches I received from headquarters during the campaign of Vienna directing me not only to watch the vigilant execution of the custom-house laws, but to lay an em-

bargo on a thing which alarmed him more than the introduction of British merchandise, viz. the publication of news. In conformity with these reiterated instructions I directed especial attention to the management of the *Correspondant.* The importance of this journal, with its 60,000 readers, may easily be perceived. I procured the insertion of everything I thought desirable: all the bulletins, proclamations, acts of the French Government, notes of the *Moniteur*, and the semi-official articles of the French journals: these were all given *in extenso.* On the other hand, I often suppressed adverse news, which, though well known, would have received additional weight from its insertion in so widely circulated a paper. If by chance there crept in some Austrian bulletin, extracted from the other German papers published in the States of the Confederation of the Rhine, there was always given with it a suitable antidote to destroy, or at least to mitigate, its ill effect. But this was not all. The King of Würtemberg having reproached the *Correspondant*, in a letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with publishing whatever Austria wished should be made known, and being conducted in a spirit hostile to the *good cause*, I answered these unjust reproaches by making the Syndic censor prohibit the Hamburg papers from inserting *any* Austrian order of the day, *any* Archduke's bulletins, *any* letter from Prague; in short anything which should be copied from the other German journals unless those articles had been inserted in the French journals.

My recollections of the year 1809 at Hamburg carry me back to the celebration of Napoleon's *fête*, which was on the 15th of August, for he had interpolated his patron saint in the Imperial calendar at the date of his birth. The coincidence of this festival with the Assumption gave rise to adulatory rhodomontades of the most absurd description. Certainly the Episcopal circulars under the Empire would form a curious collection.[1] Could anything be more revolting than

[1] It will perhaps scarcely be believed that the following words were actually delivered from the pulpit: "God in his mercy has chosen Napoleon to be his representative on earth. The Queen of Heaven has marked, by the most magnificent of presents, the anniversary of the day which witnessed his glorious entrance into her domains. Heavenly Virgin! as a special testi-

the sycophancy of those Churchmen who declared that "God chose Napoleon for his representative upon earth, and that God created Bonaparte, and then rested; that he was more fortunate than Augustus, more virtuous than Trajan; that he deserved altars and temples to be raised to him!" etc.

Some time after the Festival of Saint Napoleon the King of Westphalia made a journey through his States. Of all Napoleon's brothers the King of Westphalia was the one with whom I was least acquainted, and he, it is pretty well known, was the most worthless of the family. His correspondence with me is limited to two letters, one of which he wrote while he commanded the *Épervier*, and another seven years after, dated 6th September, 1809. In this latter he said, "*I shall be in Hanover on the* 10*th. If you can make it convenient to come there and spend a day with me it will give me great pleasure. I shall then be able to smooth all obstacles to the loan I wish to contract in the Hanse Towns. I flatter myself you will do all in your power to forward that object, which at the present crisis is very important to my States. More than ample security is offered, but the money will be of no use to me if I cannot have it at least for two years.*" Jerôme wanted to contract at Hamburg a loan of 3,000,000 francs. However, the people did not seem to think like his Westphalian Majesty, that the contract presented *more than ample security.* No one was found willing to draw his purse-strings, and the loan was never raised.

Though I would not, without the Emperor's authority, exert the influence of my situation to further the success of Jerôme's negotiation, yet I did my best to assist him. I succeeded in prevailing on the Senate to advance one loan of 100,000 francs to pay a portion of the arrears due to his troops, and a second of 200,000 francs to provide clothing for his army, etc. This scanty supply will cease to be wondered at when it is considered to what a state of desolation the whole of Germany was reduced at the time, as much in the allied States as in those of the enemies of France. I learnt

mony of your love for the French, and your all-powerful influence with your son, you have connected the first of your solemnities with the birth of the great Napoleon. Heaven ordained that the hero should spring from your sepulchre." — *Bourrienne.*

at the time that the King of Bavaria said to an officer of the Emperor's household in whom he had great confidence, "If this continues we shall have to give up, and put the key under the door." These were his very words.

As for Jerôme, he returned to Cassel quite disheartened at the unsuccessful issue of his loan. Some days after his return to his capital I received from him a snuff-box with his portrait set in diamonds, accompanied by a letter of thanks for the service I had rendered him. I never imagined that a token of remembrance from a crowned head could possibly be declined. Napoleon, however, thought otherwise. I had not, it is true, written to acquaint our Government with the King of Westphalia's loan, but in a letter, which I addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 22d of September, I mentioned the present Jerôme had sent me. Why Napoleon should have been offended at this I know not, but I received orders to return Jerôme's present immediately, and these orders were accompanied with bitter reproaches for my having accepted it without the Emperor's authority. I sent back the diamonds, but kept the portrait. Knowing Bonaparte's distrustful disposition, I thought he must have suspected that Jerôme had employed threats, or at any rate, that he had used some illegal influence to facilitate the success of his loan. At last, after much correspondence, Napoleon saw clearly that everything was perfectly regular; in a word, that the business had been transacted as between two private persons. As to the 300,000 francs which the Senate had lent to Jerôme, the fact is, that but little scruple was made about it, for this simple reason, that it was the means of removing from Hamburg the Westphalian division, whose presence occasioned a much greater expense than the loan.[1]

[1] Joseph Bonaparte here remarks that this shows that Napoleon treated his brothers as independent sovereigns, and that Bourrienne ought to have known that he had no right to accept such a present without the permission of the Emperor (*Erreurs*, tome ii. p. 175).

CHAPTER XVIII.

1809.

Visit to the field of Wagram — Marshal Macdonald — Union of the Papal States with the Empire — The battle of Talavera — Sir Arthur Wellesley — English expedition to Holland — Attempt to assassinate the Emperor at Schœnbrunn — Staps interrogated by Napoleon — Pardon offered and rejected — Fanaticism and patriotism — Corvisart's examination of Staps — Second interrogatory — Tirade against the illuminati — Accusation of the courts of Berlin and Weimar — Firmness and resignation of Staps — Particulars respecting his death — Influence of the attempt of Staps on the conclusion of peace — M. de Champagny.

Napoleon went to inspect all the corps of his army and the field of Wagram, which a short time before had been the scene of one of those great battles in which victory was the more glorious in proportion as it had been valiantly contested.[1] On that day the type of French honor, Macdonald, who, after achieving a succession of prodigies, led the army of Italy into the heart of the Austrian States, was made a marshal on the field of battle. Napoleon said to him, "With us it is for life and for death." The general opinion was that the elevation of Macdonald added less to the marshal's military reputation than it redounded to the honor of the Emperor. Five days after the bombardment of Vienna, namely, on the 17th of May, the Emperor had published a decree, by virtue of which the Papal States were united to the French Empire, and Rome was declared an Imperial city. I will not stop to inquire whether this was good or bad in point of policy, but it was a mean usurpation on the part of Napoleon, for the time was passed when a Julius II. laid down the keys of St. Peter and took up the sword of St. Paul. It was, besides, an injustice, and, con-

[1] The great battle of Wagram was fought on the 6th of July, 1809. The Austrians, who committed a mistake in over-extending their line, lost 20,000 men as prisoners, besides a large number in killed and wounded. There was no day, perhaps, on which Napoleon showed more military genius or more personal courage. He was in the hottest of the fight, and for a long time exposed to showers of grape-shot. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

sidering the Pope's condescension to Napoleon, an act of ingratitude. The decree of union did not deprive the Pope of his residence, but he was only the First Bishop of Christendom, with a revenue of 2,000,000.

Napoleon while at Vienna heard of the affair of Talavera de la Reyna. I was informed, by a letter from headquarters, that he was much affected at the news, and did not conceal his vexation. I verily believe that he was bent on the conquest of Spain, precisely on account of the difficulties he had to surmount. At Talavera commenced the celebrity of a man who, perhaps, would not have been without some glory even if pains had not been taken to build him up a great reputation. That battle commenced the career of Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose after-success, however, has been attended by such important consequences.[1] Whilst we experienced this check in Spain the English were attempting an expedition to Holland, where they had already made themselves masters of Walcheren. It is true they were obliged to evacuate it shortly after; but as at that time the French and Austrian armies were in a state of inaction, in consequence of the armistice concluded at Znaim, in Moravia, the news unfavorable to Napoleon had the effect of raising the hopes of the Austrian negotiators, who paused in the expectation that fresh defeats would afford them better chances.

It was during these negotiations, the termination of which seemed every day to be farther distant, that Napoleon was exposed to a more real danger than the wound he had received at Ratisbon. Germany was suffering under a degree of distress difficult to be described. Illuminism was making great progress, and had filled some youthful minds with an enthusiasm not less violent than the religious fanaticism to which Henry IV. fell a victim. A young man formed the design of assassinating Napoleon in order to rid Germany of one whom he considered her scourge. Rapp and Berthier were with the Emperor when the assassin was arrested, and

[1] The battle of Talavera took place on the 28th of July, twenty-two days after the fatal defeat of the Austrians at Wagram.

in relating what I heard from them I feel assured that I am giving the most faithful account of all the circumstances connected with the event.

"We were at Schœnbrunn," said Rapp, "when the Emperor had just reviewed the troops. I observed a young man at the extremity of one of the columns just as the troops were about to defile. He advanced towards the Emperor, who was then between Berthier and me. The Prince de Neufchâtel, thinking he wanted to present a petition, went forward to tell him that I was the person to receive it, as I was the *aide de camp* for the day. The young man replied that he wished to speak with Napoleon himself, and Berthier again told him that he must apply to me. He withdrew a little, still repeating that he wanted to speak with Napoleon. He again advanced and came very near the Emperor; I desired him to fall back, telling him in German to wait till after the parade, when, if he had anything to say, it would be attended to. I surveyed him attentively, for I began to think his conduct suspicious. I observed that he kept his right hand in the breast-pocket of his coat; out of which a piece of paper appeared. I know not how it was, but at that moment my eyes met his, and I was struck with his peculiar look and air of fixed determination. Seeing an officer of gendarmerie on the spot, I desired him to seize the young man, but without treating him with any severity, and to convey him to the castle until the parade was ended. All this passed in less time than I have taken to tell it, and as every one's attention was fixed on the parade the scene passed unnoticed. I was shortly afterwards told that a large carving-knife had been found on the young man, whose name was Staps. I immediately went to find Duroc, and we proceeded together to the apartment to which Staps had been taken. We found him sitting on a bed, apparently in deep thought, but betraying no symptoms of fear. He had beside him the portrait of a young female, his pocket-book, and purse containing only two pieces of gold. I asked him his name, but he replied that he would tell it to no one but Napoleon. I then asked him what he intended to do with the knife which had been found upon him? But he answered again, 'I shall

tell only Napoleon.' — 'Did you mean to attempt his life?' — 'Yes.' — 'Why?' — 'I can tell none but Napoleon.'

"This appeared to me so strange that I thought right to inform the Emperor of it. When I told him what had passed he appeared a little agitated, for you know how he was haunted with the idea of assassination. He desired that the young man should be taken into his cabinet, whither he was accordingly conducted by two *gens d'armes*. Notwithstanding his criminal intention there was something exceedingly prepossessing in his countenance. I wished that he would deny the attempt; but how was it possible to save a man who was determined to sacrifice himself? The Emperor asked Staps whether he could speak French, and he answered that he could speak it very imperfectly, and as you know (continued Rapp) that next to you I am the best German scholar in Napoleon's Court, I was appointed interpreter on this occasion. The Emperor put the following questions to Staps, which I translated, together with the answers: —

"'Where do you come from?' — 'From Narremburgh.' — 'What is your father?' — 'A Protestant minister.' — 'How old are you?' — 'Eighteen.' — 'What did you intend to do with your knife?' — 'To kill you.' — 'You are mad, young man; you are one of the illuminati?' — 'I am not mad; I know not what is meant by the illuminati!' — 'You are ill, then?' — 'I am not; I am very well.' — 'Why did you wish to kill me?' — 'Because you have ruined my country.' — 'Have I done you any harm?' — 'Yes, you have harmed me as well as all Germans.' — 'By whom were you sent? Who urged you to this crime?' — 'No one; I was urged to it by the sincere conviction that by killing you I should render the greatest service to my country.' — 'Is this the first time you have seen me?' — 'I saw you at Erfurt, at the time of your interview with the Emperor of Russia.' — 'Did you intend to kill me then?' — 'No; I thought you would not again wage war against Germany. I was one of your greatest admirers.' — 'How long have you been in Vienna?' — 'Ten days.' — 'Why did you wait so long before you attempted the execution of your project?' — 'I came to

Schœnbrunn a week ago with the intention of killing you, but when I arrived the parade was just over; I therefore deferred the execution of my design till to-day.' — 'I tell you, young man, you are either mad or in bad health.'

"The Emperor here ordered Corvisart to be sent for. Staps asked who Corvisart was? I told him that he was a physician. He then said, 'I have no need of him.' Nothing further was said until the arrival of the doctor, and during this interval Staps evinced the utmost indifference. When Corvisart arrived Napoleon directed him to feel the young man's pulse, which he immediately did: and Staps then very coolly said, 'Am I not well, sir?' Corvisart told the Emperor that nothing ailed him. 'I told you so,' said Staps, pronouncing the words with an air of triumph.

"I was really astonished at the coolness and apathy of Staps, and the Emperor seemed for a moment confounded by the young man's behavior. After a few moments' pause the Emperor resumed the interrogatory as follows: —

"'Your brain is disordered. You will be the ruin of your family. I will grant you your life if you ask pardon for the crime you meditated, and for which you ought to be sorry.' — 'I want no pardon. I only regret having failed in my attempt.' —.'Indeed! then a crime is nothing to you?' — 'To kill you is no crime: it is a duty.' — 'Whose portrait is that which was found on you?' — 'It is the portrait of a young lady to whom I am attached.' — 'She will doubtless be much distressed at your adventure?' — 'She will only be sorry that I have not succeeded. She abhors you as much as I do.' — 'But if I were to pardon you would you be grateful for my mercy?' — 'I would nevertheless kill you if I could.'

"I never," continued Rapp, "saw Napoleon look so confounded. The replies of Staps and his immovable resolution perfectly astonished him. He ordered the prisoner to be removed; and when he was gone Napoleon said, 'This is the result of the secret societies which infest Germany. This is the effect of fine principles and the light of reason. They make young men assassins. But what can be done against illuminism? A sect cannot be destroyed by cannon-balls.'

"This event, though pains were taken to keep it secret, became the subject of conversation in the castle of Schœnbrunn. In the evening the Emperor sent for me and said, 'Rapp, the affair of this morning is very extraordinary. I cannot believe that this young man of himself conceived the design of assassinating me. There is something under it. I shall never be persuaded that the intriguers of Berlin and Weimar are strangers to the affair.' — 'Sire, allow me to say that your suspicions appear unfounded. Staps has had no accomplice; his placid countenance, and even his fanaticism, are evident proofs of that.' — 'I tell you that he has been instigated by women: furies thirsting for revenge. If I could only obtain proof of it I would have them seized in the midst of their Court.' — 'Ah, Sire, it is impossible that either man or woman in the Courts of Berlin or Weimar could have conceived so atrocious a design.' — 'I am not sure of that. Did not those women excite Schill against us while we were at peace with Prussia? but stay a little; we shall see.' — 'Schill's enterprise, Sire, bears no resemblance to this attempt.' You know how the Emperor likes every one to yield to his opinion when he has adopted one which he does not choose to give up; so he said, rather changing his tone of good-humored familiarity, 'All you say is in vain, Monsieur le Général: I am not liked either at Berlin or Weimar.' — 'There is no doubt of that, Sire; but because you are not liked in these two Courts, is it to be inferred that they would assassinate you?' — 'I know the fury of those women; but patience. Write to General Lauer: direct him to interrogate Staps. Tell him to bring him to a confession.'

"I wrote conformably with the Emperor's orders, but no confession was obtained from Staps. In his examination by General Lauer he repeated nearly what he had said in the presence of Napoleon. His resignation and firmness never forsook him for a moment; and he persisted in saying that he was the sole author of the attempt, and that no one else was aware of it. Staps's enterprise made a deep impression on the Emperor. On the day when we left Schœnbrunn we happened to be alone, and he said to me, 'I cannot get this

unfortunate Staps out of my mind. The more I think on the subject the more I am perplexed. I never can believe that a young man of his age, a German, one who has received a good education, a Protestant too, could have conceived and attempted such a crime. The Italians are said to be a nation of assassins, but no Italian ever attempted my life. This affair is beyond my comprehension. Inquire how Staps died, and let me know.'

"I obtained from General Lauer the information which the Emperor desired. I learned that Staps, whose attempt on the Emperor's life was made on the 23d of October, was executed at seven o'clock in the morning of the 27th, having refused to take any sustenance since the 24th. When any food was brought to him he rejected it, saying, 'I shall be strong enough to walk to the scaffold.' When he was told that peace was concluded he evinced extreme sorrow, and was seized with trembling. On reaching the place of execution he exclaimed loudly, 'Liberty forever! Germany forever! Death to the tyrant!'"

Such are the notes which I committed to paper after conversing with Rapp, as we were walking together in the garden of the former hôtel of Montmorin, in which Rapp resided. I recollect his showing me the knife taken from Staps, which the Emperor had given him; it was merely a common carving-knife, such as is used in kitchens. To these details may be added a very remarkable circumstance, which I received from another but not less authentic source. I have been assured that the attempt of the German Mutius Scaevola had a marked influence on the concessions which the Emperor made, because he feared that Staps, like him who attempted the life of Porsenna, might have imitators among the illuminati of Germany.

It is well known that after the battle of Wagram conferences were opened at Raab. Although peace was almost absolutely necessary for both powers, and the two Emperors appeared to desire it equally, it was not, however, concluded. It is worthy of remark that the delay was occasioned by Bonaparte. Negotiations were therefore suspended, and M.

de Champagny had ceased for several days to see the Prince of Lichtenstein when the affair of Staps took place. Immediately after Napoleon's examination of the young fanatic he sent for M. de Champagny. "How are the negotiations going on?" he inquired. The Minister having informed him, the Emperor added, "I wish them to be resumed immediately: I wish for peace; do not hesitate about a few millions more or less in the indemnity demanded from Austria. Yield on that point. I wish to come to a conclusion: I refer it all to you." The Minister lost no time in writing to the Prince of Lichtenstein: on the same night the two negotiators met at Raab, and the clauses of the treaty which had been suspended were discussed, agreed upon, and signed that very night. Next morning M. de Champagny attended the Emperor's levee with the treaty of peace as it had been agreed on. Napoleon, after hastily examining it, expressed his approbation of every particular, and highly complimented his Minister on the speed with which the treaty had been brought to a conclusion.[1]

[1] This definitive treaty of peace, which is sometimes called the Treaty of Vienna, Raab, or Schœnbrunn, contained the following articles: —

1. Austria ceded in favor of the Confederation of the Rhine (these fell to Bavaria), Salzburg, Berchtolsgaden, and a part of Upper Austria.

2. To France directly Austria ceded her only seaport, Trieste, and all the countries of Carniola, Friuli, the circle of Villach, with parts of Croatia and Dalmatia. (By these cessions Austria was excluded from the Adriatic Sea, and cut off from all communication with the navy of Great Britain.) A small lordship, an enclave in the territories of the Grison League, was also given up.

3. To the constant ally of Napoleon, to the King of Saxony, in that character Austria ceded some Bohemian enclaves in Saxony and, in his capacity of Grand Duke of Warsaw, she added to his Polish dominions the ancient city of Cracow, and all Western Galicia.

4. Russia, who had entered with but a lukewarm zeal into the war as an ally of France, had a very moderate share of the spoils of Austria. A portion of Eastern Galicia, with a population of 400,000 souls, was allotted to her, but in this allotment the trading town of Brody (almost the only thing worth having) was specially excepted. This last circumstance gave no small degree of disgust to the Emperor Alexander, whose admiration of Napoleon was not destined to have a long duration. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

CHAPTER XIX.

1809.

The Princess Royal of Denmark — Destruction of the German Empire — Napoleon's visit to the Courts of Bavaria and Würtemberg — His return to France — First mention of the divorce — Intelligence of Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa — Napoleon's quarrel with Louis — Journey of the Emperor and Empress into Holland — Refusal of the Hanse Towns to pay the French troops — Decree for burning English merchandise — M. de Vergennes — Plan for turning an inevitable evil to the best account — Fall on the exchange of St. Petersburg — ANNEX.

ABOUT this time I had the pleasure of again seeing the son of the reigning Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, whose arrival in the Hanse Towns was speedily followed by that of his sister, Princess Frederica Charlotte of Mecklenburg, married to the Prince Royal of Denmark, Christian Frederick. In November the Princess arrived at Altona from Copenhagen, the reports circulated respecting her having compelled her husband to separate from her. The history of this Princess, who, though perhaps blamable, was nevertheless much pitied, was the general subject of conversation in the north of Germany at the time I was at Hamburg. The King of Denmark, grieved at the publicity of the separation, wrote a letter on the subject to the Duke of Mecklenburg. In this letter, which I had an opportunity of seeing, the King expressed his regret at not having been able to prevent the scandal; for, on his return from a journey to Kiel, the affair had become so notorious that all attempts at reconciliation were vain. In the mean time it was settled that the Princess was to remain at Altona until something should be decided respecting her future condition.

It was Baron Plessen, the Duke of Mecklenburg's Minister of State, who favored me with a sight of the King of Denmark's letters. M. Plessen told me, likewise, at the time that the Duke had formed the irrevocable determination of not receiving his daughter. A few days after her arrival the

Princess visited Madame de Bourrienne. She invited us to her parties, which were very brilliant, and several times did us the honor of being present at ours. But, unfortunately, the extravagance of her conduct, which was very unsuitable to her situation, soon became the subject of general animadversion.

I mentioned at the close of the last chapter how the promptitude of M. de Champagny brought about the conclusion of the treaty known by the name of the Treaty of Schœnbrunn. Under this the ancient edifice of the German Empire was overthrown,[1] and Francis II. of Germany became Francis I., Emperor of Austria. He, however, could not say, like his namesake of France, *Tout est perdu fors l'honneur ;* for honor was somewhat committed, even had nothing else been lost. But the sacrifices Austria was compelled to make were great. The territories ceded to France were immediately united into a new general government, under the collective denomination of the Illyrian Provinces. Napoleon thus became master of both sides of the Adriatic, by virtue of his twofold title of Emperor of France and King of Italy. Austria, whose external commerce thus received a check, had no longer any direct communication with the sea. The loss of Fiume, Trieste, and the sea-coast appeared so vast a sacrifice that it was impossible to look forward to the duration of a peace so dearly purchased.

The affair of Staps, perhaps, made Napoleon anxious to hurry away from Schœnbrunn, for he set off before he had rati-

[1] Bourrienne here nods. The German Empire had been broken up on the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine in 1806, when the Emperor Francis II. of Germany, who had already in 1804 taken the title of Hereditary Emperor of Austria, definitely abandoned the Empire and declared it dissolved. See Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, London, Macmillan, 1876, p. 365. Francis could not have done otherwise, as he was then powerless. Practically, all the States of the German Empire had joined the Confederation of the Rhine, except his own States and Prussia, which was attempting a Northern Confederation of its own. The provinces now ceded by Austria on the east of the Adriatic were joined to the former Venetian provinces which Napoleon had obtained in 1805 after Austerlitz, and were called the Illyrian Provinces. Ragusa, which Napoleon had occupied in 1806, and whose Government was overturned in 1808, was formally united to these provinces in 1810. Austria thus lost all she had gained from the partition of Venice, besides her own former possessions; but in 1815 she regained the whole of the Illyrian provinces.

fied the preliminaries of the peace, announcing that he would ratify them at Munich. He proceeded in great haste to Nymphenburg, where he was expected on a visit to the Court of Bavaria. He next visited the King of Würtemberg, whom he pronounced to be the cleverest sovereign in Europe, and at the end of October he arrived at Fontainebleau. From thence he proceeded on horseback to Paris, and he rode so rapidly that only a single chasseur of his escort could keep up with him, and, attended by this one guard, he entered the court of the Tuileries. While Napoleon was at Fontainebleau, before his return to Paris, Josephine for the first time heard the divorce mentioned;[1] the idea had occurred to the Emperor's mind while he was at Schœnbrunn.[2] It was also while at

[1] Josephine, as Bourrienne himself has recounted before, had for years feared a divorce. "The Empress," says Meneval (tome i. p. 225), "for two years before could not conceal from herself that, sooner or later, she would pay by the loss of her rank for the misfortune of not having given Napoleon children. This was the habitual text of her conversations with me, from whom she might get information, or with any one to whom she could speak in confidence." For the extraordinary interview with the wife of Metternich on the 2d of January, 1810, when Josephine and her children, Hortense and Eugène, all assured the astonished wife of the Minister that they wished the Emperor to marry an Austrian Archduchess, see *Metternich*, vol ii. p. 372. For the painful scene when the wretched Josephine, knowing her fate and dreading the open triumph of her enemies, had to appear in state at the Hôtel de Ville on the 2d of December, 1809, see *Madame Junot*, vol. iii. p. 225, corroborated by *Meneval*, tome i. p. 226.

[2] This is confirmed by the testimony of Savary, who says:—

"Napoleon often reflected on the best mode of making this communication to the Empress; still he was reluctant to speak to her. He was apprehensive of the consequences of her susceptibility of feeling; his heart was never proof against the shedding of tears. He thought, however, that a favorable opportunity offered for breaking the subject previously to his quitting Fontainebleau. He hinted at it in a few words which he had addressed to the Empress, but did not explain himself until the arrival of the viceroy, whom he had ordered to join him. He was the first person who spoke openly to his mother and obtained her consent for that bitter sacrifice. He acted on the occasion like a kind son and a man grateful to his benefactor and devoted to his service, by sparing him the necessity of unpleasant explanations towards a partner whose removal was a sacrifice as painful to him as it was affecting. The Emperor, having arranged whatever related to the future condition of the Empress, upon whom he made a liberal settlement, urged the moment of the dissolution of the marriage, no doubt because he felt grieved at the condition of the Empress herself, who dined every day and passed her evenings in the presence of persons who were witnessing her descent from the throne. There existed between him and the Empress Josephine no other bond than a civil act, according to the custom which prevailed at the time of this marriage. Now the law had foreseen the dissolution of such marriage contracts. A particular day having therefore been fixed upon, the Emperor brought together into his apartments those persons whose ministry was required in this case; amongst others, the Arch-Chancellor and M. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angély. The Emperor then declared in a loud voice his intention

Fontainebleau that Napoleon appointed M. de Montalivet to be Minister of the Interior. The letters which we received from Paris at this period brought intelligence of the brilliant state of the capital during the winter of 1809, and especially of the splendor of the Imperial Court, where the Emperor's levees were attended by the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, all eager to evince their gratitude to the hero who had raised them to the sovereign rank.[1]

I was the first person in Hamburg who received intelligence of Napoleon's projected marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa. The news was brought to me from Vienna by two *estafettes*. It is impossible to describe the effect produced by the anticipation of this event throughout the north of Germany. From all parts the merchants received orders to buy Austrian stock, in which an extraordinary rise immediately took place. Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa was hailed with enthusiastic and general joy.[2] The event was regarded as the guaranty of a long peace, and it was hoped there would be a lasting cessation of the disasters created by the rivalry of France and Austria. The correspondence I received showed that these sentiments were general in the interior of France, and in different countries of

of annulling the marriage he had contracted with Josephine, who was present; the Empress also made the same declaration, which was interrupted by her repeated sobs. The Prince Arch-Chancellor having caused the article of the law to be read, he applied it to the case before him, and declared the marriage to be dissolved" (*Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo*).

[1] The Electorate of Bavaria had been raised to a Kingdom by, or rather in consequence of, the Treaty of Presburg, 26th December, 1805, after Austerlitz. The Duchy of Würtemberg had been made an Electorate by the Recess of the Empire, 1803, on the re-settlement of Germany under the supervision of France and Russia. It was raised to a Kingdom at the same time as Bavaria, both Kings issuing their proclamations 1st January, 1806. The Electorate of Saxony was declared a Kingdom 11th December, 1806, on joining the Confederation of the Rhine. It is curious that these sovereigns all retained these titles given them by Napoleon, while he at St. Helena was denied any higher rank than that of General. The allies considered that there was nothing objectionable in any gifts received from Napoleon; it was only his own gains which were immoral.

[2] For the effect of the news of the marriage, see *Metternich*, tome ii. p. 383. "Few things have ever obtained a more universal assent on the part of the real body of the (Austrian) nation." See also Beugnot (vol. i. pp. 326, 327), who was then governing the Grand Duchy of Berg. "A great change was immediately perceptible in the disposition of the Grand Duchy. . . . I observed the increase of those relations of confidence and of future connection which are only maintained with a Government of unquestioned stability."

Europe; and, in spite of the presentiments I had always had of the return of the Bourbons to France, I now began to think that event problematic, or at least very remote.

About the beginning of the year 1810 commenced the differences between Napoleon and his brother Louis, which, as I have already stated, ended in a complete rupture. Napoleon's object was to make himself master of the navigation of the Scheldt, which Louis wished should remain free, and hence ensued the union of Holland with the French Empire. Holland was the first province of the Grand Empire which Napoleon took the new Empress to visit. This visit took place almost immediately after the marriage. Napoleon first proceeded to Compiègne, where he remained a week. He next set out for St. Quentin, and inspected the canal. The Empress Maria Louisa then joined him, and they both proceeded to Belgium. At Antwerp the Emperor inspected all the works which he had ordered, and to the execution of which he attached great importance.[1] He returned by way of Ostend, Lille, and Normandy to St. Cloud, where he arrived on the 1st of June, 1810. He there learned from my correspondence that the Hanse Towns refused to advance money for the pay of the French troops. The men were absolutely destitute. I declared that it was urgent to put an end to this state of things. The Hanse Towns had been reduced from opulence to misery by taxation and exactions, and were no longer able to provide the funds.

During this year Napoleon, in a fit of madness, issued a decree which I cannot characterize by any other epithet than infernal. I allude to the decree for burning all the English merchandise in France, Holland, the Grand Duchy of Berg, the Hanse Towns; in short, in all places subject to the dis-

[1] The Royalists naturally were ready to decry his labors. "Of all the monuments raised by Napoleon," says Vitrolles (tome i. p. 216), "there was not one to shelter a living being. It was not for them that he worked." If the sneer has some truth, it omits such foundations as the school for the daughters of the officers of the Légion d'Honneur at St. Cyr, and other similar foundations. Thus, if not exactly sheltered, Thiers was educated by one of the scholarships founded by Napoleon. M. Thiers, telling this anecdote in his clever and kindly manner, added, "In granting me this favor Napoleon no doubt did not foresee that he was forming his future historian" (*Meneval*, tome iii. p. 19).

astrous dominion of Napoleon. In the interior of France no idea could possibly be formed of the desolation caused by this measure in countries which existed by commerce; and what a spectacle was it to the destitute inhabitants of those countries to witness the destruction of property which, had it been distributed, would have assuaged their misery!

Among the emigrants whom I was ordered to watch was M. de Vergennes, who had always remained at or near Hamburg since April, 1808. I informed the Minister that M. de Vergennes had presented himself to me at this time. I even remember that M. de Vergennes gave me a letter from M. de Rémusat, the First Chamberlain of the Emperor. M. de Rémusat strongly recommended to me his connection, who was called by matters of importance to Hamburg. Residence in this town was, however, too expensive, and he decided to live at Neumühl, a little village on the Elbe, rather to the west of Altona. There he lived quietly in retirement with an opera dancer named Mademoiselle Ledoux, with whom he had become acquainted in Paris, and whom he had brought with him. He seemed much taken with her. His manner of living did not denote large means.[1]

One duty with which I was intrusted, and to which great importance was attached, was the application and execution of the disastrous Continental system in the north.[2] In my correspondence I did not conceal the dissatisfaction which

[1] Madame de Rémusat was one of the De Vergennes family, being the daughter of the Minister of Louis XIV.—*Bourrienne.* The person here referred to is not the Minister, who had died in 1787. M. de Rémusat's connection and correspondence with such *émigrés* probably had much to do with the distrust Napoleon seems to have entertained towards him. Hence M. de Rémusat did not get the promotion and appointment as Minister he considered his due, and to this we owe most of the bitter attack published by his clever wife when it was popular to abuse the man to whom M. de Rémusat had given personal service as Chamberlain in the days of the Empire.

[2] See Beugnot's account of the proceedings of one of the agents especially intrusted with carrying out this absurd system. "One fine morning he pounced on all the raw cotton that was to be found in the Grand Duchy (of Berg), and seized the whole as English merchandise. A wicked enchanter, who had paralyzed the arms of 10,000 workmen with a wave of his wand, would have done just about as good a thing." An appeal to the Emperor was fruitless, "and this cruel measure, which I do not dare to call by its right name, was accomplished with all the remains of Imperial power" (*Beugnot*, vol. ii. pp. 42–44).

this ruinous measure excited, and the Emperor's eyes were at length opened on the subject by the following circumstance. In spite of the sincerity with which the Danish Government professed to enforce the Continental system, Holstein contained a great quantity of colonial produce; and, notwithstanding the measures of severity, it was necessary that that merchandise should find a market somewhere. The smugglers often succeeded in introducing it into Germany, and the whole would probably soon have passed the custom-house limits. All things considered, I thought it advisable to make the best of an evil that could not be avoided. I therefore proposed that the colonial produce then in Holstein, and which had been imported before the date of the King's edict for its prohibition, should be allowed to enter Hamburg on the payment of 30, and on some articles 40, per cent. This duty was to be collected at the custom-house, and was to be confined entirely to articles consumed in Germany. The colonial produce in Altona, Glückstadt, Husum, and other towns of Holstein, had been estimated at about 30,000,000 francs, and the duty would amount to 10,000,000 or 12,000,000. The adoption of the plan I proposed would naturally put a stop to smuggling; for it could not be doubted that the merchants would give 30 or 33 per cent for the right of carrying on a lawful trade rather than give 40 per cent to the smugglers, with the chance of seizure.

The Emperor immediately adopted my idea, for I transmitted my suggestions to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 18th of September, and on the 4th of October a decree was issued conformable to the plan I proposed. Within six weeks after the decree came into operation the custom-house Director received 1300 declarations from persons holding colonial produce in Holstein. It now appeared that the duties would amount to 40,000,000 francs, that is to say, 28,000,000 or 30,000,000 more than my estimate.

Bernadotte had just been nominated Prince Royal of Sweden. This nomination, with all the circumstances connected with it, as well as Bernadotte's residence in Hamburg, before he proceeded to Stockholm, will be particularly noticed

in the next chapter. I merely mention the circumstance here to explain some events which took place in the north, and which were, more or less, directly connected with it. For example, in the month of September the course of exchange on St. Petersburg suddenly fell. All the letters which arrived in Hamburg from the capital of Russia and from Riga, attributed the fall to the election of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo as Prince Royal of Sweden. Of thirty letters which I received there was not one but described the consternation which the event had created in St. Petersburg. This consternation, however, might have been excited less by the choice of Sweden than by the fear that that choice was influenced by the French Government.[1]

[*ANNEX TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.*]

THE MARRIAGE OF MARIA LOUISA.

Cherishing for General Lauriston, formerly his *aide de camp*, a friendship of very long standing, Napoleon commissioned him to proceed to Vienna, and to accompany the Empress to Paris as the captain of her bodyguard. With the view of honoring the memory of Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, he appointed his widow to be a lady of honor to the new Empress, finding it impossible to bestow upon her a more signal proof of his esteem, for she had not at that time any claim to entitle her to a situation which was to place her, all at once, at the head of the highest society.

He sent his sister, the Queen of Naples, as far as Braunau, with four ladies of honor to meet the Empress. We had then in Braunau the corps of Marshal Davoust, who was completing measures for evacuating Austria. This corps was placed under arms upon the arrival of the Empress, and gave her as brilliant a reception as the means of so small a town could afford. The Queen of Naples received the Empress at Braunau, where the ceremony took place of delivering up her Majesty by the officers whom her father had appointed to accompany her, as well as of the delivery of her effects; and, as soon as the Empress had clothed herself in the garments brought in the wardrobe from Paris, she passed

[1] Bernadotte himself seems not to have believed in the merits of his elevation, for, if reported rightly to Perthes, he is said, in arguing against the existence of a God, to have urged, "How can you contend for the being of a God? If there were one, should I be here in Lübeck?" (*Memoirs of Perthes*, vol. i. p. 151).

over the frontier with the ladies of the Palace who were in attendance, and gave audience of leave to all those who had accompanied her from Vienna and were about to return. All this was accomplished within an hour from the time of her arrival at Braunau. She departed immediately for Munich, Augsburg, Stuttgart, Carlsruhe, and Strasburg, and was received with great splendor at all the Foreign Courts, and at Strasburg with great enthusiasm. So many hopes were interwoven with the marriage that her arrival was sincerely greeted by all.

The Emperor had gone as far as Compiègne to receive her, the Court being then at that residence. He wrote to her every day by a page, who went off at full speed with his letters, and as quickly brought back her replies. I recollect that the Emperor having dropped the envelope of the first letter, it was instantly picked up, and handed about the *salon* as a specimen of the handwriting of the Empress: the eagerness to see it was as great as if her portrait had been exhibited. The pages who came from her were tormented with questions. We had, in short, been transformed at once into courtiers as assiduous as our ancestors in the days of Louis XIV., and would scarcely have been taken for the men who had laid so many nations prostrate at their feet. The Emperor was no less impatient than ourselves, and much more interested in knowing what more peculiarly concerned him; he really appeared love-stricken. He had ordered that the route of the Empress should be by way of Nancy, Chalons, Rheims, and Soissons, and could almost point out, at any hour of the day, the progress she had then made.

On the day of her arrival the Emperor took his departure in a plain carriage, with no other attendant than the Grand Marshal, after giving his instructions to Marshal Bessières, who remained at Compiègne. He travelled on the road of Soissons and Rheims until he met the carriage of the Empress, which was suddenly stopped by his courier. The Emperor alighted, ran up to the door of the Empress's carriage, opened it himself, and stepped in. On perceiving the astonishment of the Empress, who knew not the meaning of this abruptness in a stranger, the Queen of Naples said to her, "Madame, it is the Emperor." He returned to Compiègne in their company.

Marshal Bessières had ordered out all the cavalry quartered near the Palace, and advanced with it and with the general officers and the Emperor's *aides de camp* on the road to Soissons as far as a well-known stone bridge, the name of which I do not recollect; at the same bridge Louis XV. had met the Dauphiness, daughter of Maria Theresa, afterwards the unhappy Queen of France.

The people of Compiègne had succeeded in making their way to the porch of the Palace, where they ranged themselves in a double line. The Empress on her arrival was received at the foot of the principal staircase by the mother and family of the Emperor, the whole Court, the Ministers, and several personages of the highest rank. It is superfluous to name the person who attracted the attention of every one from the moment the

carriage door opened until the entrance into the apartments. No court was held that night, and all the company withdrew at an early hour.

According to the etiquette observed at foreign Courts the Emperor was no doubt married to the Archduchess Maria Louisa ; not so, however, with reference to our civil code ; nevertheless, it is said that he followed the example of Henry IV. on his marriage with Marie de Medicis. I am only repeating here the illiberal remarks made the next morning because I am pledged to speak the truth. Had it, however, been my case, I should have followed the precedent of Henry IV. on this occasion. It happened to be my turn to sleep that night in the apartment of the officers in attendance. The Emperor had left the Palace and retired to the Chancellor's residence ; and if the report had been brought to me that all Paris was on fire I should not have attempted to disturb his repose, under the apprehension that he might not be found at that residence.

The next was a very fatiguing day for the young Empress, because presentations were made of persons wholly unknown to her, by individuals with whom she was not much more acquainted. The Emperor himself presented to her his *aides de camp*, who felt highly gratified at this condescending mark of his regard; the lady of honor presented the ladies of the palace and others who were to form her retinue.

The Emperor proceeded with the Empress to St. Cloud on the day after the public presentation, the attendants of both households followed them in separate carriages. They did not pass through Paris, but took the road to St. Denis, the Bois de Boulogne, and St. Cloud : all the authorities of Paris had repaired to the boundary of the department of the Seine, in the direction of Compiègne, and were followed by a great part of the population, who gave themselves up to the joy and enthusiasm which the occasion naturally created.

An immense crowd had collected at St. Cloud to greet her arrival: first, the Princesses of the Imperial family, amongst whom were the Vice-Queen of Italy, who was then making her first appearance in Paris, the Princess of Baden, the Dignitaries, the Marshals of France, the Senators, and the Councillors of State. It was broad daylight when the Imperial retinue reached St. Cloud.

The ceremony of the civil marriage did not take place till two days afterwards, in the gallery of the Palace at St. Cloud. A platform was raised at the extremity of the gallery, with a table and arm-chairs upon it for the Imperial couple, as well as chairs and stools for the Princes and Princesses of his family : none were present at the ceremony except the persons attached to the respective Courts. When all the preliminary arrangements had been gone through the *cortége* moved forward from the apartments of the Empress, and crossing the grand apartments and the *salon* of Hercules, entered the gallery, where it was arranged on the platform in the order laid down by the rules of etiquette. The place of every one had been determined beforehand, so that in an instant the utmost order and silence pervaded the assembly.

The Arch-Chancellor stood near a table with a rich velvet covering over it, upon which was a register held by Count Regnault de St. Jean d'Angély, the Secretary of the Imperial family's household. After taking the Emperor's orders the Prince Arch-Chancellor put the following question to him in a loud voice : "Sire, is it your Majesty's intention to take for your lawful wife her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, here present?" — "Yes, sir," was the Emperor's answer. The Arch-Chancellor then addressed the Empress : "Madame," he said, "does your Imperial Highness, of your own free consent, take the Emperor Napoleon, here present, for your lawful husband?" — "Yes, sir," she replied. The Arch-Chancellor proceeded then to declare, in the name of the law and of the institutions of the Empire, that his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria were duly united in marriage. Count Regnault de St. Jean d'Angély presented the act for signature, first to the Emperor, afterwards to the Empress, and lastly to all the members of the family, as well as to the different personages whose official ranks entitled them to this honorable privilege.

Next morning the Imperial couple left St. Cloud in a carriage drawn by eight cream-colored horses, preceded by an empty carriage drawn by eight gray horses, which was intended for the Empress ; thirty other carriages all one mass of gilding, and drawn by superb horses, completed the *cortége;* these were filled with the ladies and officers of the household, and by those whose employments gave them the privilege of being admitted to the Imperial presence. The train left St. Cloud between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and was escorted by the whole of the cavalry ; it passed through the Bois de Boulogne, the Porte Maillot, the Champs Elysées, the Place de la Révolution, to the garden of the Tuileries, where all the carriages stopped, to enable the company to enter the Palace.

From the iron railing of the court of the Palace of St. Cloud, both sides of the road were lined with so dense a mass of people that the population of the adjacent country must have flocked to St. Cloud and Paris on the occasion. The crowd increased on approaching Paris ; from the barrier to the Palace of the Tuileries it baffled all calculation. Orchestras were placed at stated distances along the Champs Elysées, and played a variety of airs. France appeared to revel in a delight bordering upon frenzy. Many were the protestations of fidelity and attachment made to the Emperor; and whosoever had ventured to predict at that time what has since come to pass would have been scouted as a madman.

When all the carriages had arrived, the *cortége* resumed its order of etiquette in the gallery of Diana at the Tuileries, and proceeded through a passage expressly constructed for the occasion, and terminating at the gallery of the Museum, which it entered by the door near the Pavilion of Flora.

Here began a new spectacle : both sides of that immense gallery were

lined from one end to the other with a triple row of Parisian ladies of the middle class : nothing could be compared to the variegated scene presented by that assemblage of ladies, whose youthful bloom shone forth more dazzling than their elegant attire.

A balustrade extended along both sides of the gallery, in order to prevent any one from passing beyond a certain line, and the middle of this fine edifice was thus free and unobstructed, so as to admit of a passage for the *cortége* which moved along, and afforded a feast to the eyes as far as the very altar. The vast *salon* at the end of the gallery, where the exhibition of paintings generally took place, had been converted into a chapel. Its circuit was lined by a triple row of splendidly ornamented boxes, filled with the most elegant and distinguished ladies then in Paris. The Grand Master of the Ceremonies assigned to the persons composing the *cortége* their proper places as they arrived in the chapel. The strictest order was observed during the whole of this ceremony. Mass was performed by his Eminence Cardinal Fesch, after which the marriage ceremony took place. — *Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo*, tome iv. p. 280.[1]

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[1] For many interesting details, most admirably written, respecting Bonaparte's divorce from Josephine, and the circumstances that immediately preceded the divorce, see the *Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantès*, vol. iii. chap. xvii.

CHAPTER XX.

1809 — 1810.

Bernadotte elected Prince Royal of Sweden — Count Wrede's overtures to Bernadotte — Bernadotte's three days' visit to Hamburg — Particulars respecting the battle of Wagram — Secret order of the day — Last intercourse of the Prince Royal of Sweden with Napoleon — My advice to Bernadotte respecting the Continental System — ANNEX.

I NOW come to one of the periods of my life to which I look back with most satisfaction, — the time when Bernadotte was with me in Hamburg. I will briefly relate the series of events which led the opposer of the 18th Brumaire to the throne of Sweden.

On the 13th of March, 1809, Gustavus Adolphus was arrested, and his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, provisionally took the reins of Government. A few days afterwards Gustavus published his act of abdication, which in the state of Sweden it was impossible for him to refuse. In May following, the Swedish Diet having been convoked at Stockholm, the Duke of Sudermania was elected King. Christian Augustus, the only son of that monarch, of course became Prince Royal on the accession of his father to the throne. He, however, died suddenly at the end of May, 1810, and Count Fersen [1] (the same who at the Court of Marie Antoinette was distinguished by the appellation of *le beau Fersen*), was massacred by the populace, who suspected, perhaps unjustly, that he had been accessory to the Prince's death. On the 21st of August following Bernadotte was elected Prince Royal of Sweden.

After the death of the Prince Royal the Duke of Sudermania's son, Count Wrede, a Swede, made the first overtures to Bernadotte, and announced to him the intention entertained at

[1] Count Fersen, alleged to have been one of the favored lovers of Marie Antoinette, and who was certainly deep in her confidence, had arranged most of the details of the attempted flight to Varennes in 1791, and he himself drove the Royal family their first stage to the gates of Paris. See Thiers's *Revolution*, vol. i. p. 172, and Campan, tome ii. p. 169.

Stockholm of offering him the throne of Sweden. Bernadotte was at that time in Paris, and immediately after his first interview with Count Wrede he waited on the Emperor at St. Cloud; Napoleon coolly replied that he could be of no service to him; that events must take their course; that he might accept or refuse the offer as he chose; that he (Bonaparte) would place no obstacles in his way, but that he could give him no advice. It was very evident that the choice of Sweden was not very agreeable to Bonaparte, and though he afterwards disavowed any opposition to it, he made overtures to Stockholm, proposing that the crown of Sweden should be added to that of Denmark.

Bernadotte then went to the waters of Plombières, and on his return to Paris he sent me a letter announcing his elevation to the rank of Prince Royal of Sweden.

On the 11th of October he arrived in Hamburg, where he staid only three days. He passed nearly the whole of that time with me, and he communicated to me many curious facts connected with the secret history of the times, and among other things some particulars respecting the battle of Wagram. I was the first to mention to the new Prince Royal of Sweden the reports of the doubtful manner in which the troops under his command behaved. I reminded him of Bonaparte's dissatisfaction at these troops; for there was no doubt of the Emperor being the author of the complaints contained in the bulletins, especially as he had withdrawn the troops from Bernadotte's command. Bernadotte assured me that Napoleon's censure was unjust; during the battle he had complained of the little spirit manifested by the soldiers. "He refused to see me," added Bernadotte, "and I was told, as a reason for his refusal, that he was astonished and displeased to find that, notwithstanding his complaints, of which I must have heard, I had boasted of having gained the battle, and had publicly complimented the Saxons whom I commanded."

Bernadotte then showed me the bulletin he drew up after the battle of Wagram. I remarked that I had never heard of a bulletin being made by any other than the General who was

Commander-in-Chief during a battle, and asked how the affair ended. He then handed to me a copy of the Order of the Day, which Napoleon said he had sent only to the Marshals commanding the different corps. As this remarkable document is but little known I may subjoin it here.

Order of the Day.

IMPERIAL CAMP OF SCHŒNBRUNN, *9th July*, 1809.

His Majesty expresses his displeasure at the Prince of Ponte-Corvo's Order, dated Leopoldstadt, 7th July, and inserted on the same day in nearly all the newspapers, in the following terms:—

"*Saxons, on the 5th of July* 7000 *or* 8000 *of you pierced the enemy's centre, and marched on Deutsch-Wagram in spite of the efforts of* 40,000 *men supported by* 60 *pieces of artillery. You fought till midnight, and bivouacked in the midst of the Austrian lines. On the 6th, at daybreak, you recommenced the battle with the same perseverance, and, in the midst of the ravages of the enemy's artillery, your columns stood firm as iron. The great Napoleon witnessed your courage, and reckons you among his bravest troops. Saxons, the fortune of a soldier consists in fulfilling his duty; you have nobly fulfilled yours!*

"(Signed) BERNADOTTE."

Independently of his Majesty having commanded his army in person, it is for him alone to award the degree of glory each has merited. His Majesty owes the success of his arms to the French troops, and to no foreigners. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo's Order of the Day has a tendency to inspire false pretensions in troops whose merit does not rise above mediocrity: it is at variance with truth, policy, and national honor. The success of the 5th is due to the Duc de Rivoli and Marshal Oudinot, who penetrated the enemy's centre at the same time that the Duc d'Auerstadt's corps turned his left. The village of Deutsch-Wagram was not taken on the 5th, but on the 6th, by the corps of Marshal Oudinot. The corps of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo did not stand as *firm as iron*. It was the first to retreat. His Majesty was obliged to order the corps of the Viceroy to be covered by the divisions of Broussier and Lamarque, commanded by Marshal Macdonald, by the division of heavy cavalry, commanded by General Nansouty, and by a part of the cavalry of the Guard. To Marshal Macdonald and his troops is due the merit which the Prince of Ponte-Corvo takes to himself. His Majesty hopes that this expression of his displeasure will henceforth deter any Marshal from appropriating to himself the glory which belongs to others. His Majesty, however, desires that the present Order of the Day, which may possibly be mortify-

ing to the Saxon troops, though they must be aware that they are not entitled to the praises bestowed on them, shall remain private, and be sent only to the Marshals commanding the army corps.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Bernadotte's bulletin was printed along with Bonaparte's Order of the Day, a thing quite unparalleled.[1]

Though I was much interested in this account of Bonaparte's conduct after the battle of Wagram, yet I was more curious to hear the particulars of Bernadotte's last communication with the Emperor. The Prince informed me that on his return from Plombières he attended the levee, when the Emperor asked him, before every one present, whether he had received any recent news from Sweden. He replied in the affirmative. "What is it?" inquired Napoleon. "Sire, I am informed that your Majesty's *chargé d'affaires* at Stockholm opposes my election. It is also reported to those who choose to believe it that your Majesty gives the preference to the King of Denmark." "At these words," continued Bernadotte, "the Emperor affected surprise, which you know he can do very artfully. He assured me it was impossible, and then turned the conversation to another subject.

"I know not what to think of his conduct in this affair. I am aware he does not like me; but the interests of his policy may render him favorable to Sweden. Considering the present greatness and power of France, I conceived it to be my duty to make every personal sacrifice. But I swear to Heaven that I will never commit the honor of Sweden. He, however, expressed himself in the best possible terms in speaking of Charles XIII. and me. He at first started no obstacle to my acceptance of the succession to the throne of Sweden, and he ordered the official announcement of my election to be immediately inserted in the *Moniteur*. Ten days elapsed without the Emperor's saying a word to me about my departure. As I was anxious to be off, and all my preparations were made, I determined to go and ask him for the letters-

[1] For Savary's version of the difference which arose between Bonaparte and Bernadotte at Wagram, together with some interesting anecdotes connected with the battle, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter.

patent to relieve me from my oath of fidelity, which I had certainly kept faithfully in spite of all his ill-treatment of me. He at first appeared somewhat surprised at my request, and, after a little hesitation, he said, 'There is a preliminary condition to be fulfilled; a question has been raised by one of the members of the Privy Council.' — 'What condition, Sire?' — 'You must pledge yourself not to bear arms against me.' — 'Does your Majesty suppose that I can bind myself by such an engagement? My election by the Diet of Sweden, which has met with your Majesty's assent, has made me a Swedish subject, and that character is incompatible with the pledge proposed by a member of the Council. I am sure it could never have emanated from your Majesty, and must proceed from the Arch-Chancellor or the Grand Judge, who certainly could not have been aware of the height to which the proposition would raise me.' — 'What do you mean?' — 'If, Sire, you prevent me accepting a crown unless I pledge myself not to bear arms against you, do you not really place me on a level with you as a General?'

"When I declared positively that my election must make me consider myself a Swedish subject he frowned, and seemed embarrassed. When I had done speaking he said, in a low and faltering voice, 'Well, go. Our destinies will soon be accomplished!' These words were uttered so indistinctly that I was obliged to beg pardon for not having heard what he said, and he repeated, 'Go! our destinies will soon be accomplished!' In the subsequent conversations which I had with the Emperor I tried all possible means to remove the unfavorable sentiments he cherished towards me. I revived my recollection of history. I spoke to him of the great men who had excited the admiration of the world, of the difficulties and obstacles which they had to surmount; and, above all, I dwelt upon that solid glory which is founded on the establishment and maintenance of public tranquillity and happiness. The Emperor listened to me attentively, and frequently concurred in my opinion as to the principles of the prosperity and stability of States. One day he took my hand and pressed it affectionately, as if to assure me of

his friendship and protection. Though I knew him to be an adept in the art of dissimulation, yet his affected kindness appeared so natural that I thought all his unfavorable feeling towards me was at an end. I spoke to persons by whom our two families were allied, requesting that they would assure the Emperor of the reciprocity of my sentiments, and tell him that I was ready to assist his great plans in any way not hostile to the interests of Sweden.

"Would you believe, my dear friend, that the persons to whom I made these candid protestations laughed at my credulity? They told me that after the conversation in which the Emperor had so cordially pressed my hand I had scarcely taken leave of him when he was heard to say that I had made a great display of my learning to him, and that he had humored me like a child. He wished to inspire me with full confidence so as to put me off my guard; and I know for a certainty that he had the design of arresting me.

"But," pursued Bernadotte, "in spite of the feeling of animosity which I know the Emperor has cherished against me since the 18th Brumaire, I do not think, when once I shall be in Sweden, that he will wish to have any differences with the Swedish Government. I must tell you also he has given me 2,000,000 francs in exchange for my principality of Ponte-Corvo. Half the sum has been already paid, which will be very useful to me in defraying the expenses of my journey and installation.[1] When I was about to step into my carriage to set off, an individual, whom you must excuse me naming, came to bid me farewell, and related to me a little conversation which had just taken place at the Tuileries. Napoleon said to the individual in question, 'Well, does not the Prince regret leaving France?' — 'Certainly, Sire.' — 'As to me, I should have been very glad if he had not accepted his election. But there is no help for it. . . . He does not like me.' — 'Sire, I must take the liberty of saying that your Majesty labors under a mistake. I know the differences which have existed between you and General Bernadotte for the last six

[1] The other million stipulated in exchange for the principality of Ponte-Corvo was never paid to Bernadotte. — *Bourrienne.*

years. I know how he opposed the overthrow of the Directory; but I also know that the Prince has long been sincerely attached to you.' — 'Well, I dare say you are right. But we have not understood each other. It is now too late. He has his interests and his policy, and I have mine.'[1]

"Such," added the Prince, "were the Emperor's last observations respecting me two hours before my departure. The individual to whom I have just alluded spoke truly, my dear Bourrienne. I am indeed sorry to leave France; and I never should have left it but for the injustice of Bonaparte. If ever I ascend the throne of Sweden I shall owe my crown to his ill-treatment of me; for had he not persecuted me by his animosity my condition would have sufficed for a soldier of fortune: but we must follow our fate."

During the three days the Prince spent with me I had many other conversations with him. He wished me to give him my advice as to the course he should pursue with regard to the Continental system. "I advise you," said I, "to reject the system without hesitation. It may be very fine in theory, but it is utterly impossible to carry it into practice, and it will, in the end, give the trade of the world to England. It excites the dissatisfaction of our allies, who, in spite of themselves, will again become our enemies. But no other country, except Russia, is in the situation of Sweden. You want a number of objects of the first necessity, which nature has withheld from you. You can only obtain them by perfect freedom of navigation; and you can only pay for them with those peculiar productions in which Sweden abounds. It would be out of all reason to close your ports against a nation who rules the seas. It is your navy that would be blockaded, not hers. What can France do against you? She may invade you by

[1] See Metternich (vol. ii. pp. 460–465) for the account, already referred to, of his conversation with Napoleon on the choice of Bernadotte. Napoleon seems to have not really wished for the selection of Bernadotte, seeing the danger of the elevation of his officers. But, the choice made, he was pleased to get rid of Bernadotte, "one of those old Jacobins with his head in the wrong place," and "in any case I could not refuse my consent, were it only that a French Marshal on the throne of Gustavus Adolphus is one of the best possible tricks that could be played on England. See also the same volume, p. 433, where Metternich expresses his belief that Napoleon had thought of one of his own family.

land. But England and Russia will exert all their efforts to oppose her. By sea it is still more impossible that she should do anything. Then you have nothing to fear but Russia and England, and it will be easy for you to keep up friendly relations with these two powers. Take my advice: sell your iron, timber, leather, and pitch; take in return salt, wines, brandy, and colonial produce. This is the way to make yourself popular in Sweden. If, on the contrary, you follow the Continental system, you will be obliged to adopt laws against smuggling, which will draw upon you the detestation of the people."

Such was the advice which I gave to Bernadotte when he was about to commence his new and brilliant career. In spite of my situation as a French Minister I could not have reconciled it to my conscience to give him any other counsel, for if diplomacy has duties so also has friendship. Bernadotte adopted my advice, and the King of Sweden had no reason to regret having done so.

[ANNEX TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.]

THE BATTLE OF WAGRAM.

Early in the morning of the 9th, after despatching orders in various directions, Napoleon was taken rather seriously ill, in consequence of his fatigue and exertion. This circumstance compelled him to indulge in a little rest whilst the troops were advancing.

Marshal Bernadotte came at that time to see the Emperor, who had left orders that no one should disturb him until he called; I therefore refused to introduce the Marshal, the object of whose visit was wholly unknown to me. I had witnessed the lukewarmness which his troops had evinced in the battle: ever since the opening of the campaign he had been incessantly complaining of want of ardor in his troops, of their inexperience, and of their want of confidence in their leaders. I should therefore have exhausted every supposition before I could have imagined that, contradicting on a sudden the unfavorable opinion he had given of their courage, he could ever dream that those troops had decided the victory we had just obtained.

The Emperor was soon made acquainted with that unaccountable Order of the Day: he sent for the Marshal, and removed him from the

command of his troops. This lesson was ineffectual; Bernadotte, who persisted in maintaining the justice of the ridiculous congratulations he had addressed to the Saxons, caused them to be inserted in the public papers. The Emperor was indignant at this conduct, being at all times inflexibly severe against every impropriety of conduct and every act of falsehood, though he was unwilling, at the same time, to wound the feelings of men who had exposed their lives in his service. The insult, however, was such that he felt it impossible to pass it by. He issued an Order of the Day, which he directed the Major-General not to circulate, either amongst the army at large or the Saxon troops, of which he had given the command to General Reynier.

At one period of the engagement the enemy's right was taking up a position in a perpendicular line to our extreme left, and compelled us to give it the form of an angle for the purpose of returning the enemy's fire. They had placed some pieces of artillery in such a manner as to fire upon the angle or elbow, whilst they were cannonading us on both sides of the angle. I know not what was the Emperor's object, but he remained a full hour at that angle, which was a perfect stream of shot; and as there was no fire of musketry kept up the soldiers became discouraged. The Emperor was more sensible than any one else that such a situation could not last long, and he remained there for the purpose of remedying the disorder. In the height of the danger he rode in front of the line upon a horse as white as snow (it was called Euphrates, and had been sent to him as a present from the Sophi of Persia). He proceeded from one extremity of the line to the other, and returned at a slow pace; it will easily be believed that shots were flying about him in every direction. I kept behind, with my eyes riveted upon him, expecting at every moment to see him drop from his horse. . . .

The Emperor ordered that as soon as the opening which he intended to make in the enemy's centre should be effected the whole cavalry should charge and wheel round upon the troops that had flanked us on the left. He had given directions, in consequence, to Marshal Bessières, and the latter had at that moment started to execute them, when he was knocked down by the most extraordinary cannon-shot ever seen. It ran along his thigh, in a zigzag direction, and the Marshal was so suddenly thrown off his horse that we fancied he was killed on the spot. The same shot forced the barrel from his pistol, and carried away both barrel and stock. The Emperor saw him fall, but not having recognized him, asked, as he usually did on similar occasions, "Who is it?"—"Bessières, Sire," was the reply. He instantly turned his horse round, saying, "Let us go, I have no time to weep. Let us avoid another scene." He alluded to the distress he had suffered at the death of Marshal Lannes. He sent me to see whether Bessières was still alive. He had been carried off the ground, and had recovered his senses, having merely been struck on the thigh, which was completely paralyzed. . . .

The inhabitants of Vienna had ascended to the ramparts and the roofs

LASALLE.

of the houses, from whence they witnessed the battle. In the morning the ladies of that city were flushed with the hope of our defeat. This hope was converted to general gloom towards two in the afternoon. They discerned the retreat of the Austrian army as plainly as it could be seen on the field of battle. . . .

The Emperor was going over the field of battle the same evening when intelligence was brought him of the death of General Lasalle, who had just been killed by one of the last musket-shots fired before the final retreat of the enemy. That General had had in the morning a strange presentiment of the fate that awaited him. The acquisition of glory had been an object of much greater solicitude to him than the advancement of his fortune ; but on the night previous to the battle he seems to have had the fate of his children strongly impressed upon his mind, and he awoke to draw up a petition to the Emperor in their behalf, which he placed in his sabre tasche. When the Emperor passed in the morning in front of his division General Lasalle did not address him, but he stopped M. Maret, who was a few paces behind, and told him that, never having asked any favor of the Emperor, he begged he would take charge of the petition which he then handed to him in case any misfortune should befall him : a few hours afterwards he was no more. . . .

As Napoleon was going over the field of battle he stopped on the ground which had been occupied by Macdonald's two divisions ; it exhibited the picture of a loss fully commensurate with the valor they had displayed. The Emperor recognized amongst the slain a colonel who had given him some cause for displeasure. That officer, who had made the campaign of Egypt, had misbehaved after the departure of General Bonaparte, and proved ungrateful towards his benefactor, in hopes, no doubt, of insinuating himself into the good graces of the general who had succeeded him. On the return of the army of Egypt to France the Emperor, who had shown him many marks of kindness during the war in Italy, gave no signs of resentment, but granted him none of those favors which he heaped upon all those who had been in Egypt. The Emperor now said, on seeing him stretched upon the field of battle, "I regret not having been able to speak to him before the battle, in order to tell him that I had long since forgotten everything."

A few steps farther on he discovered a young quartermaster of the regiment of carabineers still alive, although a shot had gone through his head ; but the heat and dust had almost immediately congealed the blood, so that the brain could not be affected by the air. The Emperor dismounted, felt his pulse, and, with his handkerchief, endeavored to clear the nostrils, which were filled with earth. He then applied a little brandy to his lips ; whereupon the wounded man opened his eyes, though he appeared at first to be quite insensible to the act of humanity exercised towards him ; but having again opened them, and fixed them on the Emperor, whom he now recognized, they immediately filled with tears, and he would have sobbed had not his strength forsaken him. The

wretched man could not escape death, according to the opinion of the surgeons who were called to his assistance.

After having gone over the ground where the army had fought the Emperor went to place himself in the midst of the troops, which were beginning to move for the purpose of following the retreating enemy. On passing by Macdonald he stopped and held out his hand to him, saying, "Shake hands, Macdonald! no more ill will between us; we must henceforward be friends; and, as a pledge of my sincerity, I will send you your Marshal's staff, which you so gloriously earned in yesterday's battle."[1] Macdonald had been in a kind of disgrace for many years; it would be difficult to assign any reason for it, except the intrigue and jealousy to which an elevated mind is always exposed. Malevolence had succeeded in inducing the Emperor to remove him from his presence, and the Marshal's innate pride had withheld him from taking any step towards reconciliation with a sovereign who did not treat him with that kindness to which he felt he had a claim. — *Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo*, tome iv. chaps. xiii. and xiv.

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[1] Macdonald nobly kept this compact in 1814, when Napoleon had fallen from power, and of all the Marshals then around the Emperor showed himself the most loyal in the hour of adversity. One of the last to give in his adherence to the Bourbons, he behaved with equal fidelity to them in 1815, withstanding all the temptations of the Hundred Days.

CHAPTER XXI.

1810.

Bernadotte's departure from Hamburg — The Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg — Arrival of the Crown Prince in Sweden — Misunderstandings between him and Napoleon — Letter from Bernadotte to the Emperor — Plot for kidnapping the Prince Royal of Sweden — Invasion of Swedish Pomerania — Forced alliance of Sweden with England and Russia — Napoleon's overtures to Sweden — Bernadotte's letter of explanation to the Emperor — The Princess Royal of Sweden — My recall to Paris — Union of the Hanse Towns with France — Dissatisfaction of Russia — Extraordinary demand made upon me by Bonaparte — Fidelity of my old friends — Duroc and Rapp — Visit to Malmaison, and conversation with Josephine.

While Bernadotte was preparing to fill the high station to which he had been called by the wishes of the people of Sweden Napoleon was involved in his misunderstanding with the Pope,[1] and in the affairs of Portugal, which were far from proceeding according to his wishes. Bernadotte had scarcely quitted Hamburg for Sweden when the Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg arrived. The Duke was the brother of the last Prince Royal of Sweden, whom Bernadotte was called to succeed, and he came to escort his sister from Altona to Den-

[1] It was about this time that, irritated at what he called the captive Pope's unreasonable obstinacy, Bonaparte conceived, and somewhat openly expressed, his notion of making France a Protestant country, and changing the religion of 30,000,000 of people by an Imperial decree. One or two of the good sayings of the witty, accomplished, and chivalrous Comte Louis de Narbonne have already been given in the course of these volumes. The following is another of them : —

"I tell you what I will do, Narbonne — I tell you how I will vent my spite on this old fool of a Pope, and the dotards who may succeed him," said Napoleon one day at the Tuileries. "I will make a schism as great as that of Luther — I will make France a Protestant country!"

"Sire," replied the Count, "I see difficulties in the way of this project. In the south, in the Vendée, in nearly all the west, the French are bigoted Catholics, and even what little religion remains among us in our cities and great towns is of the Roman Church."

"Never mind, Narbonne — never mind! I shall at least carry a large portion of the French people with me — I will make a division."

"Sire," replied Narbonne, "I am afraid that there is not enough religion in all France to stand division!" — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

mark. His journey had been retarded for some days on account of the presence of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo in Hamburg: the preference granted to Bernadotte had mortified his ambition, and he was unwilling to come in contact with his fortunate rival. The Duke was favored by the Emperor of Russia.

As soon as he arrived in Sweden Bernadotte directed his *aide de camp*, General Gentil de St. Alphonse, to inform me of his safe passage. Shortly after I received a letter from Bernadotte himself, recommending one of his *aides de camp*, M. Villatte, who was the bearer of it. This letter contained the same sentiments of friendship as those I used to receive from General Bernadotte, and formed a contrast with the correspondence of King Jerôme, who when he wrote to me assumed the regal character, and prayed that God would have me in his holy keeping. However, the following is the Prince Royal's letter: —

My dear Bourrienne — I have directed M. Villatte to see you on his way through Hamburg, and to bear my friendly remembrances to you. Gentil has addressed his letter to you, which I suppose you have already received. Adieu, care for me always, and believe in the unalterable attachment of yours, (Signed) Charles John.

P.S. — I beg you will present my compliments to madame and all your family. Embrace my little cousin for me.

The *little cousin*, so called by Bernadotte, was one of my daughters, then a child, whom Bernadotte used to be very fond of while he was at Hamburg.

Departing from the order of date, I will anticipate the future, and relate all I know respecting the real causes of the misunderstanding which arose between Bernadotte and Napoleon. Bonaparte viewed the choice of the Swedes with great displeasure, because he was well aware that Bernadotte had too much integrity and honor to serve him in the north as a political puppet set in motion by means of strings which he might pull at Paris or at his headquarters. His dissatisfaction upon this point occasioned an interesting correspondence, part of which, consisting of letters from Bernadotte to the

Emperor, is in my possession. The Emperor had allowed Bernadotte to retain in his service, for a year at least, the French officers who were his *aides de camp;* but that permission was soon revoked, and the Prince Royal of Sweden wrote to Napoleon the following letter of remonstrance: —

At the moment when I was about to address my thanks to your Majesty for your kindness in continuing, during another year, the permission you granted to the French officers who accompanied me to Sweden, I learn that your Majesty has revoked that favor. This unexpected disappointment, and in fact everything that I learn from Paris, indicates that your Majesty is not well disposed towards me. What have I done that deserves this treatment? I must look to calumny as the sole cause. In the new position in which fortune has placed me I am doubtless likely to be more than ever exposed to calumny if I do not find a defender in the heart of your Majesty. Whatever may be said to you, Sire, I beg of you to believe that I have nothing to reproach myself with, and that I am entirely devoted to your person, not only by the strength of old ties but by an unalterable affection. If the affairs of Sweden do not go on entirely as your Majesty wishes it is solely owing to the Constitution. It is not in the power of the King to control the Constitution, still less is it in mine. In this country there are many separate interests to be united into one great national interest; there are four orders of the State to be amalgamated into one; and it is only by the most prudent and circumspect conduct that I can hope one day to ascend the throne of Sweden. As M. Gentil de St. Alphonse returns to France, in conformity with your Majesty's orders, I commission him to deliver you this letter. Your Majesty may question him. He has seen everything, and he will be able to explain to your Majesty how difficult is my situation. He can assure your Majesty how anxious I am to please you, and that I am in a state of continual perplexity between my new duties and the fear of displeasing you. I am grieved that your Majesty should withdraw the officers whose services you granted me for a year, but in obedience to your commands I send them back to France. Perhaps your Majesty may be inclined to change your determination; in which case I beg that you will yourself fix the number of officers you may think proper to send me. I shall receive them with gratitude. If, on the contrary, your Majesty should retain them in France, I recommend them to your favor. They have always served me well, and they have had no share in the rewards which were distributed after the last campaign.

Napoleon's dissatisfaction with the Prince Royal now changed to decided resentment. He repented having acceded to his departure from France, and he made no secret of his sentiments, for he said before his courtiers, "That he would

like to send Bernadotte to Vincennes to finish his study of the Swedish language." Bernadotte was informed of this, but he could not believe that the Emperor had ever entertained such a design. *However, a conspiracy was formed in Sweden against Bernadotte, whom a party of foreign brigands were hired to kidnap in the neighborhood of Haga;* but the plot was discovered, and the conspirators were compelled to embark without their prey.[1] The Emperor having at the same time seized upon Swedish Pomerania, the Prince Royal wrote him a second letter in these terms: —

From the papers which have just arrived I learn that a division of the army, under the command of the Prince of Eckmühl, invaded Swedish Pomerania on the night of the 26th of January; that the division continued to advance, entered the capital of the Duchy, and took possession of the island of Rugen. The King expects that your Majesty will explain the reasons which have induced you to act in a manner so contrary to the faith of existing treaties. My old connection with your Majesty warrants me in requesting you to declare your motives without delay, in order that I may give my advice to the King as to the conduct which Sweden ought hereafter to adopt. This gratuitous outrage against Sweden is felt deeply by the nation, and still more, Sire, by me, to whom is intrusted the honor of defending it. Though I have contributed to the triumphs of France, though I have always desired to see her respected and happy; yet I can never think of sacrificing the interests, honor, and independence of the country which has adopted me. Your Majesty, who has so ready a perception of what is just, must admit the propriety of my resolution. Though I am not jealous of the glory and power which surrounds you, I cannot submit to the dishonor of being regarded as a vassal. Your Majesty governs the greatest part of Europe, but your dominion does not extend to the nation which I have been called to govern; my ambition is limited to the defence of Sweden. The effect produced upon the people by the invasion of which I complain may lead to consequences which it is impossible to foresee: and although I am not a Coriolanus, and do not command the Volsci, I have a sufficiently good opinion of the Swedes to assure you that they dare undertake anything to avenge insults which they have not provoked, and to preserve rights to which they are as much attached as to their lives.

I was in Paris when the Emperor received Bernadotte's letter on the occupation of Swedish Pomerania. When Bonaparte read it I was informed that he flew into a violent

[1] A Swedish gentleman has assured us that these brigands were in the pay of Bonaparte. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

rage, and even exclaimed, "You shall submit to your degradation, or die sword in hand!" But his rage was impotent. The unexpected occupation of Swedish Pomerania obliged the King of Sweden to come to a decided rupture with France, and to seek other allies, for Sweden was not strong enough in herself to maintain neutrality in the midst of the general conflagration of Europe after the disastrous campaign of Moscow. The Prince Royal, therefore, declared to Russia and England that in consequence of the unjust invasion of Pomerania Sweden was at war with France, and he despatched Comte de Lowenhjelm, the King's *aide de camp*, with a letter explanatory of his views. Napoleon sent many notes to Stockholm, where M. Alquier, his Ambassador, according to his instructions, had maintained a haughty and even insulting tone towards Sweden. Napoleon's overtures, after the manifestations of his anger, and after the attempt to carry off the Prince Royal, which could be attributed only to him, were considered by the Prince Royal merely as a snare. But in the hope of reconciling the duties he owed to both his old and his new country he addressed to the Emperor the following firm and moderate letter: —

I have received some notes, the contents of which induce me to come to a candid explanation with your Majesty. When by the wish of the Swedish people, I was called to the succession of the throne, I hoped, on quitting France, that I should always be able to reconcile my personal affections with the interests of my new country. My heart cherished the hope that I could identify myself with the affections of this people and at the same time preserve the recollection of my early connections, and never lose sight of the glory of France, nor of my sincere attachment to your Majesty, an attachment founded on our fraternity in arms, which was distinguished by so many great actions. Full of this hope I arrived in Sweden. I found a nation generally attached to France, but more jealous of their own liberty and laws; anxious for your friendship, Sire, but not wishing to purchase it at the expense of honor and independence. Your Majesty's Ambassador thought proper to disregard this national feeling, and has ruined all by his arrogance. His communications bore no trace of the respect due from one crowned head to another. In fulfilling, according to the dictates of his own passions, your Majesty's intentions, Baron Alquier spoke like a Roman Proconsul, forgetting that he did not address himself to slaves. This Ambassador was the cause of the distrust which Sweden began to entertain respecting your Majesty's

intentions, and which subsequent events were calculated to confirm. I have already had the honor, Sire, in my letters of 19th November, and 8th December, 1810, to make your Majesty acquainted with the situation of Sweden, and her wish to find a protector in your Majesty. She could only attribute your Majesty's silence to an unmerited indifference, and it became her duty to take precautions against the storm which was already to burst upon the Continent. Sire, mankind have already suffered too much; during twenty years the world has been deluged with blood, and all that is necessary to raise your Majesty's glory to the highest pitch is to put a period to these disasters. If your Majesty wishes the King should give the Emperor Alexander to understand that there is a possibility of reconciliation I have sufficient faith in the magnanimity of that monarch to venture to assure you that he will readily listen to overtures which would be at once equitable for your Empire and for the North. If an event so unexpected, and so generally desired, should take place, what blessings would the people of the Continent invoke for your Majesty! Their gratitude would be increased in proportion to the fear now entertained of the return of a scourge which has already made such cruel ravages. One of the happiest moments I have known since I quitted France was that in which I was assured that your Majesty had not entirely forgotten me. You have truly divined my sentiments. You have perceived how deeply they would be wounded by the painful prospect of either seeing the interests of Sweden separated from those of France, or of finding myself compelled to sacrifice the interests of a country by which I have been adopted with such unlimited confidence. Sire, although a Swede by the obligations of honor, duty, and religion, yet by feeling I am still identified with France, my native country, which I have always faithfully served from my boyhood. Every step I take in Sweden, and the homage I receive here, revive those recollections of glory to which I chiefly owe my elevation, and I cannot disguise from myself the fact that Sweden, in choosing me, intended to pay a tribute of esteem to the French people.

This letter throws great light on the conduct of the Emperor with respect to Bernadotte; for Napoleon was not the man whom any one whatever would have ventured to remind of facts, the accuracy of which was in the least degree questionable. Such then were the relations between Napoleon and the Prince Royal of Sweden. When I shall bring to light some curious secrets, which have hitherto been veiled beneath the mysteries of the Restoration, it will be seen by what means Napoleon, before his fall, again sought to wreak his vengeance upon Bernadotte.

On the 4th of December I had the honor to see the Prin-

cess Royal of Sweden, who arrived that day at Hamburg.[1] She merely passed through the city on her way to Stockholm to join her husband, but she remained but a short time in Sweden — two months, I believe, at most, not being able to reconcile herself to the ancient Scandinavia. As to the Prince Royal, he soon became inured to the climate, having been for many years employed in the north.

After this my stay at Hamburg was not of long duration. Bonaparte's passion for territorial aggrandizement knew no bounds, and the turn of the Hanse Towns now arrived. By taking possession of these towns and territories he merely accomplished a design formed long previously. I, however, was recalled with many compliments, and under the specious pretext that the Emperor wished to hear my opinions respecting the country in which I had been residing. At the begin-

[1] Madame Bernadotte, afterwards Queen of Sweden, was a Mademoiselle Clary, and younger sister to the wife of Joseph Bonaparte: hence the relationship with Bonaparte of which Bernadotte speaks. Monsieur Clary, the father of these two Queens, was a very respectable merchant at Marseilles. The following anecdote we have had from a near connection of the family. At a humble stage of his fortunes Napoleon sought the hand of Madame Bernadotte, his brother Joseph having already married her elder sister. But Monsieur Clary would not hear of the match. "*Pas de tout* — No, no," said he, "one poor Bonaparte in my family is quite enough!" Joseph, the to-be-hereafter King of Naples, and of Spain and the Indies, was then fagging in Clary's counting-house at invoices and bills of sale! It was some years later that Bernadotte obtained the hand of the young lady, which had been refused to Napoleon. Madame Bernadotte (we speak from personal knowledge) was, even when she had become a Queen, a kind-hearted, amiable woman, with a few eccentricities of character and conduct. The reader may find a very interesting sketch of her Swedish Majesty in the *Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantès.*

In the operatic company of the theatre San Carlo, at Naples, there was a poor French *danseuse*, sufficiently *passée* and miserable, who in the vicissitudes of time and fortune, had almost sunk into the subordinate rank of a mere *figurante*. Some quarter of a century before the time when we first knew her this woman had been the much-loved mistress of the King of Sweden — then Lieutenant Bernadotte of the French Republican Army. In the ardor of his affection Bernadotte proposed marriage, but the condition and prospects of the parties were considered by Mademoiselle as too unequal. "No, no," said she, "I am improving — I am getting on in my profession — I may make a fortune, and you, *cher* Bernadotte, though a good fellow enough, are only a *pauvre soldat.*" We have heard Mademoiselle say twenty times, "Only see what is destiny! At this hour I might have been Queen of Sweden, instead of being obliged to kick my heels about here for fifteen ducats a month!" (fifteen Neapolitan ducats, or about £2:10s. English money). The story was universally known at Naples, and her companions on the boards almost invariably called her, in jest, the Queen of Sweden, or Your Majesty. We left her Majesty at Naples in the year 1827.

The whole story would have been an incident for Candide, or the best of Voltaire's cynical novels. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

ning of December I received a letter from M. de Champagny stating that the Emperor wished to see me in order to consult with me upon different things relating to Hamburg. In this note I was told "that the information I had obtained respecting Hamburg and the north of Germany might be useful to the public interest, which must be the most gratifying reward of my labors." The reception which awaited me will presently be seen. The conclusion of the letter spoke in very flattering terms of the manner in which I had discharged my duties. I received it on the 8th of December, and the next day I set out for Paris. When I arrived at Mayence I was enabled to form a correct idea of the fine compliments which had been paid me, and of the Emperor's anxiety to have my opinion respecting the Hanse Towns. In Mayence I met the courier who was proceeding to announce the union of the Hanse Towns with the French Empire. I confess that, notwithstanding the experience I had acquired of Bonaparte's duplicity, or rather, of the infinite multiplicity of his artifices, he completely took me by surprise on that occasion.

On my arrival in Paris I did not see the Emperor, but the first *Moniteur* I read contained the formula of a *Sénatus-consulte*,[1] which united the Hanse Towns, Lauenburg, etc., to the French Empire by the right of the strongest. This new and important augmentation of territory could not fail to give uneasiness to Russia. Alexander manifested his dissatisfaction by prohibiting the importation of our agricultural produce and manufactures into Russia. Finally, as the Continental system had destroyed all trade by the ports of the Baltic, Russia showed herself more favorable to the English, and gradually reciprocal complaints of bad faith led to that

[1] On the 13th of December, 1810, a *Sénatus-consulte* annexed Holland, the Hanse Towns (Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck), Lauenburg, Oldenburg, and the north of Germany, above a line drawn eastward from the junction of the Rhine and the Lippe, etc., to the Baltic. This, with previous annexations and conquests, gave Napoleon the whole coast-line of the Continent, except Russia, Turkey, Portugal, and the parts of Spain not occupied by his troops. It gave, however, deep and final offence to Russia, whose royal house was connected with that of Oldenburg.

war whose unfortunate issue was styled by M. de Talleyrand "the beginning of the end."

I have now to make the reader acquainted with an extraordinary demand made upon me by the Emperor through the medium of M. de Champagny. In one of my first interviews with that Minister after my return to Paris he thus addressed me: "The Emperor has intrusted me with a commission to you which I am obliged to execute. 'When you see Bourrienne,' said the Emperor, 'tell him I wish him to pay 6,000,000 into your chest to defray the expense of building the new Office for Foreign Affairs.'" I was so astonished at this unfeeling and inconsiderate demand that I was utterly unable to make any reply. This then was my recompense for having obtained money and supplies during my residence at Hamburg to the extent of nearly 100,000,000, by which his treasury and army had profited in moments of difficulty! M. de Champagny added that the Emperor did not wish to receive me. He asked what answer he should bear to his Majesty. I still remained silent, and the Minister again urged me to give an answer. "Well, then," said I, "tell him he may go to the devil." The Minister naturally wished to obtain some variation from this laconic answer, but I would give no other; and I afterwards learned from Duroc that M. de Champagny was compelled to communicate it to Napoleon. "Well," asked the latter, "have you seen Bourrienne?" — "Yes, Sire." — "Did you tell him I wished him to pay 6,000,000 into your chest?" — "Yes, Sire." — "And what did he say?" — "Sire, I dare not inform your Majesty. . . ." — "What did he say? I insist upon knowing." — "Since you insist on my telling you, Sire, M. de Bourrienne said your Majesty might go to — the devil." — "Ah! ah! did he really say so?" The Emperor then retired to the recess of a window, where he remained alone for seven or eight minutes, biting his nails, in the fashion of Berthier, and doubtless giving free scope to his projects of vengeance. He then turned to the Minister and spoke to him of quite another subject. Bonaparte had so nursed himself in the idea of making me pay the 6,000,000 that every time he passed the

Office for Foreign Affairs he said to those who accompanied him, "Bourrienne must pay for that after all." [1]

Though I was not admitted to the honor of sharing the splendor of the Imperial Court, yet I had the satisfaction of finding that, in spite of my disgrace, those of my old friends who were worth anything evinced the same regard for me as heretofore. I often saw Duroc, who snatched some moments from his more serious occupations to come and chat with me respecting all that had occurred since my secession from Bonaparte's cabinet. I shall not attempt to give a verbatim account of my conversations with Duroc, as I have only my memory to guide me; but I believe I shall not depart from the truth in describing them as follows: —

On his return from the last Austrian campaign Napoleon, as I have already stated, proceeded to Fontainebleau, where he was joined by Josephine. Then, for the first time, the communication which had always existed between the apartments of the husband and wife was closed. Josephine was fully alive to the fatal prognostics which were to be deduced from this conjugal separation. Duroc informed me that she sent for him, and on entering her chamber he found her bathed in tears. "I am lost!" she exclaimed in a tone of voice the remembrance of which seemed sensibly to affect Duroc even while relating the circumstance to me: "I am

[1] This demand of money from Bourrienne is explained in *Erreurs* (tome ii. p. 225) by the son of Davoust. Bourrienne had been suspected by Napoleon of making large sums at Hamburg by allowing breaches of the Continental system. In one letter to Davoust Napoleon speaks of an "immense fortune," and in another, that Bourrienne is reported to have gained seven or eight millions at Hamburg in giving licenses or making arbitrary seizures. Napoleon also asks for information about several millions said to have been paid to some Frenchmen by the Senate of Hamburg. The replies given to these questions were so unsatisfactory that Bourrienne was recalled, and the inquiry into his conduct was continued for some time without positive result. That Napoleon claimed restitution is most probable, but Bourrienne, who did not venture upon any public familiarity in 1787, would not have dared to make the reply he reports in 1810. It is to the Emperor's inquiries being directed to Davoust that is owing the attack made on the Marshal farther on. Bourrienne's position was one of great temptation, but an honest man should have had no difficulty in clearing himself. The correspondence is significant, as showing how far the Emperor was from permitting the illegal requisitions too often made by his officers, and how difficult it was to stop or punish them. Part of the ill will of many officers in 1814 is attributed to the severity with which Napoleon was following up their robberies.

utterly lost! all is over now! You, Duroc, I know, have always been my friend, and so has Rapp. It is not you who have persuaded him to part from me. This is the work of my enemies Savary and Junot! But they are more his enemies than mine. And my poor Eugène! how will he be distressed when he learns I am repudiated by an ungrateful man! . . . Yes, Duroc, I may truly call him ungrateful. . . . My God! my God! what will become of us?" . . . Josephine sobbed bitterly while she thus addressed Duroc.

Before I was made acquainted with the singular demand which M. de Champagny was instructed to make to me I requested Duroc to inquire of the Emperor his reason for not wishing to see me. The Grand Marshal faithfully executed my commission, but he received only the following answer: "Do you think I have nothing better to do than to give Bourrienne an audience? that would indeed furnish gossip for Paris and Hamburg. He has always sided with the emigrants; he would be talking to me of past times; he was for Josephine! My wife, Duroc, is near her confinement; I shall have a son, I am sure! . . . Bourrienne is not a man of the day; I have made giant strides since he left France; in short, I do not want to see him. He is a grumbler by nature; and you know, my dear Duroc, I do not like men of that sort."

I had not been above a week in Paris when Duroc related this speech to me. Rapp was not in France at the time, to my great regret. Much against his inclination he had been appointed to some duties connected with the Imperial marriage ceremonies, but shortly after, having given offence to Napoleon by some observation relating to the Faubourg St. Germain, he had received orders to repair to Dantzic, of which place he had already been Governor.

The Emperor's refusal to see me made my situation in Paris extremely delicate; and I was at first in doubt whether I might seek an interview with Josephine. Duroc, however, having assured me that Napoleon would have no objection to it, I wrote requesting permission to wait upon her. I received an answer the same day, and on the morrow I repaired to Mal-

maison. I was ushered into the tent drawing-room, where I found Josephine and Hortense. When I entered Josephine stretched out her hand to me, saying, "Ah! my friend!" These words she pronounced with deep emotion, and tears prevented her from continuing. She threw herself on the ottoman on the left of the fireplace, and beckoned me to sit down beside her. Hortense stood by the fireplace, endeavoring to conceal her tears. Josephine took my hand, which she pressed in both her own; and, after a struggle to overcome her feelings, she said, "My dear Bourrienne, I have drained my cup of misery. He has cast me off! forsaken me! He conferred upon me the vain title of Empress only to render my fall the more marked. Ah! we judged him rightly! I knew the destiny that awaited me; for what would he not sacrifice to his ambition!" As she finished these words one of Queen Hortense's ladies entered with a message to her; Hortense staid a few moments, apparently to recover from the emotion under which she was laboring, and then withdrew, so that I was left alone with Josephine. She seemed to wish for the relief of disclosing her sorrows, which I was curious to hear from her own lips; women have such a striking way of telling their distresses.

Josephine confirmed what Duroc had told me respecting the two apartments at Fontainebleau; then, coming to the period when Bonaparte had declared to her the necessity of a separation, she said, "My dear Bourrienne, during all the years you were with us you know I made you the confidant of my thoughts, and kept you acquainted with my sad forebodings. They are now cruelly fulfilled. I acted the part of a good wife to the very last. I have suffered all, and I am resigned! . . . . What fortitude did it require latterly to endure my situation, when, though no longer his wife, I was obliged to seem so in the eyes of the world! With what eyes do courtiers look upon a repudiated wife! I was in a state of vague uncertainty worse than death until the fatal day when he at length avowed to me what I had long before read in his looks! On the 30th of November, 1809, we were dining together as usual, I had not uttered a word during that sad dinner, and he

had broken silence only to ask one of the servants what o'clock it was. As soon as Bonaparte had taken his coffee he dismissed all the attendants, and I remained alone with him. I saw in the expression of his countenance what was passing in his mind, and I knew that my hour was come. He stepped up to me — he was trembling, and I shuddered; he took my hand, pressed it to his heart, and after gazing at me for a few moments in silence he uttered these fatal words: 'Josephine! my dear Josephine! You know how I have loved you! . . . . To you, to you alone, I owe the only moments of happiness I have tasted in this world. But, Josephine, my destiny is not to be controlled by my will. My dearest affections must yield to the interests of France.' — 'Say no more,' I exclaimed, 'I understand you; I expected this, but the blow is not the less mortal.' I could not say another word," continued Josephine; "I know not what happened after I seemed to lose my reason; I became insensible, and when I recovered I found myself in my chamber. Your friend Corvisart and my poor daughter were with me. Bonaparte came to see me in the evening; and oh! Bourrienne, how can I describe to you what I felt at the sight of him; even the interest he evinced for me seemed an additional cruelty. Alas! I had good reason to fear ever becoming an Empress!"

I knew not what consolation to offer to Josephine; and knowing as I did the natural lightness of her character, I should have been surprised to find her grief so acute, after the lapse of a year, had I not been aware that there are certain chords which, when struck, do not speedily cease to vibrate in the heart of a woman. I sincerely pitied Josephine, and among all the things I said to assuage her sorrow, the consolation to which she appeared most sensible was the reprobation which public opinion had pronounced on Bonaparte's divorce, and on this subject I said nothing but the truth, for Josephine was generally beloved. I reminded her of a prediction I had made under happier circumstances, viz. on the day when she came to visit us in our little house at Ruel. "My dear friend," said she, "I have not forgotten it, and I have often thought of all you then said. For my part,

I knew he was lost from the day he made himself Emperor. Adieu! Bourrienne, come and see me soon again; come often, for we have a great deal to talk about; you know how happy I always am to see you." Such was, to the best of my recollection, what passed at my first interview with Josephine after my return from Hamburg.

CHAPTER XXII.

1811.

Arrest of La Sahla — My visit to him — His confinement at Vincennes — Subsequent history of La Sahla — His second journey to France — Detonating powder — Plot hatched against me by the Prince of Eckmühl — Friendly offices of the Duc de Rovigo — Bugbears of the police — Savary, Minister of Police.

I HAD been in Paris about two months when a young man of the name of La Sahla was arrested on the suspicion of having come from Saxony to attempt the life of the Emperor. La Sahla informed the Duc de Rovigo, then Minister of the Police, that he wished to see me, assigning as a reason for this the reputation I had left behind me in Germany. The Emperor, I presume, had no objection to the interview, for I received an invitation to visit the prisoner. I accordingly repaired to the branch office of the Minister of the Police, in the Rue des St. Pères, where I was introduced to a young man between seventeen and eighteen years of age.

My conversation with the young man, whose uncle was, I believe, Minister to the King of Saxony, interested me greatly in his behalf; I determined, if possible, to save La Sahla, and I succeeded. I proceeded immediately to the Duc de Rovigo, and I convinced him that under the circumstances of the case it was important to make it be believed that the young man was insane. I observed that if he were brought before a court he would repeat all that he had stated to me, and probably enter into disclosures which might instigate fresh attempts at assassination. Perhaps an avenger of La Sahla might rise up amongst the students of Leipzig, at which university he had spent his youth. These reasons, together with others, had the success I hoped for. The Emperor afterwards acknowledged the prudent course which had been adopted respecting La Sahla; when speaking at St. Helena of the con-

spiracies against his life he said, "I carefully concealed all that I could."[1]

In conformity with my advice La Sahla was sent to Vincennes, where he remained until the end of March, 1814. He was then removed to the castle of Saumur, from which he was liberated at the beginning of April. I had heard nothing of him for three years, when one day, shortly after the Restoration, whilst sitting at breakfast with my family at my house in the Rue Hauteville, I heard an extraordinary noise in the antechamber, and before I had time to ascertain its cause I found myself in the arms of a young man, who embraced me with extraordinary ardor. It was La Sahla. He was in a transport of gratitude and joy at his liberation, and at the accomplishment of the events which he had wished to accelerate by assassination. La Sahla returned to Saxony and I saw no more of him, but while I was in Hamburg in 1815, whither I was sent by Louis XVIII., I learned that on the 5th of June a violent explosion was heard in the Chamber of Representatives at Paris, which was at first supposed to be a clap of thunder, but was soon ascertained to have been occasioned by a young Saxon having fallen with a packet of detonating powder in his pocket.

On receiving this intelligence I imagined, I know not why, that this young Saxon was La Sahla, and that he had probably intended to blow up Napoleon and even the Legislative Body; but I have since ascertained that I was under a mistake as to his intentions. My knowledge of La Sahla's candor induces me to believe the truth of his declarations to the police; and if there be any inaccuracies in the report of these declarations I do not hesitate to attribute them to the police itself, of which Fouché was the head at the period in question. The following is the account of the event above mentioned, which

[1] This statement of Bourrienne is worth remarking as an unconscious refutation of the wild stories of the secret executions of the Empire. We find a man well acquainted with all the movements of the administration taking it for granted that an intended assassin would be publicly tried as a matter of course if he himself did not suggest other treatment. The case is the more noteworthy as Napoleon was anxious to hush up such attempts. The non-disappearance of this man may well answer all the absurd calumnies about the death of Captain Wright, etc.

appears to be accurate, with the exception of the conclusion: —

During the sitting of the Chamber of Representatives, about half-past one o'clock, a violent explosion took place, which was at first supposed to be a clap of thunder. The following are the particulars connected with the circumstance: — A Saxon, about twenty-eight years of age, who is said to belong to a family of distinction, had in his coat-pocket about four ounces of detonating powder. He had come in a carriage to the Chamber of the Legislative Body. He entered the hall, but left it soon after, and at the corner of the Rue de Bourgogne his foot slipped, and he fell upon the packet of detonating powder. A violent explosion was the consequence; his coat and pantaloons were torn, and himself dreadfully mutilated. None of the passers-by were hurt. He was conveyed in this state to the Prefecture of the Police, where he was interrogated. He described himself to be Baron La Sahla, and is, we are told, of a rich and distinguished family.

Some years since he came to France with the intention of assassinating or poisoning the Emperor. He was arrested and confined at first in the fortress of Vincennes, and afterwards removed to the castle of Saumur. Shortly after the entrance of the Allies into Paris he was liberated, and returned to his own country. The Emperor having re-ascended the throne, he determined to return to France. He does not deny having formerly entertained the design of killing the Emperor, whom he regarded as the oppressor of Germany; but that oppression having ceased, his feelings of hatred towards the author have also disappeared. The spoliations committed upon Saxony by the Congress, and particularly by the Prussians, exasperated him greatly against the latter, and when he heard of the Emperor's landing, and the fortunate issue of his enterprise, he beheld in him, henceforth, the liberator of his unfortunate country, and he wished to render him all the service in his power.

He therefore determined to return to France. He requested an audience of M. Hardenberg, and having obtained it, he pretended to be more than ever bent on his former plan of assassinating Napoleon. M. Hardenberg, after praising his good intentions, referred him to Marshal Blucher, whom he requested to furnish him with the means of proceeding to France. Marshal Blucher's headquarters were then at Namur, and the chief officer of his staff, who gave La Sahla a passport, advised him, with a view of facilitating his enterprise, to carry with him some detonating powder, and mentioned a shopkeeper at Namur of whom he could procure it. In order to avoid exciting suspicion La Sahla went himself to the dealer and purchased only four ounces of the fulminating powder. He then proceeded to France, and on his arrival in Paris he instantly communicated to the Government all the information he had acquired respecting the forces of the Allies, their plans, their resources, etc. By endeavoring to serve France he believed that he was serving his own

country. The police was satisfied that M. de La Sahla had communicated to the Government some very valuable details, both political and military. He also informed the War Minister that he had brought with him a little packet of detonating powder, and offered, it is said, to give it up; but it seems that no one was inclined to receive the dangerous deposit. Being asked the reason why he carried the powder about him he replied that he did not wish to have it at the hotel where he lodged, for fear that any person should touch it and occasion some accident. He is further said to have given M. Metternich proofs that M. Stein, the Prussian Minister, had urged him to poison M. de Mongelas, the Bavarian Minister, and that M. Metternich appeared indignant and horror-struck at M. Stein's conduct. If these declarations be true it must be acknowledged that some members of the Prussian Cabinet then resorted to diplomatic measures of a very extraordinary nature.

There is an evident error in the above report respecting the age of M. La Sahla, who in 1815 could not be more than twenty-three. It is the latter part of the report which induced me to observe above, that if there were any inaccuracies in the statement they were more likely to proceed from Fouché's police than the false representations of young La Sahla. It is difficult to give credit without proof to such accusations. However, I decide nothing; but I consider it my duty to express doubts of the truth of these charges brought against the two Prussian Ministers, of whom the Prince of Wittgenstein, a man of undoubted honor, has always spoken to me in the best of terms.

There is nothing to prove that La Sahla returned to France the second time with the same intentions as before. This project, however, is a mystery to me, and his detonating powder gives rise to many conjectures.[1]

[1] This account of La Sahla produced a warm remonstrance from Baron Stein, which appeared first in the Prussian *State Gazette*, and was afterwards copied into many other papers. In the Baron's reply he declares that he never saw La Sahla until that person visited him in Paris in 1814. The Baron was not then a Prussian Minister, having been dismissed by Napoleon in 1808 from that cabinet, of which he never afterwards was a member. He asks, what motive could he have for poisoning Count Mongelas, and what possible influence could such a crime have on the political questions which were agitated in the autumn of 1814 and the spring of 1815. A complete copy of the Baron's vindication was annexed to the German translation of Bourrienne's Memoirs. Baron Gagern applied to Prince Metternich for a declaration from him on the subject, and received in return the following letter: —

"The passage in M. de Bourrienne's Memoirs which has attracted Baron Stein's attention produced a similar effect on me. I never knew any indi-

I had scarcely left Hamburg when the Prince of Eckmühl (Marshal Davoust) was appointed Governor-General of that place on the union of the Hanse Towns with the Empire. From that period I was constantly occupied in contending against the persecutions and denunciations which he racked his imagination to invent. I cannot help attributing to those persecutions the Emperor's coolness towards me on my arrival in Paris. But as Davoust's calumnies were devoid of proof, he resorted to a scheme by which a certain appearance of probability might supply the place of truth. When I arrived in Paris, at the commencement of 1811, I was informed by an excellent friend I had left at Hamburg, M. Bouvier, an emigrant, and one of the hostages of Louis XVI., that in a few days I would receive a letter which would commit me, and likewise M. de Talleyrand and General Rapp. I had never had any connection on matters of business, with either of these individuals, for whom I entertained the most sincere attachment. They, like myself, were not in the good graces of Marshal Davoust, who could not pardon the one for his incontestable superiority of talent, and the other for his blunt honesty. On the receipt of M. Bouvier's letter I carried it to the Duc de Rovigo, whose situation made him perfectly aware of the intrigues which had been carried on against me since I had left Hamburg by one whose ambition aspired to the Viceroyalty of Poland. On that, as on many other similar occasions, the Duc de Rovigo advocated my cause with Napoleon. We agreed that it would be best to await the arrival of the letter which M. Bouvier had announced. Three weeks elapsed, and the letter did not appear. The Duc de Rovigo,

vidual called La Sahla, either personally or by name. Never, under any name whatever, did any person ever come to me and attribute to Baron Stein a purpose having the slightest relation to that stated in the passage in question. I honor the indignation which Baron Stein feels. An accusation which wounds honor may exist, and be considered true, while it remains uncontradicted, by the greater part of readers, who always have a predisposition to credulity. They ought to be undeceived; and the necessity for contradiction is the more pressing when an error appears in a work like M. de Bourrienne's, which is stamped with a character entirely different from the multitude of wretched publications which daily appear."

Baron Gagern afterwards corresponded with Bourrienne, who stated that he could not make the desired correction until he published a third edition. This proposal, however, was not satisfactory to Baron Stein (*Erreurs*, tome ii. p. 200).

therefore, told me that I must have been misinformed. However, I was certain that M. Bouvier would not have sent me the information on slight grounds, and I therefore supposed that the project had only been delayed. I was not wrong in my conjecture, for at length the letter arrived. To what a depth of infamy men can descend! The letter was from a man whom I had known at Hamburg, whom I had obliged, whom I had employed as a spy. His epistle was a miracle of impudence. After relating some extraordinary transactions which he said had taken place between us, and which all bore the stamp of falsehood, he requested me to send him by return of post the sum of 60,000 francs on account of what I had promised him for some business he executed in England by the direction of M. de Talleyrand, General Rapp, and myself. Such miserable wretches are often caught in the snares they spread for others. This was the case in the present instance, for the fellow had committed the blunder of fixing upon the year 1802 as the period of this pretended business in England, that is to say, two years before my appointment as Minister-Plenipotentiary to the Hanse Towns. This anachronism was not the only one I discovered in the letter.

I took a copy of the letter, and immediately carried the original to the Duc de Rovigo, as had been agreed between us. When I waited on the Minister he was just preparing to go to the Emperor. He took with him the letter which I brought, and also the letter which announced its arrival. As the Duc de Rovigo entered the audience-chamber Napoleon advanced to meet him, and apostrophized him thus: "Well, I have learned fine things of your Bourrienne, whom you are always defending." *The fact was, the Emperor had already received a copy of the letter, which had been opened at the Hamburg post-office.* The Duc de Rovigo told the Emperor that he had long known what his Majesty had communicated to him. He then entered into a full explanation of the intrigue, of which it was wished to render me the victim, and proved to him the more easily the falsehood of my accusers by reminding him that in 1802 I was not in Hamburg, but was still in his service at home.

It may be supposed that I was too much interested in knowing what had passed at the Tuileries not to return to the Duc de Rovigo the same day. I learned from him the particulars which I have already related. He added that he had observed to the Emperor that there was no connection between Rapp and M. de Talleyrand which could warrant the suspicion of their being concerned in the affair in question. "When Napoleon saw the matter in its true light," said Savary, "when I proved to him the palpable existence of the odious machination, he could not find terms to express his indignation. 'What baseness, what horrible villany!' he exclaimed; and gave me orders to arrest and bring to Paris the infamous writer of the letter; and you may rely upon it his orders shall be promptly obeyed."

Savary, as he had said, instantly despatched orders for the arrest of the writer, whom he directed to be sent to France. On his arrival he was interrogated respecting the letter. He declared that he had written it at the instigation and under the dictation of Marshal Davoust,[1] for doing which he received a small sum of money as a reward.[2] He also confessed that when the letter was put into the post the Prince of Eckmühl ordered the Director of the Post to open it, take a copy, then seal it again, and send it to its address — that is to say, to me — and the copy to the Emperor. The writer of the letter was banished to Marseilles, or to the Island of Hyères, but the individual who dictated it continued a Marshal, a Prince, and a Governor-General, and still looked

[1] The explanation of these attacks on Davoust (more properly spelt Davout), has already been given in the note on the demand made on Bourrienne on his return from Hamburg. The subject is treated at length by the Marshal's son in *Erreurs*, tome ii. p. 225. Davoust was at Paris on leave, and had not even been to Hamburg when Napoleon first called on him for information about Bourrienne's peculations, and the first reports against Bourrienne, made in reply to the Emperor's questions, were furnished by the Marshal's Chief of the Staff, and simply forwarded by him. The letters of Davoust seem to show no special ill will towards Bourrienne, and it would be difficult to find any reason for a man in Davoust's high position intriguing against the ex-Secretary. The Comte Alexandre de Puymaigre (*Souvenirs*, p. 135), not very favorably disposed towards Davoust, speaks to the general and strong belief at Hamburg that Bourrienne had made large sums of money there improperly.

[2] It does not appear at all clear why credence should be given to the informer's statement in the latter case any more than the former.

forward to the Viceroyalty of Poland! Such was the discriminating justice of the Empire; and Davoust continued his endeavors to revenge himself by other calumnies for my not having considered him a man of talent. I must do the Duc de Rovigo the justice to say that, though his fidelity to Napoleon was, as it always had been, boundless, yet whilst he executed the Emperor's orders he endeavored to make him acquainted with the truth, as was proved by his conduct in the case I have just mentioned. He was much distressed by the sort of terror which his appointment had excited in the public, and he acknowledged to me that he intended to restore confidence by a more mild system than that of his predecessor. I had observed formerly that Savary did not coincide in the opinion I had always entertained of Fouché, but when once the Duc de Rovigo endeavored to penetrate the labyrinth of police, counter-police, inspections and hierarchies of espionage, he found they were all bugbears which Fouché had created to alarm the Emperor, as gardeners put up scarecrows among the fruit-trees to frighten away the sparrows. Thus, thanks to the artifices of Fouché, the eagle was frightened as easily as the sparrows, until the period when the Emperor, convinced that Fouché was maintaining a correspondence with England through the agency of Ouvrard, dismissed him.

I saw with pleasure that Savary, the Minister of Police, wished to simplify the working of his administration, and to gradually diminish whatever was annoying in it, but, whatever might be his intentions, he was not always free to act. I acknowledge that when I read his Memoirs I saw with great impatience that in many matters he had voluntarily assumed responsibilities for acts which a word from him might have attributed to their real author. However this may be, what much pleased me in Savary was the wish he showed to learn the real truth in order to tell it to Napoleon. He received from the Emperor more than one severe rebuff. This came from the fact that since the immense aggrandizement of the Empire the ostensible Ministers, instead of rising in credit, had seen their functions diminish by degrees. Thus proposals for appointments to the higher grades of the army

came from the cabinet of Berthier, and not from that of the Minister of War. Everything which concerned any part of the government of the Interior or of the Exterior, except for the administration of War and perhaps for that of Finance, had its centre in the cabinet of M. Maret, certainly an honest man, but whose facility in saying "All is right," so much helped to make all wrong.[1]

The home trade, manufactures, and particularly several of the Parisian firms were in a state of distress the more hurtful as it contrasted so singularly with the splendor of the Imperial Court since the marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa. In this state of affairs a chorus of complaints reached the ears of the Duc de Rovigo every day. I must say that Savary was never kinder to me than since my disgrace; he nourished my hope of getting Napoleon to overcome the prejudices against me with which the spirit of vengeance had inspired him, and I know for certain that Savary returned to the charge more than once to manage this. The Emperor listened without anger, did not blame him for the closeness of our intimacy, and even said to him some obliging but insignificant words about me. This gave time for new machinations against me, and to fill him with fresh doubts when he had almost overcome his former ideas.[2]

[1] The evil to which Bourrienne here alludes, the loss of power by the Ministers, was one of the great causes of the disasters of the Empire. The Minister of War was little more than a clerk, the administration of the "matériel," etc., being separated, and the higher appointments being given through Berthier without reference to him. See *Foy*, tome i. p. 74, 75. In the absences of the Emperor from Paris the despatches of the Ministers were presented to him by Maret, Duc de Bassano, a man ready to undertake any responsibility. If the Emperor objected to any name submitted from Paris for an appointment, Maret was at hand to suggest another person, and the nominally responsible Ministers lost power and credit. This was especially the case in the later years of the Empire (*Savary*, tome iii. p. 35).

[2] Savary, Duc de Rovigo, had become Minister of Police on the disgrace of Fouché in June, 1810, and in his own Memoirs he describes his reforms in his administration to the same effect as Bourrienne does. He corroborates Bourrienne as to their continued intimacy, and his efforts to get Bourrienne again employed, but his own character was not of a description to add much weight to his recommendation in this case.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1811.

M. Czernischeff — Dissimulation of Napoleon — Napoleon and Alexander — Josephine's foresight respecting the affairs of Spain — My visits to Malmaison — Grief of Josephine — Tears and the toilet — Vast extent of the Empire — List of persons condemned to death and banishment in Piedmont — Observation of Alfieri respecting the Spaniards — Success in Spain — Check of Masséna in Portugal — Money lavished by the English — Bertrand sent to Illyria, and Marmont to Portugal — Situation of the French army — Assembling of the Cortès — Europe sacrificed to the Continental system — Conversation with Murat in the Champs Elysées — New titles and old names — Napoleon's dislike of literary men — Odes, etc., on the marriage of Napoleon — Chateaubriand and Lemercier — Death of Chénier — Chateaubriand elected his successor — His discourse read by Napoleon — Bonaparte compared to Nero — Suppression of the *Mercure* — M. de Chateaubriand ordered to leave Paris — MM. Lemercier and Esménard presented to the Emperor — Birth of the King of Rome — France in 1811.

Since my return to France I had heard much of the intrigues of M. Czernischeff, an *aide de camp* of the Emperor of Russia, who, under the pretext of being frequently sent to compliment Napoleon on the part of the Emperor Alexander, performed, in fact, the office of a spy. The conduct of Napoleon with regard to M. Czernischeff at that period struck me as singular, especially after the intelligence which before my departure from Hamburg I had transmitted to him respecting the dissatisfaction of Russia and her hostile inclinations. It is therefore clear to me that Bonaparte was well aware of the real object of M. Czernischeff's mission, and that if he appeared to give credit to the increasing professions of his friendship it was only because he still wished, as he formerly did, that Russia might so far commit herself as to afford him a fair pretext for the commencement of hostilities in the north.

M. Czernischeff first arrived in Paris shortly after the interview at Erfurt, and after that period was almost constantly on the road between Paris and St. Petersburg; it has

been computed that in the space of less than four years he travelled more than 10,000 leagues. For a long time his frequent journeyings excited no surmises, but while I was in Paris Savary began to entertain suspicions, the correctness of which it was not difficult to ascertain, so formidable was still the system of espionage, notwithstanding the precaution taken by Fouché to conceal from his successor the names of his most efficient spies. It was known that M. Czernischeff was looking out for a professor of mathematics, — doubtless to disguise the real motives for his stay in Paris by veiling them under the desire of studying the sciences. The confidant of Alexander had applied to a professor connected with a public office; and from that time all the steps of M. Czernischeff were known to the police. It was discovered that he was less anxious to question his instructor respecting the equations of a degree, or the value of unknown quantities, than to gain all the information he could about the different branches of the administration, and particularly the department of war. It *happened* that the professor knew some individuals employed in the public offices, who furnished him with intelligence, which he in turn communicated to M. Czernischeff, but not without making a report of it to the police; according to custom, instead of putting an end to this intrigue at once it was suffered fully to develop itself. Napoleon was informed of what was going on, and in this instance gave a new proof of his being an adept in the art of dissimulation, for, instead of testifying any displeasure against M. Czernischeff, he continued to receive him with the same marks of favor which he had shown to him during his former missions to Paris. Being, nevertheless, desirous to get rid of him, without evincing a suspicion that his clandestine proceedings had been discovered, he intrusted him with a friendly letter to his brother of Russia, but Alexander was in such haste to reply to the flattering missive of his brother of France that M. Czernischeff was hurried back to Paris, having scarcely been suffered to enter the gates of St. Petersburg. I believe I am correct in the idea that Napoleon was not really displeased at the intrigues of M. Czernischeff, from the sup-

position that they afforded an indication of the hostile intentions of Russia towards France; for whatever he might say on this subject to his confidants, what reliance can we place on the man who formed the camp of Boulogne without the most distant intention of attempting a descent upon England, and who had deceived the whole world respecting that important affair without taking any one into his own confidence?

During the period of my stay in Paris the war with Spain and Portugal occupied much of the public attention; and it proved in the end an enterprise upon which the intuition of Josephine had not deceived her. In general she intermeddled little with political affairs; in the first place, because her doing so would have given offence to Napoleon; and next, because her natural frivolity led her to give a preference to lighter pursuits. But I may safely affirm that she was endowed with an instinct so perfect as seldom to be deceived respecting the good or evil tendency of any measure which Napoleon engaged in; and I remember she told me that when informed of the intention of the Emperor to bestow the throne of Spain on Joseph, she was seized with a feeling of indescribable alarm. It would be difficult to define that instinctive feeling which leads us to foresee the future; but it is a fact that Josephine was endowed with this faculty in a more perfect degree than any other person I have ever known, and to her it was a fatal gift, for she suffered at the same time under the weight of present and of future misfortunes.

I often visited her at Malmaison, as Duroc assured me that the Emperor had no objection to my doing so; yet he must have been fully aware that when Josephine and I were in confidential conversation he would not always be mentioned in terms of unqualified eulogy; and in truth, his first friend and his first wife might well be excused for sometimes commingling their complaints.

Though more than a twelvemonth had elapsed since the divorce grief still preyed on the heart of Josephine. "You cannot conceive, my friend," she often said to me, "all the torments that I have suffered since that fatal day! I cannot imagine how I survived it. You cannot figure to yourself the

pain I endure on seeing descriptions of his *fêtes* everywhere. And the first time he came to visit me after his marriage, what a meeting was that! How many tears I shed! The days on which he comes are to me days of misery, for he spares me not. How cruel to speak of his expected heir. Bourrienne, you cannot conceive how heartrending all this is to me! Better, far better to be exiled a thousand leagues from hence! However," added Josephine, "a few friends still remain faithful in my changed fortune, and that is now the only thing which affords me even temporary consolation." The truth is that she was extremely unhappy, and the most acceptable consolation her friends could offer her was to weep with her. Yet such was still Josephine's passion for dress, that after having wept for a quarter of an hour she would dry her tears to give audience to milliners and jewellers. The sight of a new hat would call forth all Josephine's feminine love of finery.[1] One day I remember that, taking advantage of the momentary serenity occasioned by an ample display of sparkling gewgaws, I congratulated her upon the happy influence they exercised over her spirits, when she said, "My dear friend, I ought, indeed, to be indifferent to all this; but it is a habit." Josephine might have added that it was also an occupation, for it would be no exaggeration to say that if the time she wasted in tears and at her toilet had been subtracted from her life its duration would have been considerably shortened.

The vast extent of the French Empire now presented a spectacle which resembled rather the dominion of the Romans and the conquests of Charlemagne than the usual form and political changes of modern Europe.[2] In fact, for nearly two

[1] The amusing *femme de chambre* Mademoiselle Avrillion informs us that Josephine, after her divorce, amused her solitude with embroidering, and other little works of the kind. She says she was also very fond of reading, or of having books read out to her; but mademoiselle admits on fifty occasions that the principal occupation of the ex-Empress was the toilet, and that her taste for finery and expensive nick-nacks continued undiminished by time and many sorrows. Shortly after the divorce Josephine made a journey to the waters of Aix, in Savoy, and then a short tour in Switzerland. When she was at Coppet, where Madame de Staël was residing, she declined receiving the visit of that celebrated woman, as she feared that by so doing she would offend her former husband, the great Napoleon, who was in a state of open warfare with the author of *Corinne*.

[2] The so-called "French" armies of the time, drawn from all parts of the Empire and from the dependent States, represented the extraordinary fusion

centuries, until the period of the Revolution, and particularly until the elevation of Napoleon, no remarkable changes had taken place in the boundaries of European States, if we except the partition of Poland, when two of the co-partitioners committed the error of turning the tide of Russia towards the west! Under Napoleon everything was overturned with astonishing rapidity: customs, manners, laws, were superseded by new customs, new manners, and new laws, imposed by force, and forming a heterogeneous whole, which could not fail to dissolve, as soon as the influence of the power which had created it should cease to operate. Such was the state of Italy that I have been informed by an individual worthy of credit that if the army of Prince Eugène, instead of being victorious, had been beaten on the Piava, a deeply organized revolution would have broken out in Piedmont, and even in the Kingdom of Italy, where, nevertheless, the majority of the people fully appreciated the excellent qualities of Eugène. I have been also credibly informed that lists were in readiness designating those of the French who were to be put to death, as well as those by whom the severe orders of the Imperial Government had been mitigated, and who were only to be banished. In fact, revolt was as natural to the Italians as submission to the Germans, and as the fury of despair to the Spanish nation. On this subject I may cite an observation contained in one of the works of Alfieri, published fifteen years before the Spanish war. Taking a cursory view of the different European nations he regarded the Spaniards as the only people possessed of "sufficient energy to struggle against foreign usurpation." Had I still been near the person of

attempted by Napoleon. Thus, at the battle of Ocana there were at least troops of the following States, viz. Warsaw, Holland, Baden, Nassau, Hesse-Darmstadt, Frankfort, besides the Spaniards in Joseph's service. A Spanish division went to Denmark, the regiment from Isembourg was sent to Naples, while the Neapolitans crossed to Spain. Even the little Valais had to furnish a battalion. Blacks from San Domingo served in Naples, while sixteen nations, like so many chained dogs, advanced into Russia. Such troops could not have the spirit of a homogeneous army.

Already, in 1808, Metternich (vol. ii. p. 292) had written from Paris to his Court "It is no longer the nation that fights: the present war (Spain) is Napoleon's war; it is not even that of his army." But Napoleon himself was aware of the danger of the Empire from its own extent. In the silence of his cabinet his secretary Meneval (tome iii. pp. 273, 274) sometimes heard him murmur, "*L'arc est trops longtemps tendu.*"

MASSENA.

PRINCE OF ESSLING.

Napoleon I would most assuredly have resorted to an innocent artifice, which I had several times employed, and placed the work of Alfieri on his table open at the page I wished him to read. Alfieri's opinion of the Spanish people was in the end fully verified; and I confess I cannot think without shuddering of the torrents of blood which inundated the Peninsula; and for what? To make Joseph Bonaparte a King!

The commencement of 1811 was sufficiently favorable to the French arms in Spain, but towards the beginning of March the aspect of affairs changed. The Duke of Belluno, notwithstanding the valor of his troops, was unsuccessful at Chiclana;[1] and from that day the French army could not make head against the combined forces of England and Portugal. Even Masséna, notwithstanding the title of Prince of Eslingen (or Essling), which he had won under the walls of Vienna, was no longer "the favorite child of victory" as he had been at Zurich.

Having mentioned Masséna I may observe that he did not favor the change of the French Government on the foundation of the Empire. Masséna loved two things, — glory and money; but as to what is termed honors, he only valued those which resulted from the command of an army; and his recollections all bound him to the Republic, because the Republic recalled to his mind the most brilliant and glorious events of his military career. He was, besides, among the number of the Marshals who wished to see a limit put to the ambition of Bonaparte; and he had assuredly done enough, since the commencement of the wars of the Republic, to be permitted to enjoy some repose, which his health at that period required. What could he achieve against the English in Portugal? The combined forces of England and Portugal daily augmented, while ours diminished. No efforts were spared by England to gain a superiority in the great struggle in which she was engaged; as her money was lavished profusely, her troops paid well wherever they went, and were abundantly supplied with ammunition and provisions: the French army was compelled, though far from possessing such ample means, to pur-

[1] Barrosa.

chase at the same high rate, in order to keep the natives from joining the English party. But even this did not prevent numerous partial insurrections in different places, which rendered all communication with France extremely difficult. Armed bands continually carried off our dispersed soldiers; and the presence of the British troops, supported by the money they spent in the country, excited the inhabitants against us; for it is impossible to suppose that, unsupported by the English, Portugal could have held out a single moment against France. But battles, bad weather, and even want, had so reduced the French force that it was absolutely necessary our troops should repose when their enterprises could lead to no results. In this state of things Masséna was recalled, because his health was so materially injured as to render it impossible for him to exert sufficient activity to restore the army to a respectable footing.

Under these circumstances Bonaparte sent Bertrand into Illyria to take the place of Marmont, who was ordered in his turn to relieve Masséna and take the command of the French army in Portugal. Marmont on assuming the command found the troops in a deplorable state. The difficulty of procuring provisions was extreme, and the means he was compelled to employ for that purpose greatly heightened the evil; at the same time insubordination and want of discipline prevailed to such an alarming degree that it would be as difficult as painful to depict the situation of our army at this period. Marmont, by his steady conduct, fortunately succeeded in correcting the disorders which prevailed, and very soon found himself at the head of a well-organized army, amounting to 30,000 infantry, with forty pieces of artillery, but he had only a very small body of cavalry, and those ill-mounted.

Affairs in Spain at the commencement of 1811 exhibited an aspect not very different from those of Portugal. At first we were uniformly successful, but our advantages were so dearly purchased that the ultimate issue of this struggle might easily have been foreseen, because when a people fight for their homes and their liberties the invading army must gradually diminish, while at the same time the armed population, em-

boldened by success, increases in a still more marked progression. Insurrection was now regarded by the Spaniards as a holy and sacred duty, to which the recent meetings of the Cortès in the Isle of Leon had given, as it were, a legitimate character, since Spain found again, in the remembrance of her ancient privileges, at least the shadow of a Government — a centre around which the defenders of the soil of the Peninsula could rally.[1]

The Continental system was the cause, if not of the eventual fall, at least of the rapid fall of Napoleon. This cannot be doubted if we consider for a moment the brilliant situation of the Empire in 1811, and the effect simultaneously produced throughout Europe by that system, which undermined the most powerful throne which ever existed. It was the Continental system that Napoleon upheld in Spain, for he had persuaded himself that this system, rigorously enforced, would strike a death-blow to the commerce of England; and Duroc besides informed me of a circumstance which is of great weight in this question. Napoleon one day said to him, "I am no longer anxious that Joseph should be King of Spain; and he himself is indifferent about it. I would give the crown to the first comer who would shut his ports against the English."

Murat had come to Paris on the occasion of the Empress's accouchement, and I saw him several times during his stay, for we had always been on the best terms; and I must do him the justice to say that he never assumed the King but

[1] Lord Wellington gave Masséna a beating at Fuentes d'Onore on the 5th of May, 1811. It was soon after this battle that Napoleon sent Marmont to succeed Masséna. Advancing on the southern frontier of Portugal the skilful Soult contrived to take Badajoz from a wavering Spanish garrison. About this time, however, General Graham, with his British corps, sallied out of Cadiz, and beat the French on the heights of Barrosa, which lie in front of Cadiz, which city the French were then besieging. Encouraged by the successes of our regular armies the Spanish Guerillas became more and more numerous and daring. By the end of 1811 Joseph Bonaparte found so many thorns in his usurped crown that he implored his brother to put it on some other head. Napoleon would not then listen to his prayer. In the course of 1811 a plan was laid for liberating Ferdinand from his prison in France and placing him at the head of affairs in Spain, but was detected by the emissaries of Bonaparte's police. Ferdinand's sister, the ex-Queen of Etruria, had also planned an escape to England. Her agents were betrayed, tried by a military commission, and *shot* — the Princess herself was condemned to close confinement in a Roman convent. — *Editor of 1836 edition.*

to his courtiers, and those who had known him only as a monarch. Eight or ten days after the birth of the King of Rome, as I was one morning walking in the Champs Elysées, I met Murat. He was alone, and dressed in a long blue overcoat. We were exactly opposite the gardens of his sister-in-law, the Princess Borghèse. "Well, Bourrienne," said Murat, after we had exchanged the usual courtesies, "well, what are you about now?" I informed him how I had been treated by Napoleon, who, that I might not be in Hamburg when the decree of union arrived there, had recalled me to Paris under a show of confidence. I think I still see the handsome and expressive countenance of Joachim when, having addressed him by the titles of Sire and Your Majesty, he said to me, "Pshaw! Bourrienne, are we not old comrades? The Emperor has treated you unjustly; and to whom has he not been unjust? His displeasure is preferable to his favor, which costs so dear! He says that he made us Kings; but did we not make him an Emperor? To you, my friend, whom I have known long and intimately, I can make my profession of faith. My sword, my blood, my life belong to the Emperor. When he calls me to the field to combat his enemies and the enemies of France I am no longer a King, I resume the rank of a Marshal of the Empire; but let him require no more. At Naples I will be King of Naples, and I will not sacrifice to his false calculations the life, the well-being, and the interests of my subjects.[1] Let him not imagine that he can treat me as he has treated Louis! For I am ready to defend, even against him, if it must be so, the rights of the people over whom he has appointed me to rule. Am I then

[1] If we add to the irksomeness of a foreign rule the severity of the irregular courts-martial and military tribunals and the detested conscription law, which sent the young men of sunny Naples to perish by thousands in Northern Germany or the wilds of Poland and Russia, it will be understood how unpopular must have been Napoleon, who ordered all these things. M. de Bourrienne, however, does not over-estimate the effects of the Continental system; it had reduced one-half of the Kingdom to beggary. In the rich oil country about Gallipoli, Taranto, and Bari, through a large portion of Apulia and Calabria, many people no longer pressed the olives that their rich groves furnished, as, owing to the exclusion of England, America, etc., from the market, the price of the oil scarcely paid the expenses of its preparation. Murat, however, was always personally popular with a large portion of the Neapolitan nation. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

an advance-guard King?"[1] These last words appeared to me peculiarly appropriate in the mouth of Murat, who had always served in the advance-guard of our armies, and I thought expressed in a very happy manner the similarity of his situation as a king and a soldier.

I walked with Murat about half an hour. In the course of our conversation he informed me that his greatest cause of complaint against the Emperor was his having first put him forward and then abandoned him. "Before I arrived in Naples," continued he, "it was intimated to me that there was a design of assassinating me. What did I do? I entered that city alone, in full daylight, in an open carriage, for I would rather have been assassinated at once than have lived in the constant fear of being so. I afterwards made a descent on the Isle of Capri, which succeeded. I attempted one against Sicily, and am certain it would have also been successful had the Emperor fulfilled his promise of sending the Toulon fleet to second my operations; but he issued contrary orders: *he enacted Mazarin, and wished me to play the part of the adventurous Duke of Guise.* But I see through his designs. Now that he has a son, on whom he has bestowed the title of King of Rome, he merely wishes the crown of Naples to be considered as a deposit in my hands. He regards Naples as a future annexation to the Kingdom of Rome, to which I foresee it is his design to unite the whole of Italy. But let him not urge me too far, for I will oppose him, and conquer, or perish in the attempt, sword in hand."

I had the discretion not to inform Murat how correctly he had divined the plans of the Emperor and his projects as to Italy, but in regard to the Continental system, which, perhaps, the reader will be inclined to call my great stalking-horse, I spoke of it as I had done to the Prince of Sweden, and I per-

[1] The question here asked by Murat would have been answered by Napoleon in the affirmative; and indeed a great part of the difficulties of the Emperor and of the Kings set up by him was that these Sovereigns would not recognize that this was their real position. They were the leaders of the advanced guard, or wardens of the marches, of the Empire; and their pitiful, if natural and sometimes honorable, attempts to assume the status of independent monarchs, did much to ruin the Empire to which alone they owed their existence. If Spain, Holland, and Italy were to be independent it was not for Joseph, Louis, and Murat to head the struggle in these countries.

ceived that he was fully inclined to follow my advice, as experience has sufficiently proved. It was in fact the Continental system which separated the interests of Murat from those of the Emperor, and which compelled the new King of Naples to form alliances amongst the princes at war with France. Different opinions have been entertained on this subject; mine is, that the Marshal of the Empire was wrong, but the King of Naples right.

The Princes and Dukes of the Empire must pardon me for so often designating them by their Republican names. The Marshals set less value on their titles of nobility than the Dukes and Counts selected from among the civilians. Of all the sons of the Republic Regnault de St. Jean d'Angély was the most gratified at being a Count, whilst, among the fathers of the Revolution no one could regard with greater disdain than Fouché his title of Duke of Otranto;[1] he congratulated himself upon its possession only once, and that was after the fall of the Empire.

I have expressed my dislike of Fouché; and the reason of that feeling was, that I could not endure his system of making the police a government within a government. He had left Paris before my return thither, but I had frequent occasion to speak of that famous personage to Savary, whom, for the reason above assigned, I do not always term Duc de Rovigo. Savary knew better than any one the fallacious measures of Fouché's administration, since he was his successor. Fouché, under pretence of encouraging men of letters, though well aware that the Emperor was hostile to them, intended only to bring them into contempt by making them write verses at command. It was easily seen that Napoleon nourished a profound dislike of literary men,[2] though we must not conclude that he wished the public to be aware of that dislike. Those, besides, who

[1] This is in opposition to the story that Fouché took to his new dignity so kindly that, in recounting a conversation, he described Robespierre as addressing him as "Duc d'Otrante."

[2] It would not be difficult to show that Napoleon had only a profound dislike for those literary men who used their pens in bitter attacks on him, or in that party warfare which it was his great object to put an end to. If studying the works of the great authors, loving to converse with those who could pardon his elevation, and pensioning both those who praised and those who attacked him, is any proof of liking literary men, he certainly liked them.

devoted their pens to blazon his glory and his power were sure to be received by him with distinction. On the other hand, as Charlemagne and Louis XIV. owed a portion of the splendor of their reigns to the lustre reflected on them by literature, he wished to appear to patronize authors, provided that they never discussed questions relating to philosophy, the independence of mankind, and civil and political rights. With regard to men of science it was wholly different; those he held in real estimation; but men of letters, properly so called, were considered by him merely as a sprig in his Imperial crown.

The marriage of the Emperor with an Archduchess of Austria had set all the Court poets to work, and in this contest of praise and flattery it must be confessed that the false gods were vanquished by the true God; for, in spite of their fulsome verses, not one of the disciples of Apollo could exceed the extravagance of the Bishops in their pastoral letters. At a time when so many were striving to force themselves into notice there still existed a feeling of esteem in the public mind for men of superior talent who remained independent amidst the general corruption; such was M. Lemercier, such was M. de Chateaubriand. I was in Paris in the spring of 1811, at the period of Chénier's death,[1] when the numerous friends whom Chateaubriand possessed in the second class of the Institute looked to him as the successor of Chénier. This was more than a mere literary question, not only on account of the high literary reputation M. de Chateaubriand already possessed, but of the recollection of his noble conduct at the period of the Duc d'Enghien's death, which was yet fresh in the memory of every one; and, besides, no person could be

[1] Marie Joseph de Chénier died in 1811. He had been a fervid Republican, while his brother André had taken the opposite side and had been guillotined in 1794. As Joseph was not believed to have exerted himself to save his brother his opponents delighted to speak of him, by an intentional mistake, as "the brother of *Abel* Chénier." Savary, then Minister of Police, claims (tome v. p. 17) to have got Chateaubriand nominated to the Academy; see also Merlet (*Littérature Française*, 1800–15, tome i. p. 245) to same effect. Chateaubriand required some pressing to join what he called a den of philosophers, but his permitting his name to be put forward is not quite consistent with his resignation of his post after the death of the Duc d'Enghien, and with his furious attack in 1814 on the fallen Emperor. For a brief account of the complimentary odes of the period see *Merlet*, tome i. p. 183, and *Savary*, tome v. p. 12.

ignorant of the immeasurable difference of opinion between Chénier and M. de Chateaubriand.

M. de Chateaubriand obtained a great majority of votes, and was elected a Member of the Institute. This opened a wide field for conjecture in Paris. Every one was anxious to see how the author of the *Génie du Christianisme*, the faithful defender of the Bourbons, would bend his eloquence to pronounce the eulogium of a regicide. The time for the admission of the new Member of the Institute arrived, but in his discourse, copies of which were circulated in Paris, he had ventured to allude to the death of Louis XVI., and to raise his voice against the regicides. This did not displease Napoleon; but M. de Chateaubriand also made a profession of faith in favor of liberty, which, he said, found refuge amongst men of letters when banished from the politic body. This was great boldness for the time; for though Bonaparte was secretly gratified at seeing the judges of Louis XVI. scourged by an heroic pen, yet those men held the highest situations under the Government. Cambacérès filled the second place in the Empire, although at a great distance from the first; Merlin de Douai was also in power; and it is known how much liberty was stifled and hidden beneath the dazzling illusion of what is termed glory. A commission was named to examine the discourse of Chateaubriand. MM. Suard, de Ségur, de Fontanes, and two or three other members of the same class of the Institute whose names I cannot recollect, were of opinion that the discourse should be read; but it was opposed by the majority.

When Napoleon was informed of what had passed he demanded a sight of the address, which was presented to him by M. Daru. After having perused it he exclaimed, "Had this discourse been delivered I would have shut the gates of the Institute, and thrown M. de Chateaubriand into a dungeon for life." The storm long raged; at length means of conciliation were tried. The Emperor required M. de Chateaubriand to prepare another discourse, which the latter refused to do, in spite of every menace. Madame Gay applied to Madame Regnault de St. Jean d'Angély, who interested her husband

in favor of the author of the *Génie du Christianisme.* M. de Montalivet and Savary also acted on this occasion in the most praiseworthy manner, and succeeded in appeasing the first transports of the Emperor's rage. But the name of Chateaubriand constantly called to mind the circumstances which had occasioned him to give in his resignation; and, besides, Napoleon had another complaint against him. He had published in the *Mercure* an article on a work of M. Alexandre de Laborde. In that article, which was eagerly read in Paris, and which caused the suppression of the *Mercure,* occurred the famous phrase which has been since so often repeated: "In vain a Nero triumphs: Tacitus is already born in his Empire." This quotation leads me to repeat an observation which, I believe, I have already made, viz. that it is a manifest misconception to compare Bonaparte to Nero. Napoleon's ambition might blind his vision to political crimes, but in private life no man could evince less disposition to cruelty or bloodshed. A proof that he bore little resemblance to Nero is that his anger against the author of the article in question vented itself in mere words. "What!" exclaimed he, "does Chateaubriand think I am a fool, and that I do not know what he means? If he goes on this way I will have him sabred on the steps of the Tuileries."[1] This language is quite characteristic of Bonaparte, but it was uttered in the first ebullition of his wrath. Napoleon merely threatened, but Nero would have made good his threat; and in such a case there is surely some difference between words and deeds.

[1] The account of the anger of Napoleon is rather exaggerated, and Chateaubriand himself seems to have been the author of the phrase about sabring him on the steps of the Tuileries. It was Napoleon who had suggested the nomination of Chateaubriand to the Institute: and that the Emperor was not ill-advised in objecting to the discourse presented to him for his inspection seems proved by the fact that Chateaubriand never published it among his works, nor gave any acknowledged text. Napoleon was, however, angry enough to give rise to an amusing scene. Daru, himself an author and a critic, brought the manuscript to the Emperor, who received him alone, and soon worked himself into a passion over the discourse. His furious apostrophes of the absent Chateaubriand were overheard in the antechamber, and believed to be addressed to Daru. Thus, when Daru re-appeared, he found himself, to his surprise, shunned by all the men who on his entry had greeted him most warmly; each, however, on ascertaining the truth, assuring him that *he* had not been duped. See the description in Sainte-Beuve's *Chateaubriand et son Groupe Littéraire,* tome ii. pp. 99–110.

The discourse of M. de Chateaubriand revived Napoleon's former enmity against him; he received an order to quit Paris. M. Daru returned to him the manuscript of his discourse, which had been read by Bonaparte, who cancelled some passages with a pencil. We can be sure that the phrase about liberty was not one of those spared by the Imperial pencil. However that may be, written copies were circulated with the text altered and abbreviated; and I have even been told that a printed edition appeared, but I have never seen any copies; and as I do not find the discourse in the works of M. de Chateaubriand I have reason to believe that the author has not yet wished to publish it.

Such were the principal circumstances attending the nomination of Chateaubriand to the Institute. I shall now relate some others which occurred on a previous occasion, viz., on the election of an old and worthy visitor at Malmaison, M. Lemercier, and which will serve to show one of those strange inconsistencies so frequent in the character of Napoleon.

After the foundation of the Empire M. Lemercier ceased to present himself at the Tuileries, St. Cloud, or at Malmaison, though he was often seen in the *salons* of Madame Bonaparte while she yet hoped not to become a Queen. Two places were vacant at once in the second class of the Institute, which still contained a party favorable to liberty. This party, finding it impossible to influence the nomination of both members, contented itself with naming one, it being the mutual condition, in return for favoring the Government candidate, that the Government party should not oppose the choice of the liberals. The liberal party selected M. Lemercier, but as they knew his former connection with Bonaparte had been broken off they wished first to ascertain that he would do nothing to commit their choice. Chénier was empowered to inquire whether M. Lemercier would refuse to accompany them to the Tuileries when they repaired thither in a body, and whether, on his election, he would comply with the usual ceremony of being presented to the Emperor. M. Lemercier replied that he would do nothing contrary to the customs and

usages of the body to which he might belong: he was accordingly elected. The Government candidate was M. Esménard, who was also elected. The two new members were presented to the Emperor on the same day. On this occasion upwards of 400 persons were present in the *salon*, from one of whom I received these details. When the Emperor saw M. Lemercier, for whom he had long pretended great friendship, he said to him in a kind tone, "Well, Lemercier, you are now installed." Lemercier respectfully bowed to the Emperor, but without uttering a word in reply. Napoleon was mortified at this silence, but without saying anything more to Lemercier he turned to Esménard, the member who should have been most acceptable to him, and vented upon him the whole weight of his indignation in a manner equally unfeeling and unjust. "Well, Esménard," said he, "do you still hold your place in the police?" [1] These words were spoken in so loud a tone as to be heard by all present; and it was doubtless this cruel and ambiguous speech which furnished the enemies of Esménard with arms to attack his reputation as a man of honor, and to give an appearance of disgrace to those functions which he exercised with so much zeal and ability.

When, at the commencement of 1811, I left Paris, I had ceased to delude myself respecting the brilliant career which seemed opening before me during the Consulate. I clearly perceived that since Bonaparte, instead of receiving me as I expected, had refused to see me at all, the calumnies of my enemies were triumphant, and that I had nothing to hope for from an absolute ruler, whose past injustice rendered him the more unjust. He now possessed what he had so long and

[1] For the connection of Esménard with the police as editor, etc., see Savary (tome v. p. 15), who praises him highly, and boasts that it was he who got him, and later Chateaubriand, into the Academy. Lemercier, who had been a favored friend of General Bonaparte, withdrew from the Court and sent back his cross of the Legion of Honor on the foundation of the Empire. His writings in the subsequent years were not very successful, even allowing for the restraints of the censorship. "He sent," says Merlet (tome i. p. 263), "his pieces to the censor as a general launches his soldiers to the assault. He thus had more than five great dramas killed under him." Preserving his hostility during the time of Napoleon's power Lemercier seems to have regretted the Restoration, or at least he might have said with Hoffman when then asked why he did not write against Napoleon, "Because I have never flattered him."

ardently wished for, — a son of his own, an inheritor of his name, his power, and his throne. I must take this opportunity of stating that the malevolent and infamous rumors spread abroad respecting the birth of the King of Rome were wholly without foundation. My friend Corvisart, who did not for a single instant leave Maria Louisa during her long and painful labor, removed from my mind every doubt on the subject. It is as true that the young Prince, for whom the Emperor of Austria stood sponsor at the font, was the son of Napoleon and the Archduchess Maria Louisa as it is false that Bonaparte was the father of the first child of Hortense. The birth of the son of Napoleon was hailed with general enthusiasm.[1] The Emperor was at the height of his power from the period of the birth of his son until the reverse he experienced after the battle of the Moskowa. The Empire, including the States possessed by the Imperial family, contained nearly 57,000,000 of inhabitants; but the period was fast approaching when this power, unparalleled in modern times, was to collapse under its own weight.

[1] The reader will find some very interesting notices of this great event and the *fêtes* which followed, in the *Memoirs of the Duchess of Abrantès*, vol. iii. p. 279. It appears from Mademoiselle Avrillion's Memoirs that Napoleon was the first to announce to Josephine the birth of his son. "In such circumstances," said mademoiselle, "all that passes in the breast of a woman is inexplicable: the Empress testified the greatest and the most sincere joy at an event which was considered by almost all Frenchmen as an immense happiness for the Empire. . . . She showed me, with a sort of pride, the letter the Emperor had written her with his own hand, and in which he added, after having said, 'My dear Josephine, I have a son,' these other words, 'I am at the summit of my happiness.'

"'Yes!' said the Empress Josephine to me with visible emotion, though without any sign of jealousy or ill humor, 'Yes! he must be very happy!' and then, after drying some tears that escaped her, she continued, 'and I also — I too ought to be very happy at the happiness of the Emperor — happy to see the fulfilment of the wishes of all France — I now gather the fruits of my painful sacrifices, since they have secured the prosperity of France.'"

The little King of Rome, Napoleon Francis Bonaparte, was born on the 20th of March, 1811. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

1811.

My return to Hamburg — Government Committee established there — Anecdote of the Comte de Chaban — Napoleon's misunderstanding with the Pope — Cardinal Fesch — Convention of a Council — Declaration required from the Bishops — Spain in 1811 — Certainty of war with Russia — Lauriston supersedes Caulaincourt at St. Petersburg — The war in Spain neglected — Troops of all nations at the disposal of Bonaparte — Levy of National Guard — Treaties with Prussia and Austria — Capitulation renewed with Switzerland — Intrigues with Czernischeff — Attacks of my enemies — Memorial to the Emperor — Ogier de la Saussaye and the mysterious box — Removal of the Pope to Fontainebleau — Anecdote of His Holiness and M. Denon — Departure of Napoleon and Maria Louisa for Dresden — Situation of Affairs in Spain and Portugal — Rapp's account of the Emperor's journey to Dantzic — Mutual wish for war on the part of Napoleon and Alexander — Sweden and Turkey — Napoleon's vain attempt to detach Sweden from her alliance with Russia.

As I took the most lively interest in all that concerned the Hanse Towns, my first care on returning to Hamburg was to collect information from the most respectable sources concerning the influential members of the new Government.[1] Davoust was at its head. On his arrival he had established in the Duchy of Mecklenburg, in Swedish Pomerania, and in Stralsund, the capital of that province, military posts and custom-houses, and that in a time of profound peace with those countries, and without any previous declaration. The omnipotence of Napoleon, and the terror inspired by the name of Davoust, overcame all obstacles which might have opposed those iniquitous usurpations. The weak were forced to yield to the strong.

[1] Bourrienne took an interest in Hamburg which it is difficult to explain unless he was, as his enemies asserted, engaged in Royalist plots and in underhand business there. In 1813 Davoust complained to the Emperor of his intrigues, and Napoleon replied that Bourrienne had been ordered to cease all correspondence with Hamburg, and declared that he would arrest him if he still wrote there. Even then, 30th June, 1813, Napoleon urged Davoust to try to discover Bourrienne's robberies in order that he might be made to disgorge (*Erreurs*, tome ii. p. 241).

At Hamburg a Government Committee was formed, consisting of the Prince of Eckmühl as President, Comte de Chaban, Councillor of State, who superintended the departments of the Interior and Finance, and of M. Faure, Councillor of State, who was appointed to form and regulate the Courts of Law. I had sometimes met M. de Chaban at Malmaison. He was distantly related to Josephine, and had formerly been an officer in the French Guards. He was compelled to emigrate, having been subjected to every species of persecution during the Revolution.[1]

M. de Chaban was among the first of the emigrants who returned to France after the 18th Brumaire. He was at first made Sub-Prefect of Vendôme, but on the union of Tuscany with France Napoleon created him a member of the Junta appointed to regulate the affairs of Tuscany. He next became Prefect of Coblentz and Brussels, was made a Count by Bonaparte, and was afterwards chosen a member of the Government Committee at Hamburg. M. de Chaban was a man of upright principles, and he discharged his various functions in a way that commanded esteem and attachment.[2]

The Hanseatic Towns, united to the Grand Empire professedly for their welfare, soon felt the blessings of the new organization of a regenerating Government. They were at once presented with the stamp-duty, registration, the lottery, the *droits réunis*, the tax on cards, and the *octroi*. This prodigality of presents caused, as we may be sure, the most lively

[1] I recollect an anecdote which but too well depicts those disastrous times. The Comte de Chaban, being obliged to cross France during the Reign of Terror, was compelled to assume a disguise. He accordingly provided himself with a smock-frock, a cart and horses, and a load of corn. In this manner he journeyed from place to place till he reached the frontiers. He stopped at Rochambeau, in the Vendômais, where he was recognized by the Marshal de Rochambeau, who, to guard against exciting any suspicion among his servants, treated him as if he had really been a carman, and said to him, "You may dine in the kitchen."—*Bourrienne.*

[2] "If," says the Comte Alexandre de Puymaigre (p. 129), who was employed under Chaban in 1811 at Hamburg, "any one could soften these dispositions (of Marshal Davoust), not by his very limited means, but by the influence given by a patriarchal and reproachless life, true moderation, and undoubted honesty, it was the Comte de Chaban, Councillor of State, charged with the finances of the Northern Departments, lately annexed. He was loved and esteemed at Hamburg, where he often succeeded in reducing the burdens and in rendering the position less painful." Chaban died of typhus at Hamburg in 1812.

gratitude; a tax for military quarters and for warlike supplies was imposed, but this did not relieve any one from having not only officers and soldiers, but even all the chiefs of the administration and their officials billeted on them. The refineries, breweries, and manufactures of all sorts were suppressed. The cash-chests of the Admiralty, of the charity houses, of the manufactures, of the savings banks, of the working classes, the funds of the prisons, the relief meant for the infirm, the chests of the refuges, orphanages, and of the hospitals, were all seized.

More than 200,000 men, Italian, Dutch, and French soldiers, came in turn to stay there, but only to be clothed and shod; and then they left newly clothed from head to foot. To leave nothing to be wished for Davoust, from 1812, established military commissions in all the thirty-second military division, before he entered upon the Russian campaign. To complete these oppressive measures he established at the same time the High Prevotal Court of the Customs. It was at this time that M. Eudes, the director of the ordinary customs, a strict but just man, said that *the rule of the ordinary customs would be regretted, "for till now you have only been on roses."* The professed judgments of *this court* were executed without appeal and without delay. From what I have just said the situation and the misery of the north of Germany, and the consequent discontent, can be judged.[1]

During my stay in Hamburg, which on this occasion was not very long, Napoleon's attention was particularly engaged by the campaign of Portugal, and his discussions with the Pope. At this period the thunderbolts of Rome were not very alarming. Yet precautions were taken to keep secret the excommunication which Pius VII. had pronounced against Napoleon. The event, however, got reported about, and a party in favor

[1] In all this Davoust was only an instrument. He was then engaged in preparing the army for the Russian campaign, and the inevitable strain fell heavily on the unfortunate Hanse Towns. This is the other side of the description of the enormous preparations which fill so much of Thiers and other historians. As for the seizure of all the cash, whatever might be its intended destination, this was certain to be done under the then great pressure. The same act on the part of the Russians, when they entered the town as allies, is recorded a little farther on by Bourrienne without the sneers he employs against Davoust.

of the Pope speedily rose up among the clergy, and more particularly among the fanatics. Napoleon sent to Savona the Archbishops of Nantes, Bourges, Treves, and Tours, to endeavor to bring about a reconciliation with His Holiness. But all their endeavors were unavailing, and after staying a month at Savona they returned to Paris without having done anything. But Napoleon was not discouraged by this first disappointment, and he shortly afterwards sent a second deputation, which experienced the same fate as the first. Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, took part with the Pope. For this fact I can vouch, though I cannot for an answer which he is said to have made to the Emperor. I have been informed that when Napoleon was one day speaking to his uncle about the Pope's obstinacy the Cardinal made some observations to him on his (Bonaparte's) conduct to the Holy Father, upon which Napoleon flew into a passion, and said that the Pope and he were two old fools. "As for the Pope," said he, "he is too obstinate to listen to anything. No, I am determined he shall never have Rome again. . . . He will not remain at Savona, and where does he wish I should send him?" — "To Heaven, perhaps," replied the Cardinal.

The truth is, the Emperor was violently irritated against Pius VII. Observing with uneasiness the differences and difficulties to which all these dissensions gave rise, he was anxious to put a stop to them. As the Pope would not listen to any propositions that were made to him, Napoleon convoked a Council, which assembled in Paris, and at which several Italian Bishops were present. The Pope insisted that the temporal and spiritual interests should be discussed together; and, however disposed a certain number of prelates, particularly the Italians, might be to separate these two points of discussion, yet the influence of the Church and well-contrived intrigues gradually gave preponderance to the wishes of the Pope. The Emperor, having discovered that a secret correspondence was carried on by several of the Bishops and Archbishops who had seats in the Council, determined to get rid of some of them, and the Bishops of Ghent, Troyes, Tournay, and Toulouse were arrested and sent to Vincennes. They

were superseded by others. He wished to dissolve the Council, which he saw was making no advance towards the object he had in view, and, fearing that it might adopt some act at variance with his supreme wish, every member of the Council was individually required to make a declaration that the proposed changes were conformable to the laws of the Church. It was said at the time that they were unanimous in this individual declaration, though it is certain that in the sittings of the Council opinions were divided. I know not what His Holiness thought of these written opinions compared with the verbal opinions that had been delivered, but certain it is, though still a captive at Savona, he refused to adhere to the concessions granted in the secret declarations.

The conflicts which took place in Spain during the year 1811 were unattended by any decisive results. Some brilliant events, indeed, attested the courage of our troops and the skill of our generals. Such were the battle of Albufera and the taking of Tarragona, while Wellington was obliged to raise the siege of Badajoz. These advantages, which were attended only by glory, encouraged Napoleon in the hope of triumphing in the Peninsula, and enabled him to enjoy the brilliant *fêtes* which took place at Paris in celebration of the birth of the King of Rome.

On his return from a tour in Holland at the end of October Napoleon clearly saw that a rupture with Russia was inevitable.[1] In vain he sent Lauriston as Ambassador to St. Petersburg to supersede Caulaincourt, who would no longer remain there: all the diplomatic skill in the world could effect nothing with a powerful Government which had already formed its determination. All the Cabinets in Europe were now

[1] It should be remarked that Napoleon was far from being anxious for the war with Russia. Metternich (vol. ii. p. 492), writing on the 26th March, 1811, says, "Everything seems to indicate that the Emperor Napoleon is at present still far from desiring a war with Russia. But it is not less true that the Emperor Alexander has given himself over, *nolens volens*, to the war party, and that he will bring about war, because the time is approaching when he will no longer be able to resist the re-action of the party in the internal affairs of his Empire, or the temper of his army. The contest between Count Romanzow and the party opposed to that Minister seems on the point of precipitating a war between Russia and France." This, from Metternich, is strong evidence.

unanimous in wishing for the overthrow of Napoleon's power, and the people no less ardently wished for an order of things less fatal to their trade and industry. In the state to which Europe was reduced no one could counteract the wish of Russia and her allies to go to war with France — Lauriston no more than Caulaincourt.

The war for which Napoleon was now obliged to prepare forced him to neglect Spain, and to leave his interests in that country in a state of real danger. Indeed, his occupation of Spain and his well-known wish to maintain himself there were additional motives for inducing the powers of Europe to enter upon a war which would necessarily divide Napoleon's forces. All at once the troops which were in Italy and the north of Germany moved towards the frontiers of the Russian Empire. From March, 1811, the Emperor had all the military forces of Europe at his disposal. It was curious to see this union of nations, distinguished by difference of manners, language, religion, and interests, all ready to fight for one man against a power who had done nothing to offend them. Prussia herself, though she could not pardon the injuries he had inflicted upon her, joined his alliance, but with the intention of breaking it on the first opportunity. When the war with Russia was first spoken of Savary and I had frequent conversations on the subject. I communicated to him all the intelligence I received from abroad respecting that vast enterprise. The Duc de Rovigo shared all my forebodings; and if he and those who thought like him had been listened to, the war would probably have been avoided. Through him I learnt who were the individuals who urged the invasion. The eager ambition with which they looked forward to Viceroyalties, Duchies, and endowments blinded them to the possibility of seeing the Cossacks in Paris.

The gigantic enterprise being determined on, vast preparations were made for carrying it into effect. Before his departure Napoleon, who was to take with him all the disposable troops, caused a *Sénatus-consulte* to be issued for levying the National Guards, who were divided into three corps. He also arranged his diplomatic affairs by concluding, in February,

1812, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Prussia, by virtue of which the two contracting powers mutually guaranteed the integrity of their own possessions, and the European possessions of the Ottoman Porte, because that power was then at war with Russia. A similar treaty was concluded about the beginning of March with Austria, and about the end of the same month Napoleon renewed the capitulation of France and Switzerland. At length, in the month of April, there came to light an evident proof of the success which had attended M. Czernischeff's intrigues in Paris. It was ascertained that a clerk in the War Office, named Michel, had communicated to him the situation of the French forces in Germany. Michel was condemned to death, for the time was gone by when Bonaparte, confident in his genius and good fortune, could communicate his plans to the spy of General Mélas.

In March, 1812, when I saw that the approaching war would necessarily take Napoleon from France, weary of the persecutions and even threats by which I was every day assailed, I addressed to the Emperor a memorial explaining my conduct and showing the folly and wickedness of my accusers. Among them was a certain Ogier de la Saussaye, who had sent a report to the Emperor, in which the principal charge was, that I had carried off a box containing important papers belonging to the First Consul. The accusation of Ogier de la Saussaye terminated thus: "*I add to my report the interrogatories of MM. Westphalen, Osy, Chapeau Rouge, Aukscher, Thierry, and Gumprecht-Mares. The evidence of the latter bears principally on a certain mysterious box, a secret upon which it is impossible to throw any light, but the reality of which we are bound to believe.*" These are his words. The affair of the mysterious box has been already explained. I have already informed the reader that I put my papers into a box, which I buried lest it should be stolen from me.[1] But

[2] This burial of the box has been mentioned by Bourrienne at the time of his disgrace in 1802. What possible right an ex-Secretary had to keep autograph documents, and why he should be so anxious to conceal them if they were his own property, and contained nothing that could be used against him to substantiate the charges for which he was disgraced, are points he does not allude to. His indignant denial of Ogier's statement is good.

for that precaution I should not have been able to lay before the reader the autograph documents in my possession, and which I imagine form the most essential part of these volumes. In my memorial to the Emperor, I said, in allusion to the passage above quoted, "This, Sire, is the most atrocious part of Ogier's report.

"Gumprecht being questioned on this point replies that the accuser has probably, as well as himself, seen the circumstance mentioned in an infamous pamphlet which appeared seven or eight years ago. It was, I think, entitled 'Le Secret du Cabinet des Tuileries,' and was very likely at the time of its appearance denounced by the police. In that libel it is stated, among a thousand other calumnies equally false and absurd, that '*When I left the First Consul I carried away a box full of important papers, that I was in consequence sent to the Temple, where your brother Joseph came to me and offered me my liberation, and a million of francs, if I would restore the papers, which I refused to do,*' etc. Ogier, instead of looking for this libel in Hamburg, where I read it, has the impudence to give credit to the charge, the truth of which could have been ascertained immediately: and he adds, '*This secret we are bound to believe.*' Your Majesty knows whether I was ever in the Temple, and whether Joseph ever made such an offer to me." I entreated that the Emperor would do me the favor to bring me to trial; for certainly I should have regarded that as a favor rather than to remain as I was, exposed to vague accusations; yet all my solicitations were in vain. My letter to the Emperor remained unanswered; but though Bonaparte could not spare a few moments to reply to an old friend, I learned through Duroc the contempt he cherished for my accusers. Duroc advised me not to be uneasy, and that in all probability the Emperor's prejudices against me would be speedily overcome; and I must say that if they were not overcome it was neither the fault of Duroc nor Savary, who knew how to rightly estimate the miserable intrigues just alluded to.

Napoleon was at length determined to extend the limits of his Empire, or rather to avenge the injuries which Russia had

committed against his Continental system. Yet, before he departed for Germany, the resolute refusal of the Pope to submit to any arrangement urgently claimed his consideration. Savona did not appear to him a sufficiently secure residence for such a prisoner. He feared that when all his strength should be removed towards the Niemen the English might carry off the Pope, or that the Italians, excited by the clergy, whose dissatisfaction was general in Italy, would stir up those religious dissensions which are always fatal and difficult to quell. With the view, therefore, of keeping the Pope under his control he removed him to Fontainebleau, and even at one time thought of bringing him to Paris.

The Emperor appointed M. Denon to reside with the Pope at Fontainebleau; and to afford his illustrious prisoner the society of such a man was certainly a delicate mark of attention on the part of Napoleon. When speaking of his residence with Pius VII. M. Denon related to me the following anecdote. "The Pope," said he, "was much attached to me. He always addressed me by the appellation '*my son*,' and he loved to converse with me, especially on the subject of the Egyptian expedition. One day he asked me for my work on Egypt, which he said he wished to read; and as you know it is not quite orthodox, and does not perfectly agree with the creation of the world according to Genesis, I at first hesitated; but the Pope insisted, and at length I complied with his wish. The Holy Father assured me that he had been much interested by the perusal of the book. I made some allusion to the delicate points; upon which he said, 'No matter, no matter, my son; all that is exceedingly curious, and I must confess entirely new to me.' I then," continued M. Denon, "told His Holiness why I hesitated to lend him the work, which, I observed, he had excommunicated, together with its author. 'Excommunicated you, my son?' resumed the Pope in a tone of affectionate concern. 'I am very sorry for it, and I assure you I was far from being aware of any such thing.'"

When M. Denon related to me this anecdote he told me how greatly he had admired the virtues and resignation of the Holy Father; but he added that it would nevertheless have

been easier to make him a martyr than to induce him to yield on any point until he should be restored to the temporal sovereignty of Rome, of which he considered himself the depositary, and which he would not endure the reproach of having willingly sacrificed. After settling the place of the Pope's residence Napoleon set off for Dresden, accompanied by Maria Louisa, who had expressed a wish to see her father.[1]

The Russian enterprise, the most gigantic, perhaps, that the genius of man ever conceived since the conquest of India by Alexander, now absorbed universal attention, and defied the calculations of reason. The Manzanares was forgotten, and nothing was thought of but the Niemen, already so celebrated by the raft of Tilsit. Thither, as towards a common centre, were moving men, horses, provisions, and baggage of every

[1] Come, you who would form a correct idea of the domination exercised by Napoleon over Europe, who desire to fathom the depth of terror into which the sovereigns of the Continent were plunged; come, transport yourselves with me to Dresden; and there contemplate that mighty Chief at the proudest period of his glory — so near to that of his humiliation!

The Emperor occupied the principal apartments of the Palace. He brought with him almost the whole of his household, and formed a regular establishment. The King of Saxony was nothing: it was constantly at Napoleon's apartments that the sovereigns and their families were assembled, by cards of invitation from the Grand Marshal of his Palace. Private individuals were sometimes admitted; I had myself that honor, on the day of my appointment to Poland. The Emperor held his levees as usual at nine. Then you should have seen in what numbers, with what submissive timidity, a crowd of potentates — mixed and confounded among the courtiers and often entirely overlooked by them — awaited in fearful expectation the moment of appearing before the new arbiter of their destinies! You should have heard the frivolous questions which the Emperor put to them, and the humble answers which they ventured to hazard! What Phædra said of Hippolytus may be justly applied to Napoleon's residence at Dresden:

> "Even at the altars where I seem'd to pray,
> This was the real god of all my vows."

Napoleon was, in fact, the god of Dresden, the only King among all the kings assembled there — the King of kings! — on *him* all eyes were turned; in *his* apartments, and around *his* person, were collected the august guests who filled the Palace of the King of Saxony. The throng of foreigners, of officers, of courtiers — the arrival and departure of couriers, crossing one another in every direction; the mass of people hurrying to the gates of the Palace at the least movement of the Emperor, crowding upon his steps, gazing at him with an air of mingled admiration and astonishment — the expectation of the future strongly painted in every face, the confidence on one side, the anxiety on the other — all these together presented the vastest and most interesting picture, the most brilliant and dazzling monument ever yet raised to the power of Napoleon! He had now certainly attained the zenith of his glory. He might hold his elevated station; but to surpass it seemed impossible" (*Histoire de l'Ambassade dans le Grand Duché de Varsovie, en* 1812, par M. de Pradt, Archevêque de Malines, alors Ambassadeur à Varsovie).

kind, from all parts of Europe. The hopes of our generals and the fears of all prudent men were directed to Russia. The war in Spain, which was becoming more and more unfortunate, excited but a feeble interest; and our most distinguished officers looked upon it as a disgrace to be sent to the Peninsula. In short, it was easy to foresee that the period was not far distant when the French would be obliged to recross the Pyrenees. Though the truth was concealed from the Emperor on many subjects, yet he was not deceived as to the situation of Spain in the spring of 1812. In February the Duke of Ragusa had frankly informed him that the armies of Spain and Portugal could not, without considerable re-enforcements of men and money, hope for any important advantages since Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz had fallen into the hands of the English.

Before he commenced his great operations on the Niemen and the Volga Napoleon made a journey to Dantzic, and Rapp, who was then Governor of that city, informed me of some curious particulars connected with the Imperial visit. The fact is, that if Rapp's advice had been listened to, and had been supported by men higher in rank than himself, Bonaparte would not have braved the chances of the Russian war until those chances turned against him. Speaking to me of the Russians Rapp said, "They will soon be as wise as we are! Every time we go to war with them we teach them how to beat us." I was struck with the originality and truth of this observation, which at the time I heard it was new, though it has been often repeated since.

"On leaving Dresden," said Rapp to me, "Napoleon came to Dantzic. I expected a dressing; for, to tell you the truth, I had treated very cavalierly both his custom-house and its officers, who were raising up as many enemies to France as there were inhabitants in my Government. I had also warned him of all that has since happened in Russia, but I assure you I did not think myself quite so good a prophet. In the beginning of 1812 I thus wrote to him: 'If your Majesty should experience reverses you may depend on it that both Russians and Germans will rise up in a mass to shake off the yoke.

There will be a crusade, and all your allies will abandon you. Even the King of Bavaria, on whom you rely so confidently, will join the coalition. I except only the King of Saxony. He, perhaps, might remain faithful to you; but his subjects will force him to make common cause with your enemies.' The King of Naples," continued Rapp, "who had the command of the cavalry, had been to Dantzic before the Emperor. He did not seem to take a more favorable view of the approaching campaign than I did. Murat was dissatisfied that the Emperor would not consent to his rejoining him in Dresden; and he said that he would rather be a captain of grenadiers than a King such as he was."

Here I interrupted Rapp to tell him what had fallen from Murat when I met him in the Champs Elysées. "Bah!" resumed Rapp, "Murat, brave as he was, was a craven in Napoleon's presence! On the Emperor's arrival in Dantzic the first thing of which he spoke to me was the alliance he had just then concluded with Prussia and Austria. I could not refrain from telling him that we did a great deal of mischief as allies; a fact of which I was assured from the reports daily transmitted to me respecting the conduct of our troops. Bonaparte tossed his head, as you know he was in the habit of doing when he was displeased. After a moment's silence, dropping the familiar thee and thou, he said, 'Monsieur le Général, this is a torrent which must be allowed to run itself out. It will not last long. I must first ascertain whether Alexander decidedly wishes for war.' Then, suddenly changing the subject of conversation, he said, 'Have you not lately observed something extraordinary in Murat? I think he is quite altered. Is he ill?' — 'Sire,' replied I, 'Murat is not ill, but he is out of spirits.' — 'Out of spirits! but why? Is he not satisfied with being a King?' — 'Sire, Murat says he is no King.' — 'That is his own fault. Why does he make himself a Neapolitan? Why is he not a Frenchman? When he is in his Kingdom he commits all sorts of follies. He favors the trade of England; that I will not suffer.'

"When," continued Rapp, "he spoke of the favor extended by Murat to the trade between Naples and England I

thought my turn would come next; but I was deceived. No more was said on the subject, and when I was about to take my leave the Emperor said to me, as when in his best of humors, 'Rapp, you will sup with me this evening.' I accordingly supped that evening with the Emperor, who had also invited the King of Naples and Berthier. Next day the Emperor visited the fortress, and afterwards returned to the Government Palace, where he received the civil and military authorities. He again invited Murat, Berthier, and me to supper. When we first sat down to table we were all very dull, for the Emperor was silent; and, as you well know, under such circumstances not even Murat himself dared to be the first to speak to him. At length Napoleon, addressing me, inquired how far it was from Cadiz to Dantzic. 'Too far, Sire,' replied I. 'I understand you, Monsieur le Général, but in a few months the distance will be greater.' — 'So much the worse, Sire!' Here there was another pause. Neither Murat nor Berthier, on whom the Emperor fixed a scrutinizing glance, uttered a word, and Napoleon again broke silence, but without addressing any one of us in particular: 'Gentlemen,' said he in a solemn and rather low tone of voice, 'I see plainly that you are none of you inclined to fight again. The King of Naples does not wish to leave the fine climate of his dominions, Berthier wishes to enjoy the diversion of the chase at his estate of Gros Bois, and Rapp is impatient to be back to his hôtel in Paris.' Would you believe it," pursued Rapp, "that neither Murat nor Berthier said a word in reply? and the ball again came to me. I told him frankly that what he said was perfectly true, and the King of Naples and the Prince of Neufchâtel complimented me on my spirit, and observed that I was quite right in saying what I did. 'Well,' said I, 'since it was so very right, why did you not follow my example, and why leave me to say all?' You cannot conceive," added Rapp, "how confounded they both were; and especially Murat, though he was very differently situated from Berthier."

The negotiations which Bonaparte opened with Alexander, when he yet wished to seem averse to war, resembled those

oratorical paraphrases which do not prevent us from coming to the conclusion we wish. The two Emperors equally desired war; the one with the view of consolidating his power, and the other in the hope of freeing himself from a yoke which threatened to reduce him to a state of vassalage, for it was little short of this to require a power like Russia to close her ports against England for the mere purpose of favoring the interests of France. At that time only two European powers were not tied to Napoleon's fate — Sweden and Turkey. Napoleon was anxious to gain the alliance of these two powers. With respect to Sweden his efforts were vain; and though, in fact, Turkey was then at war with Russia, yet the Grand Seignior was not now, as at the time of Sebastiani's embassy, subject to the influence of France.

The peace, which was soon concluded at Bucharest, between Russia and Turkey increased Napoleon's embarrassment. The left of the Russian army, secured by the neutrality of Turkey, was re-enforced by Bagration's corps from Moldavia: it subsequently occupied the right of the Beresina, and destroyed the last hope of saving the wreck of the French army. It is difficult to conceive how Turkey could have allowed the consideration of injuries she had received from France to induce her to terminate the war with Russia when France was attacking that power with immense forces. The Turks never had a fairer opportunity for taking revenge on Russia, and, unfortunately for Napoleon, they suffered it to escape.[1]

Napoleon was not more successful when he sought the alliance of a Prince whose fortune he had made, and who was allied to his family, but with whom he had never been on

[1] This important treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey, through the mediation of Great Britain, was admirably conducted, and brought to a most successful issue by Lord Stratford, then Mr. S. Canning, a young man and a very young diplomatist. Lord Stratford de Redclyffe, like his cousin George Canning, gained high literary honors as well as political ones. He was the author of a magnificent ode on the fall of Bonaparte, — a production with which Lord Byron was enchanted. It is curious that a few years ago the Court of Russia should have positively refused to receive as British Ambassador the distinguished individual who once did their country such signal service. Such, however, was the fact, and after long delays, and many heart-burnings, during which the Emperor Nicholas would state no motives for his almost unprecedented refusal, Lord Durham was appointed by the Cabinet to supply Sir Stratford Canning's place. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

terms of good understanding. The Emperor Alexander had a considerable corps of troops in Finland destined to protect that country against the Swedes, Napoleon having consented to that occupation in order to gain the provisional consent of Alexander to the invasion of Spain. What was the course pursued by Napoleon when, being at war with Russia, he wished to detach Sweden from her alliance with Alexander? He intimated to Bernadotte that he had a sure opportunity of retaking Finland, a conquest which would gratify his subjects and win their attachment to him. By this alliance Napoleon wished to force Alexander not to withdraw the troops who were in the north of his Empire, but rather to augment their numbers in order to cover Finland and St. Petersburg. It was thus that Napoleon endeavored to draw the Prince Royal into his coalition. It was of little consequence to Napoleon whether Bernadotte succeeded or not. The Emperor Alexander would nevertheless have been obliged to increase his force in Finland; that was all that Napoleon wished. In the gigantic struggle upon which France and Russia were about to enter the most trivial alliance was not to be neglected. In January, 1812, Davoust invaded Swedish Pomerania without any declaration of war, and without any apparent motive. Was this inconceivable violation of territory likely to dispose the Prince Royal of Sweden to the proposed alliance, even had that alliance not been adverse to the interests of his country? That was impossible; and Bernadotte took the part which was expected of him. He rejected the offers of Napoleon, and prepared for coming events.

The Emperor Alexander wished to withdraw his force from Finland for the purpose of more effectively opposing the immense army which threatened his States. Unwilling to expose Finland to an attack on the part of Sweden, he had an interview on the 28th of August, 1812, at Abo, with the Prince Royal, to come to an arrangement with him for uniting their interests. I know that the Emperor of Russia pledged himself, whatever might happen, to protect Bernadotte against the fate of the new dynasties, to guarantee the possession of his throne, and promised that he should have

Norway as a compensation for Finland. He even went so far as to hint that Bernadotte might supersede Napoleon. Bernadotte adopted all the propositions of Alexander, and from that moment Sweden made common cause against Napoleon. The Prince Royal's conduct has been much blamed, but the question resolved itself into one of mere political interest. Could Bernadotte, a Swede by adoption, prefer the alliance of an ambitious sovereign whose vengeance he had to fear, and who had sanctioned the seizure of Finland, to that of a powerful monarch, his formidable neighbor, his protector in Sweden, and whose hostility might effectually support the hereditary claims of young Gustavus? Sweden, in joining France, would thereby have declared herself the enemy of England. Where, then, would have been her navy, her trade, and even her existence?

CHAPTER XXV.

1812.

Changeableness of Bonaparte's plans and opinions — Articles for the *Moniteur* dictated by the First Consul — The Protocol of the Congress of Châtillon — Conversations with Davoust at Hamburg — Promise of the Viceroyalty of Poland — Hope and disappointment of the Poles — Influence of illusion on Bonaparte — The French in Moscow — Disasters of the retreat — Mallet's conspiracy — Intelligence of the affair communicated to Napoleon at Smolensko — Circumstances detailed by Rapp — Real motives of Napoleon's return to Paris — Murat, Ney, and Eugène — Power of the Italians to endure cold — Napoleon's exertions to repair his losses — Defection of General York — Convocation of a Privy Council — War resolved on — Wavering of the Pope — Useless negotiations with Vienna — Maria Louisa appointed Regent.

It may now be asked whether Bonaparte, previous to entering upon the last campaign, had resolved on restoring Poland to independence. The fact is that Bonaparte, as Emperor, never entertained any positive wish to re-establish the old Kingdom of Poland, though at a previous period he was strongly inclined to that re-establishment, of which he felt the necessity. He may have said that he would re-establish the Kingdom of Poland, but I beg leave to say that that is no reason for believing that he entertained any such design. He had said, and even sworn, that he would never aggrandize the territory of the Empire! The changeableness of Bonaparte's ideas, plans, and projects renders it difficult to master them; but they may be best understood when it is considered that all Napoleon's plans and conceptions varied with his fortunes. Thus, it is not unlikely that he might at one time have considered the re-establishment of Poland as essential to European policy, and afterwards have regarded it as adverse to the development of his ambition. Who can venture to guess what passed in his mind when dazzled by his glory at Dresden, and whether in one of his dreams he might not have regarded the Empire of the Jagellons as another

gem in the Imperial diadem? The truth is that Bonaparte, when General-in-Chief of the army of Egypt and First Consul, had deeply at heart the avenging the dismemberment of Poland, and I have often conversed with him on this most interesting subject, upon which we entirely concurred in opinion. But times and circumstances were changed since we walked together on the terrace of Cairo and mutually deplored the death of young Sulkowski. Had Sulkowski lived Napoleon's favorable intentions with respect to Poland might perhaps have been confirmed. A fact which explains to me the coolness, I may almost say the indifference, of Bonaparte to the resurrection of Poland is that the commencement of the Consulate was the period at which that measure particularly occupied his attention. How often did he converse on the subject with me and other persons who may yet recollect his sentiments! It was the topic on which he most loved to converse, and on which he spoke with feeling and enthusiasm. In the *Moniteur* of the period here alluded to I could point out more than one article without signature or official character which Napoleon dictated to me, and the insertion of which in that journal, considering the energy of certain expressions, sufficiently proves that they could have emanated from none but Bonaparte. It was usually in the evening that he dictated to me these articles. Then, when the affairs of the day were over, he would launch into the future, and give free scope to his vast projects. Some of these articles were characterized by so little moderation that the First Consul would very often destroy them in the morning, smiling at the violent ebullitions of the preceding night. At other times I took the liberty of not sending them to the *Moniteur* on the night on which they were dictated, and though he might earnestly wish their insertion I adduced reasons good or bad, to account for the delay. He would then read over the article in question, and approve of my conduct; but he would sometimes add, "It is nevertheless true that with an independent Kingdom of Poland, and 150,000 disposable troops in the east of France, I should always be master of Russia, Prussia, and Austria."—"General," I would reply, "I am entirely of your opinion;

but wherefore awaken the suspicions of the interested parties? Leave all to time and circumstances."

The reader may have to learn, and not, perhaps, without some surprise, that in the protocol of the sittings of the Congress of Châtillon Napoleon put forward the spoliation of Poland by the three principal powers allied against him as a claim to a more advantageous peace, and to territorial indemnities for France. In policy he was right, but the report of foreign cannon was already loud enough to drown the best of arguments.

After the ill-timed and useless union of the Hanse Towns to France I returned to Hamburg in the spring of 1811 to convey my family to France. I then had some conversation with Davoust. On one occasion I said to him that if his hopes were realized, and my sad predictions respecting the war with Russia overthrown, I hoped to see the restoration of the Kingdom of Poland. Davoust replied that that event was probable, since he had Napoleon's promise of the Viceroyalty of that Kingdom, and as several of his comrades had been promised starosties. Davoust made no secret of this, and it was generally known throughout Hamburg and the north of Germany. But notwithstanding what Davoust said respecting Napoleon's intentions I considered that these promises had been conditional rather than positive.

On Napoleon's arrival in Poland the Diet of Warsaw, assured, as there seemed reason to be, of the Emperor's sentiments, declared the Kingdom free and independent. The different treaties of dismemberment were pronounced to be null; and certainly the Diet had a right so to act, for it calculated upon his support. But the address of the Diet to Napoleon, in which these principles were declared, was ill received. His answer was full of doubt and indecision, the motive of which could not be blamed. To secure the alliance of Austria against Russia he had just guaranteed to his father-in-law the integrity of his dominions. Napoleon therefore declared that he could take no part in any movement or resolution which might disturb Austria in the possession of the Polish provinces forming a part of her Empire. To act other-

wise, he said, would be to separate himself from his alliance with Austria, and to throw her into the arms of Russia. But with regard to the Polish-Russian provinces, Napoleon declared he would see what he could do, should Providence favor the good cause. These vague and obscure expressions did not define what he intended to do for the Poles in the event of success crowning his vast enterprises. They excited the distrust of the Poles, and had no other result. On this subject, however, an observation occurs which is of some force as an apology for Napoleon. Poland was successively divided between three powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, with each of which Napoleon had been at war, but never with all three at once. He had therefore never been able to take advantage of his victories to re-establish Poland without injuring the interests of neutral powers or of his allies. Hence it may be concluded not only that he never had the positive will which would have triumphed over all obstacles, but also that there never was a possibility of realizing those dreams and projects of revenge in which he had indulged on the banks of the Nile, as it were to console the departed spirit of Sulkowski.

Bonaparte's character presents many unaccountable incongruities. Although the most positive man that perhaps ever existed, yet there never was one who more readily yielded to the charm of illusion. In many circumstances the wish and the reality were to him one and the same thing. He never indulged in greater illusions than at the beginning of the campaign of Moscow. Even before the approach of the disasters which accompanied the most fatal retreat recorded in history, all sensible persons concurred in the opinion that the Emperor ought to have passed the winter of 1812–13 in Poland, and have resumed his vast enterprises in the spring. But his natural impatience impelled him forward as it were unconsciously, and he seemed to be under the influence of an invisible demon stronger than even his own strong will. This demon was ambition. He who knew so well the value of time, never sufficiently understood its power, and how much is sometimes gained by delay. Yet Cæsar's *Commentaries*, which were his favorite study, ought to have shown him that Cæsar

did not conquer Gaul in one campaign. Another illusion by which Napoleon was misled during the campaign of Moscow, and perhaps past experience rendered it very excusable, was the belief that the Emperor Alexander would propose peace when he saw him at the head of his army on the Russian territory. The prolonged stay of Bonaparte at Moscow can indeed be accounted for in no other way than by supposing that he expected the Russian Cabinet would change its opinion and consent to treat for peace. However, whatever might have been the reason, after his long and useless stay in Moscow Napoleon left that city with the design of taking up his winter quarters in Poland; but Fate now frowned upon Napoleon, and in that dreadful retreat the elements seemed leagued with the Russians to destroy the most formidable army ever commanded by one chief. To find a catastrophe in history comparable to that of the Beresina we must go back to the destruction of the legions of Varus.

Notwithstanding the general dismay which prevailed in Paris that capital continued tranquil, when by a singular chance, on the very day on which Napoleon evacuated the burning city of Moscow, Mallet attempted his extraordinary enterprise. This General, who had always professed Republican principles, and was a man of bold decided character, after having been imprisoned for some time, obtained the permission of Government to live in Paris in a hospital house situated near the Barrière du Trône. Of Mallet's conspiracy it is not necessary to say much after the excellent account given of it in the Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo. Mallet's plan was to make it be believed that Bonaparte had been killed at Moscow, and that a new Government was established under the authority of the Senate. But what could Mallet do? Absolutely nothing: and had his Government continued three days he would have experienced a more favorable chance than that which he ought reasonably to have expected. He asserted that the Emperor was dead, but an *estafette* from Russia would reveal the truth, resuscitate Napoleon, and overwhelm with confusion Mallet and his proclamations. His enterprise was that of a madman. The

French were too weary of troubles to throw themselves into the arms of Mallet or his associate Lahorie, who had figured so disgracefully on the trial of Moreau. Yet, in spite of the evident impossibility of success, it must be confessed that considerable ingenuity and address marked the commencement of the conspiracy. On the 22d of October Mallet escaped from the hospital house and went to Colonel Soulier, who commanded the tenth cohort of the National Guard, whose barracks were situated exactly behind the hospital house. Mallet was loaded with a parcel of forged orders which he had himself prepared. He introduced himself to Soulier under the name of General La Motte, and said that he came from General Mallet.[1]

Colonel Soulier on hearing of the Emperor's death was affected to tears. He immediately ordered the adjutant to assemble the cohort and obey the orders of General La Motte, to whom he expressed his regret for being himself too ill to leave his bed. It was then two o'clock in the morning, and the forged documents respecting the Emperor's death and the

[1] General Mallet gave out that the Emperor was killed under the walls of Moscow on the 8th of October; he could not take any other day without incurring the risk of being contradicted by the arrival of the regular courier. The Emperor being dead, he concluded that the Senate ought to be invested with the supreme authority, and he therefore resolved to address himself in the name of that body to the nation and the army. In a proclamation to the soldiers he deplored the death of the Emperor; in another, after announcing the abolition of the Imperial system and the Restoration of the Republic, he indicated the manner in which the Government was to be reconstructed, described the branches into which public authority was to be divided, and named the Directors. Attached to the different documents there appeared the signatures of several Senators whose names he recollected but with whom he had ceased to have any intercourse for a great number of years. These signatures were all written by Mallet, and he drew up a decree in the name of the Senate, and signed by the same Senators, appointing himself Governor of Paris, and commander of the troops of the first military division. He also drew up other decrees in the same form, which purported to promote to higher ranks all the military officers he intended to make instruments in the execution of his enterprise.

He ordered one regiment to close all the barriers of Paris, and to allow no person to pass through them. This was done; so that in all the neighboring towns from which assistance, in case of need, might have been obtained, nothing was known of the transactions in Paris. He sent the other regiments to occupy the Bank, the Treasury, and different Ministerial Offices. At the Treasury some resistance was made. The Minister of that Department was on the spot, and he employed the guard of his household in maintaining his authority. But in the whole of the two regiments of the Paris Guard not a single objection was started to the execution of Mallet's orders (*Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo*, tome vi. p. 20).

new form of Government were read to the troops by lamplight. Mallet then hastily set off with 1200 men to La Force, and liberated the Sieurs Guidal and Lahorie, who were confined there. Mallet informed them of the Emperor's death and of the change of Government; gave them some orders, in obedience to which the Minister and Prefect of Police were arrested in their hôtel.

I was then at Courbevoie, and I went to Paris on that very morning to breakfast, as I frequently did, with the Minister of Police. My surprise may be imagined when I learned from the porter that the Duc de Rovigo had been arrested and carried to the prison of La Force. I went into the house and was informed, to my great astonishment, that the ephemeral Minister was being measured for his official suit, an act which so completely denoted the character of the conspirator that it gave me an insight into the business.

Mallet repaired to General Hulin, who had the command of Paris. He informed him that he had been directed by the Minister of Police to arrest him and seal his papers. Hulin asked to see the order, and then entered his cabinet, where Mallet followed him, and just as Hulin was turning round to speak to him he fired a pistol in his face. Hulin fell: the ball entered his cheek, but the wound was not mortal. The most singular circumstance connected with the whole affair is, that the captain whom Mallet had directed to follow him, and who accompanied him to Hulin's, saw nothing extraordinary in all this, and did nothing to stop it. Mallet next proceeded, very composedly, to Adjutant-General Doucet's. It happened that one of the inspectors of the police was there. He recognized General Mallet as being a man under his supervision. He told him that he had no right to quit the hospital house without leave, and ordered him to be arrested. Mallet, seeing that all was over, was in the act of drawing a pistol from his pocket, but being observed was seized and disarmed. Thus terminated this extraordinary conspiracy, for which fourteen lives paid the forfeit; but, with the exception of Mallet, Guidal, and Lahorie, all the others concerned in it were either machines or dupes.

This affair produced but little effect in Paris, for the enterprise and its result were made known simultaneously. But it was thought droll enough that the Minister and Prefect of Police should be imprisoned by the men who only the day before were their prisoners. Next day I went to see Savary, who had not yet recovered from the stupefaction caused by his extraordinary adventure. He was aware that his imprisonment, though it lasted only half an hour, was a subject of merriment to the Parisians.[1]

The Emperor, as I have already mentioned, left Moscow on the day when Mallet made his bold attempt, that is to say, the 19th of October.[2] He was at Smolensko when he heard the news. Rapp, who had been wounded before the entrance into Moscow, but who was sufficiently recovered to return home, was with Napoleon when the latter received the despatches containing an account of what had happened in Paris. He informed me that Napoleon was much agitated on perusing them, and that he launched into abuse of the inefficiency of the police. Rapp added that he did not confine himself to complaints against the agents of his authority. "Is, then, my power so insecure," said he, "that it may be put in peril by a single individual, and a prisoner? It would appear that my crown is not fixed very firmly on my head if in my own capital the bold stroke of three adventurers can shake it. Rapp, misfortune never comes alone; this is the complement of what is passing here. I cannot be everywhere; but I must go back to Paris; my presence there is indispensable to re-animate public opinion. I must have men

[1] Savary's arrest was a rich subject for the wits of Paris. "I will quote on this occasion," says Mademoiselle Avrillion, "a *bon-mot* that was repeated from one end of the city to the other: as every one knows, it was in the middle of the night that the Duc de Rovigo was seized: the Duchess, terrified by the noise she heard, rushed out of her bedroom *en deshabille*, which made the wags say that 'La personne qui s'était le mieux montrée, dans l'affaire de Mallet, c'était la Duchesse de Rovigo.'" See also the *Memoirs of Rapp*, p. 251.

[2] It was not on the 19th of October but on the night of the 22d of October that Mallet commenced his enterprise, which finished early on the 23d of October, 1812; see *Thiers*, tome xiv. p. 526. Napoleon had left Moscow on the 19th, and on the 22d was approaching Malo-Jaroslawetz, of ill name for him, where on the 24th of October he was thrown off his intended line of retreat on to the same line as he had advanced by.

and money. Great successes and great victories will repair all. I must set off." Such were the motives which induced the Emperor to leave his army. It is not without indignation that I have heard his precipitate departure attributed to personal cowardice. He was a stranger to such feelings, and was never more happy than on the field of battle. I can readily conceive that he was much alarmed on hearing of Mallet's enterprise. The remarks which he made to Rapp were those which he knew would be made by the public, and he well knew that the affair was calculated to banish those illusions of power and stability with which he endeavored to surround his government.

On leaving Moscow Napoleon consigned the wrecks of his army to the care of his most distinguished generals: to Murat, who had so ably commanded the cavalry, but who abandoned the army to return to Naples; and to Ney, the hero, rather than the Prince of the Moskowa, whose name will be immortal in the annals of glory, as his death will be eternal in the annals of party revenge. Amidst the general disorder Eugène, more than any other chief, maintained a sort of discipline among the Italians; and it was remarked that the troops of the south engaged in the fatal campaign of Moscow had endured the rigor of the cold better than those troops who were natives of less genial climates.[1]

Napoleon's return from Moscow was not like his returns from the campaigns of Vienna and Tilsit, when he came back crowned with laurels, and bringing peace as the reward of his triumphs. It was remarked that Napoleon's first great disaster followed the first enterprise he undertook after his marriage with Maria Louisa. This tended to confirm the popular belief that the presence of Josephine was favorable to his fortune; and superstitious as he sometimes was, I will not venture to affirm that he himself did not adopt this idea. He now threw

[1] On one occasion during his flight Napoleon owed his preservation from the Cossacks to a small body of Neapolitan cavalry that had contrived to keep itself mounted and in perfect order. The horses as well as the men from the southern extremity of Italy, from the banks of the Garigliano, the Volturno, and the Amato, resisted the inclemencies of the Russian winter much better than the French.—*Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

off even the semblance of legality in the measures of his government: he assumed arbitrary power, under the impression that the critical circumstances in which he was placed would excuse everything. But, however inexplicable were the means to which the Emperor resorted to procure resources, it is but just to acknowledge that they were the consequence of his system of government, and that he evinced inconceivable activity in repairing his losses so as to place himself in a situation to resist his enemies, and restore the triumph of the French standard.

But in spite of all Napoleon's endeavors the disasters of the campaign of Russia were daily more and more sensibly felt. The King of Prussia had played a part which was an acknowledgment of his weakness in joining France, instead of openly declaring himself for the cause of Russia, which was also his. Then took place the defection of General York, who commanded the Prussian contingent to Napoleon's army. The King of Prussia, though no doubt secretly satisfied with the conduct of General York, had him tried and condemned; but shortly after that sovereign commanded in person the troops which had turned against ours. The defection of the Prussians produced a very ill effect, and it was easy to perceive that other defections would follow. Napoleon, foreseeing the fatal chances which this event was likely to draw upon him, assembled a privy council, composed of the Ministers and some of the great officers of his household. MM. de Talleyrand and Cambacérès and the President of the Senate were present. Napoleon asked whether, in the complicated difficulties of our situation, it would be more advisable to negotiate for peace or to prepare for a new war. Cambacérès and Talleyrand gave their opinion in favor of peace, which, however, Napoleon would not hear of after a defeat; but the Duc de Feltre,[1] knowing how to touch the susceptible chord in the mind of Bonaparte, said that he would consider the Emperor dishonored if he consented to the abandonment of the smallest village which had been united to the Empire

[1] The Minister for the War Department, Clarke.

by a *Sénatus-consulte*. This opinion was adopted, and the war continued.

On Napoleon's return to Paris the Pope, who was still at Fontainebleau, determined to accede to an arrangement, and to sign an act which the Emperor conceived would terminate the differences between them. But being influenced by some of the cardinals who had previously incurred the Emperor's displeasure Pius VII. disavowed the new *Concordat* which he had been weak enough to grant, and the Emperor, who then had more important affairs on his hands, dismissed the Holy Father, and published the act to which he had assented. Bonaparte had no leisure to pay attention to the new difficulties started by Pius VII.; his thoughts were wholly directed to the other side of the Rhine. He was unfortunate, and the powers with whom he was most intimately allied separated from him, as he might have expected, and Austria was not the last to imitate the example set by Prussia. In these difficult circumstances the Emperor, who for some time past had observed the talent and address of the Comte Louis de Narbonne, sent him to Vienna, to supersede M. Otto; but the pacific propositions of M. de Narbonne were not listened to. Austria would not let slip the fair opportunity of taking revenge without endangering herself.

Napoleon now saw clearly that since Austria had abandoned him and refused her contingent he should soon have all Europe arrayed against him. But this did not intimidate him.

Some of the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine still remained faithful to him; and his preparations being completed, he proposed to resume in person the command of the army which had been so miraculously reproduced. But before his departure, Napoleon, alarmed at the recollection of Mallet's attempt, and anxious to guard against any similar occurrence during his absence, did not, as on former occasions, consign the reins of the National Government to a Council of Ministers, presided over by the Arch-Chancellor. Napoleon placed my successor with him, M. Meneval, near the Empress Regent as Secrétaire des Commandemens (Principal Secretary), and cer-

tainly he could not have made a better choice.[1] He made the Empress Maria Louisa Regent, and appointed a Council of Regency to assist her.

[1] Meneval, who had held the Post of Secretary to Napoleon from the time of Bourrienne's disgrace in 1802, had been nearly killed by the hardships of the Russian campaign, and now received an honorable and responsible but less onerous post. He remained with the Empress till 7th May, 1815, when, finding that she would not return to her husband, he left her to rejoin his master.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1813.

Riots in Hamburg and Lübeck — Attempted suicide of M. Konning — Evacuation of Hamburg — Dissatisfaction at the conduct of General St. Cyr — The Cabinets of Vienna and the Tuileries — First appearance of the Cossacks — Colonel Tettenborn invited to occupy Hamburg — Cordial reception of the Russians — Depredations — Levies of troops — Testimonials of gratitude to Tettenborn — Napoleon's new army — Death of General Morand — Remarks of Napoleon on Vandamme — Bonaparte and Gustavus Adolphus — Junction of the corps of Davoust and Vandamme — Re-occupation of Hamburg by the French — General Hogendorff appointed Governor of Hamburg — Exactions and vexatious contributions levied upon Hamburg and Lübeck — Hostages.

A CONSIDERABLE time before Napoleon left Paris to join the army, the bulk of which was in Saxony, partial insurrections occurred in many places. The interior of France proper was indeed still in a state of tranquillity, but it was not so in the provinces annexed by force to the extremities of the Empire, especially in the north, and in the unfortunate Hanse Towns, for which, since my residence at Hamburg, I have always felt the greatest interest.[1] The intelligence I received was derived from such unquestionable sources that I can pledge myself for the truth of what I have to state respecting the events which occurred in those provinces at the commencement of 1813; and subsequently I obtained a confirmation of all the facts communicated by my correspondents, when I was sent to Hamburg by Louis XVIII. in 1815.

[1] The total destruction of the French ascendency was not looked on with entire satisfaction in Germany. Even Muffling, who says (p. 392) that the German armies advanced from Leipsic with the device, "Let all sinners be forgiven, and let there be no more hell" (sin being help to the French and hell their dominion?), allows that some Germans still adhered to Napoleon; and he points out (p. 393) that though the Princes hated Napoleon, there were great difficulties from their wish to retain the position they owed to him. Even as late as about 1825 a Prussian officer of high rank said to Niebuhr: "A war with France would be rather critical. The temper of the people on the Rhine has greatly improved no doubt, but it were well that many an inveterate old talker should die out before these provinces are made the seat of war" (*Perthes*, tome ii. p. 319).

M. Steuve, agent from the Court of Russia, who lived at Altona apparently as a private individual, profited by the irritation produced by the measures adopted at Hamburg. His plans were so well arranged that he was promptly informed of the route of the Grand Army from Moscow, and the approach of the Allied troops. Aided by the knowledge and activity of Sieur Hanft of Hamburg, M. Steuve profited by the discontent of a people so tyrannically governed, and seized the opportunity for producing an explosion. Between eight and nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th of February, 1813, an occurrence in which the people were concerned was the signal for a revolt. An individual returning to Hamburg by the Altona gate would not submit to be searched by a fiscal agent, who in consequence maltreated him, and wounded him severely. The populace instantly rose, drove away the revenue guard, and set fire to the guard-house. The people also, excited by secret agents, attacked other French posts, where they committed the same excesses. Surprised at this unexpected movement the French authorities retired to the houses in which they resided. All the respectable inhabitants who were unconnected with the tumult likewise returned to their homes, and no person appeared out of doors.

General Carra St. Cyr[1] had the command of Hamburg after the Prince of Eckmühl's departure for the Russian campaign. At the first news of the revolt he set about packing up his papers, and Comte de Chaban, M. Konning, the Prefect of Hamburg, and M. Daubignose, the Director of Police, followed his example. It was not till about four o'clock in the afternoon that a detachment of Danish hussars arrived at Hamburg, and the populace was then speedily dispersed. All the respectable citizens and men of property assembled the next morning and adopted means for securing internal tranquillity, so that the Danish troops were enabled to return to Altona. Search was then made for the ringleaders of the disturbance. Many persons were arrested, and a military

[1] General Carra St. Cyr is not to be confused with the Marshal Gouvion de St. Cyr; he fell into disgrace for his conduct at Hamburg at this time, and was not again employed by Napoleon. Under the Restoration he became Governor of French Guiana.

commission, *ad hoc*, was appointed to try them. The commission, however, condemned only one individual, who, being convicted of being one of the most active rioters, was sentenced to be shot, and the sentence was carried into execution.

On the 26th of February a similar commotion took place at Lübeck. Attempts were made to attack the French authorities. The respectable citizens instantly assembled, protected them against outrage, and escorted them in safety to Hamburg, where they arrived on the 27th. The precipitate flight of these persons from Lübeck spread some alarm in Hamburg. The danger was supposed to be greater than it was because the fugitives were accompanied by a formidable body of troops.

But these were not the only attempts to throw off the yoke of French domination, which had become insupportable. All the left bank of the Elbe was immediately in a state of insurrection, and all the official persons took refuge in Hamburg. During these partial insurrections everything was neglected. Indecision, weakness, and cupidity were manifested everywhere. Instead of endeavors to soothe the minds of the people, which had been long exasperated by intolerable tyranny, recourse was had to rigorous measures. The prisons were crowded with a host of persons declared to be suspected upon the mere representations of the agents of the police. On the 3d of March a special military commission condemned six householders of Hamburg and its neighborhood to be shot on the glacis for no other offence than having been led, either by chance or curiosity, to a part of the town which was the scene of one of the riots. These executions excited equal horror and indignation, and General Carra St. Cyr was obliged to issue a proclamation for the dissolution of the military commission by whom the men had been sentenced.

The intelligence of the march of the Russian and Prussian troops, who were descending the Elbe, increased the prevailing agitation in Westphalia, Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, and all the French troops cantoned between Berlin and Hamburg, including those who occupied the coast

of the Baltic, fell back upon Hamburg. General Carra St. Cyr and Baron Konning, the Prefect of Hamburg, used to go every evening to Altona.[1] The latter, worn out by anxiety and his unsettled state of life, lost his reason, and on his way to Hamburg, on the 5th of May, he attempted to cut his throat with a razor. His *valet de chambre* saved his life by rushing upon him before he had time to execute his design. It was given out that he had broken a blood-vessel, and he was conveyed to Altona, where his wound was cured, and he subsequently recovered from his derangement. M. Konning, who was a native of Holland, was a worthy man, but possessed no decision of character, and but little ability.

At this juncture exaggerated reports were circulated respecting the approach of the Russian corps. A retreat was immediately ordered, and it was executed on the 12th of March. General Carra St. Cyr having no money for the troops, helped himself to 100,000 francs out of the municipal treasury. He left Hamburg at the head of the troops and the enrolled men of the custom-house service. He was escorted by the Burgher Guard, which protected him from the insults of the populace; and the good people of Hamburg never had any visitors of whom they were more happy to be rid.

This sudden retreat excited Napoleon's indignation. He accused General St. Cyr of pusillanimity, in an article inserted in the *Moniteur*, and afterwards copied by his order into all the journals. In fact, had General St. Cyr been better informed, or less easily alarmed, he might have kept Hamburg, and prevented its temporary occupation by the enemy, to dislodge whom it was necessary to besiege the city two months afterwards. St. Cyr had 3000 regular troops, and a considerable body of men in the custom-house service.

[1] The Prefect, Baron von Konning, had just before assured the Government that his department professed the greatest devotion for the Emperor. This practical commentary on his statement was too much for him. Puymaigre (p. 148), who was on the spot, says that he attempted to hang himself, not to cut his throat, as Bourrienne says. "I was," continued Puymaigre, "surprised to see that later on he was one of the Ministers of Belgium. What is more surprising is that he retained his high functions for several years." Puymaigre (p. 149) defends Carra St. Cyr, saying that having only 1200 or 1500 men the General could not have maintained himself in a large town in a state of insurrection.

General Morand could have furnished him with 5000 men from Mecklenburg. He might, therefore, not only have kept possession of Hamburg two months longer, but even to the end of the war, as General Lemarrois retained possession of Magdeburg. Had not General St. Cyr so hastily evacuated the Elbe he would have been promptly aided by the corps which General Vandamme soon brought from the Wesel, and afterwards by the very corps with which Marshal Davoust recaptured Hamburg.

The events just described occurred before Napoleon quitted Paris. In the month of August all negotiation was broken off with Austria, though that power, still adhering to her time-serving policy, continued to protest fidelity to the cause of the Emperor Napoleon until the moment when her preparations were completed and her resolution formed. But if there was duplicity at Vienna was there not folly, nay, blindness, in the Cabinet of the Tuileries? Could we reasonably rely upon Austria? She had seen the Russian army pass the Vistula and advance as far as the Saale without offering any remonstrance. At that moment a single movement of her troops, a word of declaration, would have prevented everything. As, therefore, she would not avert the evil when she might have done so with certainty and safety, there must have been singular folly and blindness in the Cabinet who saw this conduct and did not understand it.

I now proceed to mention the further misfortunes which occurred in the north of Germany, and particularly at Hamburg. At fifteen leagues east of Hamburg, but within its territory, is a village named Bergdorff. It was in that village that the Cossacks were first seen. Twelve or fifteen hundred of them arrived there under the command of Colonel Tettenborn. But for the retreat of the French troops, amounting to 3000, exclusive of men in the custom-house service, no attempt would have been made upon Hamburg; but the very name of the Cossacks inspired a degree of terror which must be fresh in the recollection of every one. Alarm spread in Hamburg, which, being destitute of troops and artillery, and surrounded with dilapidated fortifications, could offer no defence. The

Senator Bartch and Doctor Know took upon themselves to proceed to Bergdorff to solicit Colonel Tettenborn to take possession of Hamburg, observing that they felt sure of his sentiments of moderation, and that they trusted they would grant protection to a city which had immense commercial relations with Russia. Tettenborn did not place reliance on these propositions because he could not suppose that there had been such a precipitate evacuation; he thought they were merely a snare to entrap him, and refused to accede to them. But a Doctor Von Hess, a Swede, settled in Hamburg some years, and known to Tettenborn as a decided partisan of England and Russia, persuaded the Russian Commander to comply with the wishes of the citizens of Hamburg. However, Tettenborn consented only on the following conditions: — That the old Government should be instantly re-established; that a deputation of Senators in their old costume should invite him to take possession of Hamburg, which he would enter only as a free and Imperial Hanse Town; that if those conditions were not complied with he would regard Hamburg as a French town, and consequently hostile. Notwithstanding the real satisfaction with which the Senators of Hamburg received those propositions they were restrained by the fear of a reverse of fortune. They, however, determined to accept them, thinking that whatever might happen they could screen themselves by alleging that necessity had driven them to the step they took. They therefore declared their compliance with the conditions, and that night and the following day were occupied in assembling the Senate, which had been so long dissolved, and in making the preparations which Tettenborn required.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th of March a picket of Cossacks, consisting of only forty men, took possession of a town recently flourishing, and containing a population of 120,000, but ruined and reduced to 80,000 inhabitants by the blessing of being united to the French Empire. On the following day, the 18th, Colonel Tettenborn entered Hamburg at the head of 1000 regular and 200 irregular Cossacks. I have described the military situation of Hamburg

when it was evacuated on the 12th of March, and Napoleon's displeasure may be easily conceived. Tettenborn was received with all the honors usually bestowed upon a conqueror. Enthusiasm was almost universal. For several nights the people devoted themselves to rejoicing. The Cossacks were gorged with provisions and drink, and were not a little astonished at the handsome reception they experienced.

It was not until the expiration of three or four days that the people began to perceive the small number of the allied troops. Their amount gradually diminished. On the day after the arrival of the Cossacks a detachment was sent to Lübeck, where they were received with the same honors as at Hamburg. Other detachments were sent upon different places, and after four days' occupation there remained in Hamburg only 70 out of the 1200 Cossacks who had entered on the 18th March.

The first thing their commander did was to take possession of the post-office and the treasuries of the different public offices. All the movable effects of the French Government and its agents were seized and sold. The officers evinced a true Cossack disregard of the rights of private property. Counts Huhn, Bussenitz, and Venechtern, who had joined Tettenborn's staff, rendered themselves conspicuous by plundering the property of M. Pyonnier, the Director of the Customs, and M. Gonse, the Postmaster, and not a bottle of wine was left in their cellars. Tettenborn laid hands upon a sum of money, consisting of upwards of 4000 louis in gold, belonging to M. Gonse, which had been lodged with M. Schwartz, a respectable banker in Hamburg, who filled the office of Prussian Consul. M. Schwartz, with whom this money had been deposited for the sake of security, had also the care of some valuable jewels belonging to Mesdames Carra St. Cyr and Daubignose; Tettenborn carried off these as well as the money. M. Schwartz remonstrated in his character of Prussian Consul, Prussia being the ally of Russia, but he was considered merely as a banker, and could obtain no redress. Tettenborn, like most of the Cossack chiefs, was nothing but

a man for blows and pillage, but the agent of Russia was M. Steuve, whose name I have already mentioned.

Orders were speedily given for a levy of troops, both infantry and cavalry, to be called Hanseatic volunteers. A man named Hanft, who had formerly been a butcher, raised at his own expense a company of foot and one of lancers, of which he took the command. This undertaking, which cost him 130,000 francs, may afford some idea of the attachment of the people of Hamburg to the French Government! But money, as well as men, was wanting, and a heavy contribution was imposed to defray the expense of enrolling a number of workmen out of employment and idlers of various kinds. Voluntary donations were solicited, and enthusiasm was so general that even servant-maids gave their rings. The sums thus collected were paid into the chest of Tettenborn's staff, and became a prey to dishonest appropriation. With respect to this money a Sieur Oswald was accused of not having acted with the scrupulous delicacy which Madame de Staël attributes to his namesake in her romance of *Corinne.*

Between 8000 and 10,000 men were levied in the Hanse Towns and their environs, the population of which had been so greatly reduced within two years. These undisciplined troops, who had been for the most part levied from the lowest classes of society, committed so many outrages that they soon obtained the surname of the *Cossacks of the Elbe;* and certainly they well deserved it.

Such was the hatred which the French Government had inspired in Hamburg that the occupation of Tettenborn was looked upon as a deliverance. On the colonel's departure the Senate, anxious to give him a testimonial of gratitude, presented him with the freedom of the city, accompanied by 5000 gold fredericks (105,000 francs), with which he was doubtless much more gratified than with the honor of the citizenship.

The restored Senate of Hamburg did not long survive. The people of the Hanse Towns learned, with no small alarm, that the Emperor was making immense preparations to fall upon Germany, where his lieutenants could not fail to take

cruel revenge on those who had disavowed his authority. Before he quitted Paris on the 15th of April Napoleon had recalled under the banners of the army 180,000 men, exclusive of the guards of honor, and it was evident that with such a force he might venture on a great game and probably win it. Yet the month of April passed away without the occurrence of any event important to the Hanse Towns, the inhabitants of which vacillated between hope and fear. Attacks daily took place between parties of Russian and French troops on the territory between Lunenburg and Bremen. In one of these encounters General Morand was mortally wounded, and was conveyed to Lunenburg. His brother having been taken prisoner in the same engagement, Tettenborn, into whose hands he had fallen, gave him leave on parole to visit the General; but he arrived in Lunenburg only in time to see him die.

The French having advanced as far as Haarburg took up their position on the plateau of Schwartzenberg, which commands that little town and the considerable islands situated in that part of the river between Haarburg and Hamburg. Being masters of this elevated point they began to threaten Hamburg and to attack Haarburg. These attacks were directed by Vandamme, of all our generals the most redoubtable in conquered countries. He was a native of Cassel, in Flanders, and had acquired a high reputation for severity. At the very time when he was attacking Hamburg, Napoleon said of him at Dresden, "If I were to lose Vandamme I know not what I would give to have him back again; but if I had two such generals I should be obliged to shoot one of them." It must be confessed that one was quite enough.[1]

[1] Dominique Vandamme, Comte d'Uneburg, distinguished himself in the wars of the Republic and of the Empire, and would have been made a Marshal in 1813, when his disaster at Kulm (perhaps partly produced by his knowledge that a great success would bring him his *bâton*) ruined his own career and Napoleon's best chance of success. He had, as Bourrienne says, the worst of characters, and when taken prisoner at Kulm was roughly treated by Alexander on account of his pillage. Intentionally or not, Vandamme, forgetting the story of the death of Paul II., took a bitter revenge by complaining that Alexander could not have treated him worse if he had assassinated his father. In 1814, Louis XVIII. was foolishly persuaded to have Vandamme rudely repulsed when he presented himself at the Tuileries with the other Generals of his rank. This was done at the time that the

As soon as he arrived Vandamme sent to inform Tettenborn that if he did not immediately liberate the brother and brother-in-law of Morand, both of whom were his prisoners, he would burn Hamburg. Tettenborn replied that if he resorted to that extremity he would hang them both on the top of St. Michael's Tower, where he might have a view of them. This energetic answer obliged Vandamme to restrain his fury, or at least to direct it to other objects.

Meanwhile the French forces daily augmented at Haarburg. Vandamme, profiting by the negligence of the new Hanseatic troops, who had the defence of the great islands of the Elbe, attacked them one night in the month of May. This happened to be the very night after the battle of Lutzen, where both sides claimed the victory, and *Te Deum* was sung in the two hostile camps.[1] The advance of the French turned the balance of opinion in favor of Napoleon, who was in fact really the conqueror on a field of battle celebrated nearly two centuries before by the victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. The *Cossacks of the Elbe* could not sustain the shock of the French; Vandamme repulsed the troops who defended Wilhelmsburg, the largest of the two islands, and easily took possession of the smaller one, Fidden, of which the point nearest the right bank of the Elbe is not half a gunshot distant from Hamburg. The 9th of May was a fatal day to the people of Hamburg; for it was then that Davoust, having formed his junction with Vandamme, appeared at the head of a corps of 40,000 men destined to re-enforce Napoleon's Grand Army. Hamburg could not hold out against the considerable French force now assembled in its neighborhood. Tettenborn had, it is true, received a re-enforcement of 800 Prussians and 2000 Swedes, but still what resistance could he offer to Davoust's 40,000 men? Tettenborn did not deceive himself as to the weakness of the allies on this point, or the inutility

King ennobled the family of Georges Cadoudal, the would-be assassin of Napoleon (*Thiers*, tome xviii. p. 356). Vandamme naturally joined Napoleon during the *Cent Jours*.

[1] The effect, however, of this battle, and of the forward movements of General Sebastiani and Marshal Davoust, was, that the allies were obliged to abandon the line of the Elbe; nor were their affairs fully retrieved until the decisive battle of Leipsic. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

of attempting to defend the city. He yielded to the entreaties of the inhabitants, who represented to him that further resistance must be attended by certain ruin. He accordingly evacuated Hamburg on the 29th of May, taking with him his Hanseatic legions, which had not held out an hour in the islands of the Elbe, and accompanied by the Swedish Doctor Von Hess, whose imprudent advice was the chief cause of all the disasters to which the unfortunate city had been exposed.

Davoust was at Haarburg, where he received the deputies from Hamburg with an appearance of moderation; and by the conditions stipulated at this conference on the 30th of May a strong detachment of Danish troops occupied Hamburg in the name of the Emperor. The French made their entrance the same evening, and occupied the posts as quietly as if they had been merely changing guard. The inhabitants made not a shadow of resistance. Not a drop of blood was shed; not a threat nor an insult was interchanged. This is the truth; but the truth did not suit Napoleon. It was necessary to get up a pretext of revenge, and accordingly recourse was had to a bulletin, which proclaimed to France and Europe that *Hamburg had been taken by main force, with a loss of some hundred men.* But for this imaginary resistance, officially announced, how would it have been possible to justify the spoliations and exactions which ensued?[1]

The Dutch General, Hogendorff, became Governor of Hamburg in lieu of Carra St. Cyr, who had been confined at Osnabruck since his precipitate retreat. General Hogendorff had been created one of the Emperor's *aides de camp*, but he was neither a Rapp, a Lauriston, nor a Duroc. The inhabitants were required to pay all the arrears of taxes due to the different public offices during the seventy days that the French had been absent; and likewise all the allowances that would have been paid to the troops of the garrison had they remained in

[1] There appears to have been some real resistance; see *Puymaigre*, page 152, who says that if the town had held out four days longer it would have been protected by the armistice of Pleiswitz, and would never have been re-occupied by the French. This, however, might have been a great gain to Napoleon, who suffered much in 1813 and 1814 from the loss of the garrisons in such places. Many of the inhabitants now left the town for fear of the revenge and exactions of the French.

Hamburg. Payment was also demanded of the arrears for the quartering of troops who were fifty leagues off. However, some of the heads of the government departments, who saw and understood the new situation of the French at Hamburg, did not enforce these unjust and vexatious measures. The duties on registrations were reduced. M. Pyonnier, Director of the Customs, aware of the peculiar difficulty of his situation in a country where the customs were held in abhorrence, observed great caution and moderation in collecting the duties. Personal examination, which is so revolting and indecorous, especially with respect to females, was suppressed. But these modifications did not proceed from the highest quarter ; they were due to the good sense of the subordinate agents, who plainly saw that if the Empire was to fall it would not be owing to little infractions in the laws of proscription against coffee and rhubarb.

If the custom-house regulations became less vexatious to the inhabitants of Hamburg it was not the same with the business of the post-office. The old manœuvres of that department were resumed more actively than ever. Letters were opened without the least reserve, and all the old post-office clerks who were initiated in these scandalous proceedings were recalled. With the exception of the registrations and the customs the inquisitorial system, which had so long oppressed the Hanse Towns, was renewed; and yet the delegates of the French Government were the first to cry out, "The people of Hamburg are traitors to Napoleon : for, in spite of all the blessings he has conferred upon them they do not say with the Latin poet, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*"

But all that passed was trifling in comparison with what was to come. On the 18th of June was published an Imperial decree, dated the 8th of the same month, by virtue of which were to be reaped the fruits of the official falsehood contained in the bulletin above mentioned. To expiate the crime of rebellion Hamburg was required to pay an extraordinary contribution of 48,000,000 francs, and Lübeck a contribution of 6,000,000. The enormous sum levied on Hamburg was to be paid in the short space of a month, by six equal instalments,

either in money, or bills on respectable houses in Paris.[1] In addition to this the new Prefect of Hamburg made a requisition of grain and provisions of every kind, wines, sailcloth, masts, pitch, hemp, iron, copper, steel, in short, everything that could be useful for the supply of the army and navy.

But while these exactions were made on property in Hamburg, at Dresden the liberties of individuals and even lives were attacked. On the 15th of June Napoleon, doubtless blinded by the false reports that were laid before him, gave orders for making out a list of the inhabitants of Hamburg who were absent from the city. He allowed them only a fortnight to return home, an interval too short to enable some of them to come from the places where they had taken refuge. They consequently remained absent beyond the given time. Victims were indispensable: but assuredly it was not Bonaparte who conceived the idea of hostages to answer for the men whom prudence kept absent. Of this charge I can clear his memory. The hostages, were, however, taken, and were declared to be also responsible for the payment of the contribution of 48,000,000. In Hamburg they were selected from among the most respectable and wealthy men in the city, some of them far advanced in age. They were conveyed to the old castle of Haarburg on the left bank of the Elbe, and these men, who had been accustomed to all the comforts of life, were deprived even of necessaries, and had only straw to lie on. The hostages from Lübeck were taken to Hamburg: they were placed between decks on board an old ship in the port: this was a worthy imitation of the prison hulks of England. On the 24th of July there was issued a decree which was published in the *Hamburg Correspondant* of the 27th. This decree consisted merely of a proscription list, on which were inscribed the names of some of the wealthiest men in the Hanse Towns, Hanover, and Westphalia.

[1] Puymaigre (p. 153), who ought to be a good authority, puts the contribution at 100,000,000. Alison (chap. lxxix. para. 24, note) says 40,000,000 francs (or £1,600,000). In chap. xcv. para. 21 Alison puts the whole exactions by Davoust from 1st June, 1813, to 23d April, 1814, as 2,800,000 odd francs, besides goods, etc., the whole amounting to some £140,000; but his figures are doubtful. In any case the exaction is acknowledged by Puymaigre to have been beyond the powers of the town.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1813.

Napoleon's second visit to Dresden — Battle of Bautzen — The Congress at Prague — Napoleon ill advised — Battle of Vittoria — General Moreau — Rupture of the conferences at Prague — Defection of Jomini — Battles of Dresden and Leipsic — Account of the death of Duroc — An interrupted conversation resumed a year after — Particulars respecting Poniatowski — His extraordinary courage and death — His monument at Leipsic and tomb in the cathedral of Warsaw.

On the 2d of May Napoleon won the battle of Lutzen. A week after he was at Dresden, not as on his departure for the Russian campaign, like the Sovereign of the West surrounded by his mighty vassals: he was now in the capital of the only one of the monarchs of his creation who remained faithful to the French cause, and whose good faith eventually cost him half his dominions. The Emperor staid only ten days in Dresden, and then went in pursuit of the Russian army, which he came up with on the 19th, at Bautzen. This battle, which was followed on the two succeeding days by the battles of Wurtchen and Ochkirchen, may be said to have lasted three days — a sufficient proof that it was obstinately disputed. It ended in favor of Napoleon, but he and France paid dearly for it: while General Kirschner and Duroc were talking together the former was killed by a cannon-ball, which mortally wounded the latter in the abdomen.

The moment had now arrived for Austria to prove whether or not she intended entirely to desert the cause of Napoleon.[1]

[1] There is a running attack in *Erreurs* (tome ii. pp. 289–325) on all this part of the Memoirs, but the best account of the negotiations between France, Austria, and the Allies will be found in *Metternich*, vol. i. pp. 171–245. Metternich, with good reason, prides himself on the skill with which he gained from Napoleon the exact time, twenty days, necessary for the concentration of the Austrian armies; see especially pp. 194, 195. Whether the negotiations were consistent with good faith on the part of Austria is another matter; but one thing seems clear — the Austrian marriage ruined Napoleon. He found it impossible to believe that the monarch who had given him his

All her amicable demonstrations were limited to an offer of her intervention in opening negotiations with Russia. Accordingly, on the 4th of June, an armistice was concluded at Pleiswitz, which was to last till the 8th of July, and was finally prolonged to the 10th of August.

The first overtures after the conclusion of the armistice of Pleiswitz determined the assembling of a Congress at Prague. It was reported at the time that the Allies demanded the restoration of all they had lost since 1805; that is to say, since the campaign of Ulm. In this demand Holland and the Hanse Towns, which had become French provinces, were comprehended. But we should still have retained the Rhine, Belgium, Piedmont, Nice, and Savoy. The battle of Vittoria,[1] which placed the whole of Spain at the disposal of the English, the retreat of Suchet upon the Ebro, the fear of seeing the army of Spain annihilated, were enough to alter the opinions of those counsellors who still recommended war. Notwithstanding Napoleon's opposition and his innate disposition to acquire glory by his victories, probably he would not have been inaccessible to the reiterated representations of sensible men who loved their country. France, therefore, has

daughter would strike the decisive blow against him. Without this belief there can be no doubt that he would have struck Austria before she could have collected her forces, and Metternich seems to have dreaded the result. "It was necessary, therefore, to prevent Napoleon from carrying out his usual system of leaving an army of observation before the Allied armies, and himself turning to Bohemia to deal a great blow at us, the effect of which it would be impossible to foresee in the present depressed state of the great majority of our men" (*Metternich*, vol. i. p. 177). With our knowledge of how Napoleon held his own against the three armies at Dresden we may safely assume that he would have crushed Austria if she had not joined him or disarmed. The conduct of Austria was natural and politic, but it was only successful because Napoleon believed in the good faith of the Emperor Francis, his father-in-law. It is to be noted that Austria only succeeded in getting Alexander to negotiate on the implied condition that the negotiations were not to end in a peace with France. See *Metternich*, vol. i. p. 181, where, in answer to the Czar's question as to what would become of their cause if Napoleon accepted the Austrian mediation, he says that if Napoleon declines Austria will join the Allies. If Napoleon accepts, "the negotiations will most certainly show Napoleon to be neither wise nor just, and then the result will be the same. In any case we shall have gained the necessary time to bring our armies into such positions that we need not again fear a separate attack on any one of them, and *from which we may ourselves take the offensive*."

[1] The news of this decisive battle increased the difficulty of the French plenipotentiaries at Prague, and raised the demands of the Allies. It also shook the confidence of those who remained faithful to us. — *Bourrienne.*

to reproach his advisers. At this juncture General Moreau arrived; it has been said that he came at the solicitation of Bernadotte. This is neither true nor probable. In the first place, there never was any intimacy between Bernadotte and Moreau; and, in the next, how can it be imagined that Bernadotte wished to see Moreau Emperor! But this question is at once put at rest by the fact, that in the interview at Abo the Emperor of Russia hinted to Bernadotte the possibility of his succeeding Napoleon. It was generally reported at the time, and I have since learnt that it was true, that the French Princes of the House of Bourbon had made overtures to Moreau through the medium of General Willot, who had been proscribed on the 18th Fructidor; and I have since learned from an authentic source that General Moreau, who was then at Baltimore, refused to support the Bourbon cause. Moreau yielded only to his desire of being revenged on Napoleon; and he found death where he could not find glory.[1]

At the end of July the proceedings of the Congress at Prague were no further advanced than at the time of its assembling. Far from cheering the French with the prospect of a peace, the Emperor made a journey to Mayence; the Empress went there to see him, and returned to Paris immediately after the Emperor's departure. Napoleon went back to Dresden, and the armistice not being renewed, it died a natural death on the 17th of August, the day appointed for its

[1] Having mentioned the name of Moreau I may take this opportunity of correcting an error into which I fell while speaking of General Lajolais in connection with the conspiracy of Georges, etc. Some papers have fallen into my hands, proving beyond a doubt that General Lajolais was not an accomplice in the conspiracy. — *Bourrienne.*

Napoleon seems to have believed that it was a shot from one of the redoubts near Dresden, where he was present, which struck Moreau. Cathcart (*War in Russia and Germany*, pp. 229-231), who was an eyewitness, says that the shot came from a field-battery about a quarter of a mile distant. Napoleon, according to Cathcart, was then about a mile off; thus Thiers (tome xvi. p. 315) is wrong in saying that Moreau was "struck by a French bullet, fired, so to say, by Napoleon." Moreau's death put an end to an important disagreement between Metternich and the Emperor Alexander, who wished to take the title of Generalissimo of the Allied armies, with Moreau, as his lieutenant, really in command. "When," says Metternich (vol. i. p. 207), "Alexander met me the next day he said to me, 'God has uttered His judgment: He was of your opinion.'" Readers of Metternich will remark how habitually Providence was of his opinion.

expiration. A fatal event immediately followed the rupture of the conferences.[1] On the 17th of August Austria, wishing to gain by war as she had before gained by alliances, declared that she would unite her forces with those of the Allies. On the very opening of this disastrous campaign General Jomini went over to the enemy. Jomini belonged to the staff of the unfortunate Marshal Ney, who was beginning to execute, with his wonted ability, the orders he had received. There was much surprise at his eagerness to profit by a struggle, begun under such melancholy auspices, to seek a fresh fortune, which promised better than what he had tried under our flag. Public opinion has pronounced judgment on Jomini.[2]

The first actions were the battle of Dresden, which took place seven days after the rupture of the armistice, and the battle in which Vandamme was defeated, and which rendered the victory of Dresden unavailing. I have already mentioned that Moreau was killed at Dresden.[3] Bavaria was no sooner

[1] It was on the 11th of August, not the 17th, that Metternich announced to Caulaincourt, Napoleon's plenipotentiary at Prague, that Austria had joined the Allies and declared war with France; see *Thiers*, tome xvi. p. 225. At midnight on 10th August Metternich had despatched the passports for the Comte Louis de Narbonne, Napoleon's Ambassador, and the war manifesto of the Emperor Francis; then he "had the beacons lighted which had been prepared from Prague to the Silesian frontier, as a sign of the breach of the negotiations, and the right (*i. e.* power) of the Allied armies to cross the Silesian frontier" (*Metternich*, vol. i. p. 199).

[2] Jomini had been cruelly treated by Berthier, the chief of the staff, who had been always indisposed towards him. At the very time that Jomini, then chief of the staff to Ney, was expecting some well-won reward for his part in the battle of Bautzen, he received an order placing him in arrest for not having sent in a return delayed by the difficulty of getting the information from the divisions. Jomini, long discontented, now passed over to the Russians, and thenceforward acted as military adviser to Alexander. It is fair to remember that he was Swiss, not French, and that, when going over, he first placed all Ney's outposts in safety from a surprise. He defends himself in his own work (*Vie de Napoléon*, tome iv. p. 368, note), and says that even if he had been capable of revealing any plan of Napoleon he did not know it. See also Sainte-Beuve (*le Général Jomini*), where the matter is treated at length. It would not be right to treat Jomini as a traitor, but to act against any army with which he had served so long, and with whose triumphs he had been so connected, was a deplorable act in the life of that great writer. He was naturally looked on with great jealousy by his new comrades. He says Muffling (p. 82) proved himself that same day a sublime teacher indeed, but at the same time so unpractical on the field of battle that his advice was not asked again.

[3] The following is a contemporary account of the death of Moreau, whose military fame once rivalled that of Bonaparte. It is taken from a letter written by a British officer, and dated Toplitz, 4th September, 1813.

"General Moreau died yesterday. He was in the act of giving some opinion on military matters, while passing with the Emperor of Russia be-

rid of the French troops than she raised the mask and ranged herself among our enemies. In October the loss of the battle of Leipsic decided the fate of France. The Saxon army, which had long remained faithful to us, went over to the enemy during the battle.[1] Prince Poniatowski perished at the battle of Leipsic in an attempt to pass the Elster.

hind a Prussian battery to which two French batteries were answering, one in front and the other in flank, and Lord Cathcart and Sir R. Wilson were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh and almost carried his leg off, passed through his horse, and shattered his other leg to pieces. He gave a deep groan at first, but immediately after the first agony of pain was over he spoke with the utmost tranquillity, and called for a cigar. They bore him off the field on a litter made of Cossacks' pikes, and carried him to a cottage at a short distance, which, however, was so much exposed to the fire that they were obliged, after just binding up his wounds, to remove him farther off to the Emperor's quarters, where one leg was amputated, he smoking the whole time. When the surgeon informed him that he must deprive him of the other leg he observed, without showing any pain or peevishness, but in the calmest manner, that had he known that before his other was cut off he should have preferred dying. The litter on which they had hitherto conveyed him was covered with nothing but wet straw, and a cloak drenched through with rain, which continued in torrents the whole day. They now placed more cloaks over him, and laid him more comfortably in a good litter, in which he was carried to Dippoldeswalde; but long before his arrival there he was soaked through and through. He was brought, however, safely to Laun, where he seemed to be going on well, till a long conference which took place between him and three or four of the Allied generals, by which he was completely exhausted. Soon after this he became extremely ill, and hourly grew worse. Through the whole of his sufferings he bore his fate with heroism and grandeur of mind not to be surpassed, and appeared to those with whom he conversed to endure but little pain, so calm and so extremely composed was he. He died at six o'clock yesterday morning." — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

The following letter from General Moreau to his wife, after receiving his mortal wound, was communicated to the editor of the 1836 edition by Sir J. Philippart: —

"*Ma chère amie — A la bataille de Dresde, il y a trois jours, j'ai eu les deux jambes emportées d'un boulet de canon. Ce coquin de Bonaparte est toujours heureux. On m'a fait l'amputation aussi bien que possible. Quoique l'armée ait fait un mouvement retrograde, ce n'est nullement par revers, mais pour se rapprocher du Général Blucher. Excuse mon griffonage; je t'aime et t'embrasse de tout mon cœur. Je charge Rapatel de finir. — V. M.*"

[1] The battle of General Blucher, on the 16th, was followed by a complete and signal victory on the 18th, by the combined forces, over Bonaparte, at the head of his army, in the neighborhood of Leipsic. The collective loss of above 100 pieces of cannon, 60,000 men, and an immense number of prisoners; the desertion of the Saxon army, and also of the Bavarian and Würtemberg troops still remaining in the French ranks, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry; many generals killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, among whom were Reynier, Valberg (?), Brune, Bertrand, and Lauriston, were some of the first-fruits of the glorious day of the 18th of October. These were followed by the capture by assault of the town of Leipsic; the magazines, the artillery, stores of the place, with the King of Saxony, all his Court, the garrison, and the rear-guard of the French army; the whole of the enemy's wounded, the number of whom exceeded 30,000, with the complete rout of the French army, it being entirely surrounded, and endeavoring

I will take this opportunity of relating what I know respecting the death of two men who were both deeply and deservedly regretted — Duroc and Poniatowski.[1] Napoleon lamented Duroc chiefly because he was very useful to him. He, however, wished to make a parade of sensibility, and after having made up a tragical scene of Duroc's death, he ordered a picture to be painted, to transmit the recollection of the event to posterity; with this view a suitable story was drawn up for a bulletin. This bulletin contained a high-flown account of the loss the Emperor had sustained; and the following set phrases were put into the mouth of the dying General: "My life has been devoted to your service, and I regret its loss because it might yet be useful to you. Yes, Sire, we shall one day meet again, but it will be thirty years

to escape in all directions: such were the prominent subjects of exultation. Bonaparte was fortunate enough to escape by rapid flight two hours before the entry into Leipsic of the Allied forces. . . .

During the action twenty-two guns of Saxon artillery, with two Westphalian regiments of hussars, and two battalions of Saxons, joined us from the enemy: the former were instantly led again into the field, our artillery and ammunition not being all brought forward. . . .

The losses sustained in the last four days' combats could not with precision be stated; but they were averaged, on the part of the enemy, at 15,000 prisoners, without reckoning 23,000 sick and wounded found in the hospitals at Leipsic, 250 pieces of cannon, and 900 tumbrels. Prince Poniatowski, Generals Vial, Rochambeau, Dumoustier, Compans, and Latour-Maubourg were killed, and Ney, Marmont, and Souham wounded. Fifteen generals were made prisoners. The loss of the Allies was equally serious. The Prussian corps of d'York lost 5000 men; the Austrians enumerated no less than sixty officers of distinction killed in this sanguinary contest (Marquis of Londonderry's *Narrative of the War in Germany and France*).

[1] Duroc, as has already been noted, was one of the earliest *aides de camp* and companions of Napoleon, and had accompanied him to Egypt, and indeed everywhere. He had been created Duc de Frioul and Grand Maréchal du Palais. *Marmont* (tome v. p. 109) says that a few moments before being hit Duroc showed a sort of despondency and disheartenment, and said to him, "My friend, the Emperor is insatiable for battles. We shall all fall, it is our destiny." The scene between Napoleon and him on his death-bed has been told differently. See *Marmont*, tome v. p. 110; *Ségur*, tome vi. p. 115; and *Thiers*, tome xv. p. 584; and even *Coignet*, p. 352. Whatever may have been said to the contrary, there must have been some strong affection between them. See Napoleon's letter to Madame de Montesquiou, when, perhaps with a remembrance of a famous Roman epitaph, he said, "The death of the Duc de Frioul has pained me. It is the only time in twenty years that he has not divined what would please me" (*Rémusat*, tome ii. p. 215 note). See also Dumas, a fair representative of the general opinion of the army, not of the tittle-tattle of the Court. "The glorious death of the Grand Maréchal Duroc took from Napoleon his most trusty friend, whom he much liked: the man whose loyalty, noble independence, and enlightened counsels were so useful to him" (*Dumas*, tome iii. p. 506). His Duchy was given to his daughter.

hence, when you will have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of your country. I have lived like an honorable man, and have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave behind me a daughter; your Majesty will be a father to her." [1] But there is not one word of truth in the bulletin account of Duroc's death. The words which he is said to have uttered in his last moments were invented, like those attributed to Desaix after the battle of Marengo. I suppose Napoleon borrowed from Homer the idea of making his heroes deliver speeches when at the point of death. The fact is, Duroc suffered the most excruciating agony, and under such circumstances a man is not likely to be very eloquent, or, indeed, inclined to speak much. I remember reading at the time a letter which came by an *estafette;* it was written by an individual who accompanied the Emperor, and was addressed to a Minister. The writer desires his friend not to place any reliance on the official account of Napoleon's visit to Duroc. He added that the latter, being at the moment in great suffering, and finding that the Emperor prolonged his visit, turned impatiently on his left side, and said to the Emperor, motioning him with his right hand to withdraw, "Ah, Sire, at least leave me to die quietly."

I will here mention a fact which occurred before Duroc's departure for the campaign of 1812. I used often to visit him at the Pavilion Marsan, in the Tuileries, where he lodged. One forenoon, when I had been waiting for him a few minutes, he came from the Emperor's apartments, where he had been engaged in the usual business. He was in his court-dress. As soon as he entered he pulled off his coat and hat and laid them aside. "I have just had a conversation with the Emperor about you," said he. "Say nothing to anybody. Have patience, and you will be ——" He had no sooner uttered these words than a footman entered to inform him that the Emperor wished to see him immediately. "Well," said Duroc, "I must go." No sooner was the servant gone than Duroc stamped violently on the floor, and exclaimed,

[1] The Emperor faithfully carried out this wish, making a handsome provision for Mademoiselle Duroc. (See also the will of Napoleon.)

"That . . . . never leaves me a moment's rest. If he finds I have five minutes to myself in the course of the morning he is sure to send for me." He then put on his coat and returned to the Emperor, saying, "Another time you shall hear what I have to tell you."

From that time I did not see Duroc until the month of January, 1813. He was constantly absent from Paris, and did not return until the end of 1812. He was much affected at the result of the campaign, but his confidence in Napoleon's genius kept up his spirits. I turned the conversation from this subject and reminded him of his promise to tell me what had passed between the Emperor and himself relative to me. "You shall hear," said he. "The Emperor and I had been playing at billiards, and, between ourselves, he plays very badly. He is nothing at a game that depends on skill. While negligently rolling his balls about he muttered these words: 'Do you ever see Bourrienne now?' — 'Yes, Sire, he sometimes dines with me on diplomatic reception-days, and he looks so droll in his old-fashioned court-dress, of Lyons manufacture, that you would laugh if you saw him.' — 'What does he say respecting the new regulation for the court-dresses?' — 'I confess he says it is very ridiculous; that it will have no other result than to enable the Lyons manufacturers to get rid of their old-fashioned goods; that forced innovations on the customs of a nation are never successful.' — 'Oh, that is always the way with Bourrienne; he is never pleased with anything.' — 'Certainly, Sire, he is apt to grumble; but he says what he thinks.' — 'Do you know, Duroc, he served me very well at Hamburg. He raised a good deal of money for me. He is a man who understands business. I will not leave him unemployed. Time must hang heavily on his hands. I will see what I can do for him. He has many enemies.' — 'And who has not, Sire?' — 'Many complaints against him were transmitted to me from Hamburg, but the letter which he wrote to me in his justification opened my eyes, and I begin to think that Savary had good motives for defending him. Endeavors are made to dissuade me from employing him, but I shall nevertheless do so at last. I remember that

it was he who first informed me of the near approach of the war which we are now engaged in. I forget all that has been said against him for the last two years, and as soon as peace is concluded, and I am at leisure, I will think of him.'"

After relating to me this conversation Duroc said, "You must, of course, feel assured that I said all I think of you, and I will take an opportunity of reminding him of you. But we must be patient. Adieu, my dear friend; we must set off speedily, and Heaven knows when we shall be back again!" I wished him a successful campaign and a speedy return. Alas! I was doomed to see my excellent friend only once again.

Next to the death of Duroc the loss most sincerely regretted during the campaign of 1813 was that of Prince Poniatowski. Joseph Poniatowski, a nephew of Stanislas Augustus, King of Poland, was born at Warsaw on the 7th of May, 1763. At an early age he was remarkable for his patriotic spirit; but his uncle's influence gave him an apparent irresolution, which rendered him suspected by some of the parties in Poland. After his uncle had acceded to the Confederation of Targowitz Poniatowski left the service accompanied by most of his principal officers. But when, in 1794, the Poles endeavored to repulse the Russians, he again repaired to the Polish camp and entered the army as a volunteer. His noble conduct obtained for him the esteem of his countrymen. Kosciusko gave him the command of a division, with which he rendered useful services during the two sieges of Warsaw. Immediately after the surrender of that capital Poniatowski went to Vienna. He refused the offers of Catherine and Paul to bear arms in the service of Russia.

Poniatowski retired to his estate near Warsaw, where he lived like a private gentleman until the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw revived the hopes of the Polish patriots. He then became War Minister. The Archduke Ferdinand having come, in 1809, with Austrian troops to take possession of the Duchy of Warsaw, Poniatowski, who commanded the Polish troops, which were very inferior in numbers to the Austrian force, obliged the latter, rather by dint of skilful

manœuvring than by fighting, to evacuate the Grand Duchy. He pursued them into Galicia as far as Cracow.

After this honorable campaign he continued to exercise his functions as Minister until 1812. The war against Russia again summoned him to the head of the Polish army. After taking part in all the events of that war, which was attended by such various chances, Poniatowski was present at the battle of Leipsic. That battle, which commenced on the 14th of October, the anniversary of the famous battles of Ulm and of Jena, lasted four days, and decided the fate of Europe. Five hundred thousand men fought on a surface of three square leagues.

Retreat having become indispensable, Napoleon took leave at Leipsic of the King of Saxony and his family, whom he had brought with him from Dresden. The Emperor then exclaimed in a loud voice, "Adieu, Saxons," to the people who filled the market-place, where the King of Saxony resided. With some difficulty, and after passing through many turnings and windings, he gained the suburb of Runstadt and left Leipsic by the outer gate of that suburb which leads to the bridge of the Elster, and to Lindenau. The bridge was blown up shortly after he had passed it, and that event utterly prevented the retreat of the part of the army which was on the left bank of the Elster, and which fell into the power of the enemy. Napoleon was at the time accused of having ordered the destruction of the bridge immediately after he had himself passed it in order to secure his own personal retreat, as he was threatened by the active pursuit of the enemy. The English journals were unanimous on this point, and to counteract this opinion, which was very general, an article was inserted in the *Moniteur.*

Before passing the bridge of the Elster Napoleon had directed Poniatowski, in concert with Marshal Macdonald, to cover and protect the retreat, and to defend that part of the suburb of Leipsic which is nearest to the Borna road. For the execution of these orders he had only 2000 Polish infantry. He was in this desperate situation when he saw the French columns in full retreat, and the bridge so choked

up with their artillery and wagons that there was no possibility of passing it. Then drawing his sword, and turning to the officers who were near him, he said, "Here we must fall with honor!" At the head of a small party of cuirassiers and Polish officers he rushed on the columns of the Allies. In this action he received a ball in his left arm: he had already been wounded on the 14th and 16th. He nevertheless advanced, but he found the suburb filled with Allied troops.[1] He fought his way through them and received

[1] The Allies were so numerous that they scarcely perceived the losses they sustained. Their masses pressed down upon us in every direction, and it was impossible that victory could fail to be with them. Their success, however, would have been less decisive had it not been for the defection of the Saxons. In the midst of the battle, these troops having moved towards the enemy, as if intending to make an attack, turned suddenly round, and opened a heavy fire of artillery and musketry on the columns by the side of which they had a few moments before been fighting. I do not know in what page of history such a transaction is recorded. This event immediately produced a great difference in our affairs, which were before in a bad enough train. I ought here to mention that before the battle the Emperor dismissed a Bavarian division which still remained with him. He spoke to the officers in terms which will not soon be effaced from their memory. He told them, that, "according to the laws of war, they were his prisoners, since their Government had taken part against him; but that he could not forget the services they had rendered him, and that they were therefore at liberty to return home." These troops left the army, where they were much esteemed, and marched for Bavaria.

The desertion of the Saxons to the enemy obliged the Emperor to order movements to which he would not otherwise have resorted, especially in so warm an action. These unexpected movements caused disorder, when that calmness and that cool determination by which so much may be done at the decisive moment of a battle were most wanting. It was now necessary to think of a retreat, which had, indeed, already begun, in consequence of the physical and moral exhaustion of the troops, which had maintained the contest since the morning under marked disadvantages.

After nearly the whole of the left and part of the centre had passed the Elster the Emperor himself crossed. He desired the artillery officer who had charge of the bridge, for the destruction of which preparation had been made, not to leave the spot, and not to put the match to the train until all the troops had passed over.

At first the corps proceeded along the bridge without any disagreeable accident, but such was the disorder that no one could tell whether or not his column was the last which had to pass. The enemy's sharpshooters were in advance; the pressure towards the bridge was great, and the confusion became extreme.

The officer left in charge of the bridge, not knowing what was the state of things on the enemy's side, ran towards a general officer to learn, if possible, from him how far the passage had been effected; but he was carried away by the crowd, and could not return. The artillerymen who were under his command, seeing German troops and Cossacks pushing forward, blew up the bridge without waiting for orders; and thus the right of the army, which kept the enemy's masses in check, was cut off.

The report of this unfortunate event soon spread through the ranks. The right was in its turn thrown into disorder, and an escape was sought through fields and marshes. This completed the disaster: the troops were made

another wound. He then threw himself into the Pleisse, which was the first river he came to. Aided by his officers, he gained the opposite bank, leaving his horse in the river. Though greatly exhausted he mounted another, and gained the Elster, by passing through M. Reichenbach's garden, which was situated on the side of that river. In spite of the steepness of the banks of the Elster at that part, the Prince plunged with his horse into the river: both man and horse were drowned, and the same fate was shared by several officers who followed Poniatowski's example. Marshal Macdonald was, luckily, one of those who escaped. Five days after a fisherman drew the body of the Prince out of the water. On the 26th of October it was temporarily interred at Leipsic, with all the honors due to the illustrious deceased. A modest stone marks the spot where the body of the Prince was dragged from the river. The Poles expressed a wish to erect a monument to the memory of their countryman in the garden of M. Reichenbach, but that gentleman declared he would do it at his own expense, which he did. The monument consists of a beautiful sarcophagus, surrounded by weeping willows. The body of the Prince, after being embalmed, was sent in the following year to Warsaw, and in 1816 it was deposited in the cathedral, among the remains of the Kings and great men of Poland. The celebrated Thorwaldsen was commissioned to execute a monument for his tomb. Prince Poniatowski left no issue but a natural son, born in 1790. The royal race therefore, existed only in a collateral branch of King Stanislas, namely, Prince Stanislas, born in 1754.[1]

prisoners of war, and Generals Lauriston and Reynier were taken with them. Prince Joseph Poniatowski, recently made Marshal of France, had just at this moment gained the banks of the Elster. Though wounded, consulting only his courage, he plunged on horseback into the river, where he unfortunately perished. It was impossible to be more brave than was this Prince: impetuous, magnanimous, and always amiable, he was as much esteemed by those against whom he combated as regretted by the party whom he served.

This terminated the fatal day of Leipsic: the result of which to France was the loss of a fine and numerous army and all her Allies (*Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo*, tome vi. p. 179).

[1] Prince Joseph Poniatowski had only been made Marshal by Napoleon on the 16th October, 1813, three days before he was drowned. He was the grandson of the Stanislas Poniatowski who followed Charles XII. into Turkey, and the nephew of Stanislas II. of Poland, the last King of Poland.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1813.

Amount of the Allied forces against Napoleon — Their advance towards the Rhine — Levy of 280,000 men — Dreadful situation of the French at Mayence — Declaration of the Allies at Frankfort — Diplomatic correspondence — The Duc de Bassano succeeded by the Duke of Vincenza — The conditions of the Allies vaguely accepted — Caulaincourt sent to the headquarters of the Allies — Manifesto of the Allied powers to the French people — Gift of 30,000,000 from the Emperor's privy purse — Wish to recall M. de Talleyrand — Singular advice relative to Wellington — The French army recalled from Spain — The throne resigned by Joseph — Absurd accusation against M. Lainé — Adjournment of the Legislative Body — Napoleon's Speech to the Legislative Body — Remarks of Napoleon reported by Cambacérès.

When the war resumed its course after the disaster of Leipsic I am certain that the Allied sovereigns determined to treat with Napoleon only in his own capital, as he, four years before, had refused to treat with the Emperor of Austria except at Vienna. The latter sovereign now completely raised the mask, and declared to the Emperor that he would make common cause with Russia and Prussia against him. In his declaration he made use of the singular pretext, that the more enemies there were against Napoleon there would be the greater chance of speedily obliging him to accede to conditions which would at length restore the tranquillity of which Europe stood so much in need. This declaration on the part of Austria was an affair of no little importance, for she had now raised an army of 250,000 men. An equal force was enrolled beneath the Russian banners, which were advancing towards the Rhine. Prussia had 200,000 men; the Confederation of the Rhine 150,000: in short, including the Swedes and the Dutch, the English troops in Spain and in the Netherlands, the Danes, who had abandoned us, the Spaniards and Portuguese, whose courage and hopes were revived by our reverses, Napoleon had arrayed against him upwards

of a million of armed men. Among them, too, were the Neapolitans, with Murat at their head!

The month of November, 1813, was fatal to the fortune of Napoleon. In all parts the French armies were repulsed and driven back upon the Rhine, while in every direction the Allied forces advanced towards that river. For a considerable time I had confidently anticipated the fall of the Empire; not because the foreign sovereigns had vowed its destruction, but because I saw the impossibility of Napoleon defending himself against all Europe, and because I knew that, however desperate might be his fortune, nothing would induce him to consent to conditions which he considered disgraceful. At this time every day was marked by a new defection. Even the Bavarians, the natural Allies of France, they whom the Emperor had led to victory at the commencement of the second campaign of Vienna, they whom he had, as it were, adopted on the field of battle, were now against us, and were the bitterest of our enemies.

Even before the battle of Leipsic, the consequences of which were so ruinous to Napoleon, he had felt the necessity of applying to France for a supply of troops; as if France had been inexhaustible. He directed the Empress Regent to make this demand; and accordingly Maria Louisa proceeded to the Senate, for the first time, in great state: but the glories of the Empire were now on the decline. The Empress obtained a levy of 280,000 troops, but they were no sooner enrolled than they were sacrificed. The defection of the Bavarians considerably augmented the difficulties which assailed the wreck of the army that had escaped from Leipsic. The Bavarians had got before us to Hanau, a town four leagues distant from Frankfort; there they established themselves, with the view of cutting off our retreat; but French valor was roused, the little town was speedily carried, and the Bavarians were repulsed with considerable loss. The French army arrived at Mayence; if, indeed, one may give the name of army to a few masses of men destitute, dispirited, and exhausted by fatigue and privation. On the arrival of the troops at Mayence no preparation had been

made for receiving them: there were no provisions, or supplies of any kind; and, as the climax of misfortune, infectious epidemics broke out amongst the men. All the accounts I received concurred in assuring me that their situation was dreadful.

However, without counting the wreck which escaped from the disasters of Leipsic, and the ravages of disease; without including the 280,000 men which had been raised by a *Sénatus-consulte*, on the application of Maria Louisa, the Emperor still possessed 120,000 good troops; but they were in the rear, scattered along the Elbe, shut up in fortresses such as Dantzic, Hamburg, Torgau, and Spandau. Such was the horror of our situation that if, on the one hand, we could not resolve to abandon them, it was at the same time impossible to aid them. In France a universal cry was raised for peace, at whatever price it could be purchased. In this state of things it may be said that the year 1813 was more fatal to Napoleon than the year 1812. The disasters of Moscow were repaired by his activity and the sacrifices of France; but the disasters of Leipsic were irreparable!

I shall shortly speak of some negotiations in which, if I had chosen, I might have taken a part. After the battle of Leipsic, in which France lost, for the second time, a formidable army, all the powers allied against Napoleon declared at Frankfort, on the 9th of November, that they would never break the bonds which united them; that henceforth it was not merely a Continental peace, but a general peace, that would be demanded; and that any negotiation not having a general peace for its object would be rejected. The Allied powers declared that France was to be confined within her natural limits, — the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. This was all that was to remain of the vast Empire founded by Napoleon; but still it must be allowed it was a great deal, after the many disasters France had experienced, and when she was menaced with invasion by numerous and victorious armies. But Napoleon could not accede to such proposals, for he was always ready to yield to illusion when the truth was not satisfactory to him.

According to the proposals of the Allies at Frankfort,[1] Germany, Italy, and Spain were to be entirely withdrawn from the dominion of France. England recognized the freedom of trade and navigation, and there appeared no reason to doubt the sincerity of her professed willingness to make great sacrifices to promote the object proposed by the Allies. But to these offers a fatal condition was added, namely, that the Congress should meet in a town, to be declared neutral, on the right bank of the Rhine, where the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent powers were to assemble; *but the course of the war was not to be impeded by these negotiations.*[2]

The Duc de Bassano (Maret), who was still Minister for Foreign Affairs, replied, by order of Napoleon, to the overtures made by the Allies for a general Congress; and stated that the Emperor acceded to them, and wished Mannheim to be chosen as the neutral town. M. Metternich replied in a note, dated Frankfort, the 25th of November, stating that the Allies felt no difficulty in acceding to Napoleon's choice of Mannheim for the meeting of the Congress; but as M. de Bassano's letter contained no mention of the general and summary bases I have just mentioned, and which had been communicated to M. de St. Aignan at Frankfort, M. Metternich stated that the Allies wished the Emperor Napoleon to

[1] The proceedings at Frankfort should be read in *Metternich*, vol. i. pp. 212–220, where Metternich speaks of the difficulty in getting the Allies to act together. "The Russian army remained quiet and thought its object gained. If Marshal Kutusow had been still living it would not have left the Oder." So much is often said as to the bad faith of Napoleon in these negotiations that one of Metternich's statements should be noted. "I proposed further to join with the idea of natural boundaries the offer of an immediate negotiation. As the Emperor Francis sanctioned my intention I laid it before their Majesties of Russia and Prussia. Both of them feared that Napoleon, trusting to the chances of the future, might by accepting the proposal with quick and energetic decision put an end to the affair" (*Metternich*, vol. i. p. 214). The "affair" means here the war. The whole of Metternich's account is inconsistent with good faith in the Allies' proposals, and shows that Napoleon's remark on the proclamation was correct. "No one but Metternich can have concocted this document; talking of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees is a thorough piece of cunning. It could only enter into the head of a man who knows France as well as he does" (*Metternich*, vol. i. p. 215).

[2] This system of negotiating and advancing was a realization of Metternich's idea of copying Napoleon's own former procedure. "Let us hold always the sword in one hand, and the olive branch in the other; always ready to negotiate, but only negotiating whilst advancing. Here is Napoleon's system: may he find enemies who will carry on war . . . as he would carry it on himself" (Metternich to Stadion, April, 1809, *Metternich*, vol. ii. p. 346).

declare his determination respecting those bases, in order that insurmountable difficulties might not arrest the negotiations at their very outset. The Duke of Vicenza (Caulaincourt), who had just succeeded the Duc de Bassano, received this letter. Trusting to the declaration of Frankfort he thought he would be justified in treating on those bases; he confidently relied on the consent of Napoleon. But the Allies had now determined not to grant the limits accorded by that declaration. Caulaincourt was therefore obliged to apply for fresh powers, which being granted, he replied, on the 2d of December, that Napoleon accepted the fundamental and summary bases which had been communicated by M. de St. Aignan. To this letter M. Metternich answered that the Emperors of Russia and Austria were gratified to find that the Emperor of France recognized the bases judged necessary by the Allies; that the two sovereigns would communicate without delay the official document to their Allies, and that they were convinced that immediately on receiving their reply the negotiations might be opened without any interruption of the war.

We shall now see the reason why these first negotiations came to no result. In the month of October the Allies overthrew the colossal edifice denominated the French Empire. When led by victory to the banks of the Rhine they declared their wish to abstain from conquest, explained their intentions, and manifested an unalterable resolution to abide by them. This determination of the Allies induced the French Government to evince pacific intentions. Napoleon wished, by an apparent desire for peace, to justify, if I may so express myself, in the eyes of his subjects, the necessity of new sacrifices; which, according to his proclamations, he demanded only to enable him to obtain peace on as honorable conditions as possible. But the truth is, he was resolved not even to listen to the offers made at Frankfort. He always represented the limits of the Rhine as merely a compensation for the dismemberment of Poland and the immense aggrandizement of the English possessions in Asia. But he wanted to gain time, and, if possible, to keep the Allied armies on the right bank of the Rhine.

The immense levies made in France, one after the other, had converted the conscription into a sort of press-gang. Men employed in agriculture and manufactures were dragged from their labors; and the people began to express their dissatisfaction at the measures of Government more loudly than they had hitherto ventured to do; yet all were willing to make another effort, if they could have persuaded themselves that the Emperor would henceforth confine his thoughts to France alone. Napoleon sent Caulaincourt to the headquarters of the Allies, but that was only for the sake of gaining time, and inducing a belief that he was favorably disposed to peace.

The Allies having learned the immense levies of troops which Napoleon was making, and being well acquainted with the state of feeling in France, published the famous manifesto,[1] addressed to the French people, which was profusely circulated, and may be referred to as a warning to subjects who trust to the promises of Governments.

The good faith with which the promises in the manifesto were kept may be judged of from the Treaty of Paris. In the mean time the manifesto did not a little contribute to alienate from Napoleon those who were yet faithful to his cause: for, by believing in the declarations of the Allies, they saw in him the sole obstacle to that peace which France so ardently desired. On this point, too, the Allies were not wrong, and I confess that I did not see without great surprise that the Duc de Rovigo, in that part of his Memoirs where he mentions this manifesto, reproaches those who framed it for represent-

[1] This proclamation said that the Allied sovereigns wished France to be great, strong, and happy, and that they confirmed to the French Empire an extent of territory which France had never possessed under her Kings. It is often the custom to deride the French claims made by either of the Napoleons or by the Republic of 1870, that France had been relatively weakened by the increases of territory gained by all the other powers of Europe by the partition of Poland, the resettlement of Germany, the increase of the English colonial dominions, etc. A glance at any ordinary historical atlas, or the remembrance of the ease with which France was overthrown in 1870, would prove how true the statement was. As for the belief that if France could only be finally and permanently weakened a reign of peace would at last descend on Europe, it must be allowed that in the worst days under Napoleon Europe was not the vast camp of armed nations counting each other's strength, and ready for war in a week, which she has been under the German Continental supremacy.

ing the Emperor as a madman, who replied to overtures of peace only by conscription levies. After all, I do not intend to maintain that the declaration was entirely sincere; with respect to the future it certainly was not. Switzerland was already tampered with, and attempts were made to induce her to permit the Allied troops to enter France by the bridge of Bâle. Things were going on no better in the south of France, where the Anglo-Spanish army threatened our frontiers by the Pyrenees, and already occupied Pampeluna; and at the same time the internal affairs of the country were no less critical than its external position. It was in vain to levy troops; everything essential to an army was wanting. To meet the most pressing demands the Emperor drew out 30,000,000 from the immense treasure which he had accumulated in the cellars and galleries of the Pavilion Marsan at the Tuileries. These 30,000,000 were speedily swallowed up. Nevertheless it was an act of generosity on the part of Napoleon, and I never could understand on what ground the Legislative Body complained of the outlay, because, as the funds did not proceed from the Budget, there needed no financial law to authorize their application. Besides, why did these rigid legislators, who, while fortune smiled on Bonaparte, dared not utter a word on the subject, demand, previously to the gratuitous gift just mentioned, that the 350,000,000 in the Emperor's privy purse should be transferred to the Imperial treasury and carried to the public accounts? Why did they wink at the accumulation in the Tuileries of the contributions and exactions levied in conquered countries? The answer is plain: because there would have been danger in opposing it.

Amidst the difficulties which assailed the Emperor he cast his eyes on M. de Talleyrand. But it being required, as a condition of his receiving the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, that he should resign his office of Vice-Grand-Elector, M. de Talleyrand preferred a permanent post to a portfolio, which the caprice of a moment might withdraw. I have been informed that, in a conversation with the Emperor, M. de Talleyrand gave him the extraordinary advice of working upon the ambition of the English family of Wellesley, and to excite in the

mind of Wellington, the lustre of whose reputation was now dawning, ambitious projects which would have embarrassed the coalition. Napoleon, however, did not adopt this proposition, the issue of which he thought too uncertain, and, above all, too remote, in the urgent circumstances in which he stood. Caulaincourt was then made Minister for Foreign Affairs, in lieu of M. Maret, who was appointed Secretary of State, an office much better suited to him.

Meanwhile the Emperor was wholly intent on the means of repelling the attack which was preparing against him. The critical circumstances in which he was placed seemed to restore the energy which time had in some measure robbed him of. He turned his eyes towards Spain, and resolved to bring the army from that country to oppose the Allies, whose movements indicated their intention of entering France by Switzerland. An event occurred connected with this subject calculated to have a decided influence on the affairs of the moment, namely, the renunciation by Joseph, King of Spain, of all right to the crown, to be followed by the return, as had been agreed on, of Ferdinand to his dominions. Joseph made this sacrifice at the instigation of his brother. The treaty was signed, but an inconceivable delay occurred in its execution, while the torrent, which was advancing upon France, rushed forward so rapidly that the treaty could not be carried into execution. Ferdinand, it is true, re-ascended his throne, but from other causes.

The Emperor was deeply interested in the march of the Allies. It was important to destroy the bridge of Bâle, because the Rhine once crossed masses of the enemy would be thrown into France. At this time I had close relations with a foreign diplomat whom I am forbidden by discretion to name. He told me that the enemy was advancing towards the frontier, and that the bridge of Bâle would not be destroyed, as it had been so agreed at Berne, where the Allies had gained the day. This astonished me, because I knew, on the other hand, from a person who ought to have been equally well informed, that it was hoped the bridge would be blown up. Being much interested in knowing the truth, I sent on

my own account, an agent to Bâle who on his return told me that the bridge would remain.[1]

On the 19th of December the Legislative Body was convoked. It was on a Wednesday. M. Lainé was Vice-President under M. Régnier. A committee was appointed to examine and report on the communications of the Emperor. The report and conclusions of the committee were not satisfactory; it was alleged that they betrayed a revolutionary tendency, of which M. Lainé was absurdly accused of having been one of the promoters; but all who knew him must have been convinced of the falsehood of the charge. The Emperor ordered the report to be seized, and then adjourned the Legislative Body. Those who attentively observed the events of the time will recollect the stupor which prevailed in Paris on the intelligence of this seizure and of the adjournment of the Legislative Body. A thousand conjectures were started as to what new occurrences had taken place abroad, but nothing satisfactory was learned.

I considered this a great mistake. Who can doubt that if the Legislative Body had taken the frank and noble step of declaring that France accepted the conditions of Frankfort they would not have been listened to by the Allies? But the words, "You are dishonored if you cede a single village acquired by a *Sénatus-consulte*," always resounded in Napoleon's ears: they flattered his secret thoughts, and every pacific proposal was rejected.[2]

The members of the adjourned Legislative Body went as usual to take leave of the Emperor, who received them on a Sunday, and after delivering to them the speech, which is very well known, dismissed *the rebels* with great ill humor, re-

[1] We here get a glimpse of some treacherous intrigue, part of the proceedings for which Bourrienne was afterwards thanked by Louis XVIII. How Bourrienne, a simple private individual, could be concerned in knowing that the bridge would be preserved for the use of the Allies, he does not inform us. He could have no proper reason for sending a private agent. If he wanted the information for his friend Savary he need not have provided the man. As for the passage of the Rhine at Bâle, see the note a few pages farther on.

[2] This unhappy sentiment must be compared with that of 1870, when the demands of Germany were met by the phrase, "Not a stone of our fortresses, not an inch of our territory." The Republic of 1870 yielded, Napoleon did not.

fusing to hear any explanation. "I have suppressed your address," he began abruptly: "it was incendiary. I called you round me to do good — you have done ill. Eleven-twelfths of you are well-intentioned, the others, and above all M. Lainé, are factious intriguers, devoted to England, to all my enemies, and corresponding through the channel of the advocate Desèze with the Bourbons. Return to your Departments, and feel that my eye will follow you; you have endeavored to humble me, you may kill me, but you shall not dishonor me. You make remonstrances; is this a time, when the stranger invades our provinces, and 200,000 Cossacks are ready to overflow our country? There may have been petty abuses; I never connived at them. You, M. Raynouard, you said that Prince Masséna robbed a man at Marseilles of his house. You lie! The General took possession of a vacant house, and my Minister shall indemnify the proprietor. Is it thus that you dare affront a Marshal of France who has bled for his country, and grown gray in victory? Why did you not make your complaints in private to me? I would have done you justice. We should wash our dirty linen at home, and not drag it out before the world. You call yourselves Representatives of the Nation. It is not true; you are only Deputies of the Departments; a small portion of the State, inferior to the Senate, inferior even to the Council of State. The Representatives of the People! I am alone the Representative of the People. Twice have 24,000,000 of French called me to the throne: which of you durst undertake such a burden? It had already overwhelmed (*écrasé*) your Assemblies, and your Conventions, your Vergniauds and your Guadets, your Jacobins and your Girondins. They are all dead! What, who are *you?* nothing — all authority is in the Throne; and what is the Throne? this wooden frame covered with velvet? — no, *I* am the Throne! You have added wrong to reproaches. You have talked of concessions — concessions that even my enemies dared not ask! I suppose if they asked Champaigne you would have had me give them La Brie besides; but in four months I will conquer peace, or I shall be dead. You advise! how dare you debate of such high matters (*de si*

graves intérêts)! You have put me in the front of the battle as the cause of war — it is infamous (*c'est une atrocité*). In all your committees you have excluded the friends of Government — extraordinary commission — committee of finance — committee of the address, all, all my enemies. M. Lainé, I repeat it, is a traitor; he is a wicked man, the others are mere intriguers. I do justice to the eleven-twelfths; but the factions I know, and will pursue. Is it, I ask again, is it while the enemy is in France that you should have done this? But nature has gifted me with a determined courage — nothing can overcome me. It cost my pride much too — I made that sacrifice; I — but I am above your miserable declamations — I was in need of consolation, and you would mortify me — but, no, my victories shall crush your clamors! In three months we shall have peace, and you shall repent your folly. I am one of those who triumph or die.

"Go back to your Departments. If any one of you dare to print your address I shall publish it in the *Moniteur* with notes of my own. Go; France stands in more need of me than I do of France. I bear the eleven-twelfths of you in my heart — I shall nominate the Deputies to the two series which are vacant, and I shall reduce the Legislative Body to the discharge of its proper duties. The inhabitants of Alsace and Franche Comté have more spirit than you; they ask me for arms, I send them, and one of my *aides de camp* will lead them against the enemy."

In after conversations he said of the Legislative Body that "its members never came to Paris but to obtain some favors. They importuned the Ministers from morning till night, and complained if they were not immediately satisfied. When invited to dinner they burn with envy at the splendor they see before them." I heard this from Cambacérès, who was present when the Emperor made these remarks.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1813.

The flag of the army of Italy and the eagles of 1813 — Entrance of the Allies into Switzerland — Summons to the Minister of Police — My refusal to accept a mission to Switzerland — Interviews with M. de Talleyrand and the Duc de Vicence — Offer of a Dukedom and the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honor — Definitive refusal — The Duc de Vicence's message to me in 1815 — Commencement of the siege of Hamburg — A bridge two leagues long — Executions at Lübeck — Scarcity of provisions in Hamburg — Banishment of the inhabitants — Men bastinadoed and women whipped — Hospitality of the inhabitants of Altona.

I AM now arrived at the most critical period in Napoleon's career. What reflections must he have made, if he had had leisure to reflect, in comparing the recollections of his rising glory with the sad picture of his falling fortune? What a contrast presents itself when we compare the famous flag of the army of Italy, which the youthful conqueror, Bonaparte, carried to the Directory, with those drooping eagles who had now to defend the eyrie whence they had so often taken flight to spread their triumphant wings over Europe! Here we see the difference between liberty and absolute power! Napoleon, the son of liberty, to whom he owed everything, had disowned his mother, and was now about to fall. Those glorious triumphs were now over when the people of Italy consoled themselves for defeat and submitted to the magical power of that liberty which preceded the Republican armies. Now, on the contrary, it was to free themselves from a despotic yoke that the nations of Europe had in their turn taken up arms and were preparing to invade France.

With the violation of the Swiss territory by the Allied armies,[1] after the consent of the Cantons, is connected a fact

[1] The violation of Swiss neutrality by the Allies was carried out in defiance of the strongly expressed wishes of the Czar. When informed by Metternich that the Austrians had crossed the Rhine and that they had been joined by the Swiss, Alexander replied, "Success crowns the undertaking,

of great importance in my life, and which, if I had chosen, might have made a great difference in my destiny. On Tuesday, the 28th of December, I dined with my old friend, M. Pierlot, and on leaving home I was in the habit of saying where I might be found in case I should be wanted. At nine o'clock at night an express arrived from the Minister of Police desiring me to come immediately to his office. I confess, considering the circumstances of the times, and knowing the Emperor's prejudices against me, such a request coming at such an hour made me feel some uneasiness, and I expected nothing less than a journey to Vincennes. The Duc de Rovigo, by becoming responsible for me, had as yet warded off the blow, and the supervision to which the Emperor had subjected me — thanks to the *good* offices of Davoust — consisted in going three times a week to show myself to Savary.

I accordingly, having first borrowed a night-cap, repaired to the hôtel of the Minister of Police. I was ushered into a well-lighted room, and when I entered I found Savary waiting for me. He was in full costume, from which I concluded he had just come from the Emperor. Advancing towards me with an air which showed he had no bad news to communicate, he thus addressed me: "Bourrienne, I have just come from the Emperor, who asked me where you were? I told him you were in Paris, and that I saw you often. 'Well,' continued the Emperor, 'bid him come to me, I want to employ him. It is three years since he has had anything to do. I wish to send him as Minister to Switzerland, but he must set off directly. He must go to the Allies. He understands German well. The King of Prussia expressed by letter satisfaction at his conduct towards the Prussians whom the war forced to retire to Hamburg. He knows Prince Wittgenstein, who is the friend of the King of Prussia, and probably

it remains for success to justify what you have done. As one of the Allied Monarchs I have nothing more to say to you, but as a man I declare to you that you have grieved me in a way that you can never repair." The step was of course only justifiable on the then belief that all and anything was fair against Napoleon, yet, with a nearer approach to the feelings of his Allies, Alexander ended by asking as a favor that his Guard should be the first to cross the bridge at Bâle. See the whole story in *Metternich*, vol. i. pp. 216-223.

is at Lorrach.[1] He will see all the Germans who are there. I confidently rely on him, and believe his journey will have a good result. Caulaincourt will give him his instructions.'"

Notwithstanding my extreme surprise at this communication I replied without hesitation that I could not accept the mission; that it was offered too late. "It perhaps is hoped," said I, "that the bridge of Bâle will be destroyed, and that Switzerland will preserve her neutrality. But I do not believe any such thing; nay, more, I know positively to the contrary. I can only repeat, the offer comes much too late." — "I am very sorry for this resolution," observed Savary, "but Caulaincourt will perhaps persuade you. The Emperor wishes you to go to the Duc de Vicence to-morrow at one o'clock; he will acquaint you with all the particulars, and give you your instructions." — "He may acquaint me with whatever he chooses, but I will not go to Lorrach." — "You know the Emperor better than I do, he wishes you to go, and he will not pardon your refusal." — "He may do as he pleases, but no consideration shall induce me to go to Switzerland." — "You are wrong: but you will reflect on the matter between this and to-morrow morning. Night will bring good counsel. At any rate, do not fail to go to-morrow at one o'clock to Caulaincourt, he expects you, and directions will be given to admit you immediately."

Next morning the first thing I did was to call on M. de Talleyrand. I told him what had taken place, and as he was intimately acquainted with Caulaincourt, I begged him to speak to that Minister in favor of my resolution. M. de Talleyrand approved of my determination not to go to Switzerland, and at one o'clock precisely I proceeded to M. de Caulaincourt's. He told me all he had been instructed to say. From the manner in which he made the communication I concluded that he himself considered the proposed mission a disagreeable one, and unlikely to be attended by any useful result. I observed that he must have heard from Savary that I had already expressed my determination to decline the mis-

[1] Lorrach is a village two miles from Bâle, the place fixed on for the starting-point of the Austro-Russian army. — *Bourrienne.*

sion which the Emperor had been pleased to offer me. The Duc de Vicence then, in a very friendly way, detailed the reasons which ought to induce me to accept the offer, and did not disguise from me that by persisting in my determination I ran the risk of raising Napoleon's doubts as to my opinions and future intentions. I replied that, having lived for three years as a private individual, unconnected with public affairs, I should have no influence at the headquarters of the Allies, and that whatever little ability I might be supposed to possess, *that* would not counterbalance the difficulties of my situation, and the opinion that I was out of favor. I added that I should appear at the headquarters without any decoration, without even that of the Cordon of the Legion of Honor, to which the Emperor attached so much importance, and the want of which would almost have the appearance of disgrace; and I said that these trifles, however slightly valued by reasonable men, were not, as he well knew, without their influence on the men with whom I should have to treat. "If that be all," replied Caulaincourt, "the obstacle will speedily be removed. I am authorized by the Emperor to tell you that he will create you a Duke, and give you the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honor."

After these words I thought I was dreaming, and I was almost inclined to believe that Caulaincourt was jesting with me. However, the offer was serious, and I will not deny that it was tempting; yet I nevertheless persisted in the refusal I had given. At length, after some further conversation, and renewed, but useless, entreaties on the part of M. de Caulaincourt, he rose, which was a signal that our interview was terminated. I acknowledge I remained for a moment in doubt how to act, for I felt we had come to no understanding. M. de Caulaincourt advanced slowly towards the door of his cabinet. If I went away without knowing his opinion I had done nothing; addressing him, therefore, by his surname, "Caulaincourt," said I, "you have frequently assured me that you would never forget the services I rendered to you and your family at a time when I possessed some influence. I know you, and therefore speak to you without disguise. I do

not now address myself to the Emperor's Minister, but to Caulaincourt. You are a man of honor, and I can open my heart to you frankly. Consider the embarrassing situation of France, which you know better than I do. I do not ask you for your secrets, but I myself know enough. I will tell you candidly that I am convinced the enemy will pass the Rhine in a few days.[1] The Emperor has been deceived: I should not have time to reach my destination, and I should be laughed at. My correspondents in Germany have made me acquainted with every particular. Now, Caulaincourt, tell me honestly, if you were in my place, and I in yours, and I should make this proposition to you, what determination would you adopt?"

I observed from the expression of Caulaincourt's countenance that my question had made an impression on him, and affectionately pressing my hand he said, "I would do as you do. Enough. I will arrange the business with the Emperor." This reply seemed to remove a weight from my mind, and I left Caulaincourt with feelings of gratitude. I felt fully assured that he would settle the business satisfactorily, and in this conjecture I was not deceived, for I heard no more of the matter.

I must here go forward a year to relate another occurrence in which the Duc de Vicence and I were concerned. When, in March, 1815, the King appointed me Prefect of Police, M. de Caulaincourt sent to me a confidential person to inquire whether he ran any risk in remaining in Paris, or whether he had better remove. He had been told that his name was inscribed in a list of individuals whom I had received orders to arrest. Delighted at this proof of confidence, I returned the following answer by the Duc de Vicence's messenger: "Tell M. de Caulaincourt that I do not know where he lives. He need be under no apprehension: I will answer for him."

During the campaign of 1813 the Allies, after driving the French out of Saxony and obliging them to retreat towards the Rhine, besieged Hamburg, where Davoust was shut up

[1] I spoke thus to M. de Caulaincourt on a Wednesday. On the following Friday the Allied troops passed the Rhine. — *Bourrienne.*

with a garrison of 30,000 men, resolutely determined to make it a second Saragossa. From the month of September every day augmented the number of the Allied troops, who were already making rapid progress on the left bank of the Elbe. Davoust endeavored to fortify Hamburg on so extended a scale that, in the opinion of the most experienced military men, it would have required a garrison of 60,000 men to defend it in a regular and protracted siege. At the commencement of the siege Davoust lost Vandamme, who was killed in a sortie at the head of a numerous corps which was inconsiderately sacrificed.[1]

It is but justice to admit that Davoust displayed great activity in the defence, and began by laying in large supplies. General Bertrand was directed to construct a bridge to form a communication between Hamburg and Haarburg by joining the islands of the Elbe to the Continent along a total distance of about two leagues. This bridge was to be built of wood, and Davoust seized upon all the timber-yards to supply materials for its construction. In the space of eighty-three days the bridge was finished. It was a very magnificent structure, its length being 2529 toises, exclusive of the lines of junction, formed on the two islands.[2]

[1] Vandamme fought under Grouchy in 1815, and died several years afterwards. This killing him at Hamburg is one of the curious mistakes seized on by the Bonapartists to deny the authenticity of these Memoirs.

[2] After the general peace and the final return of the Bourbons to France, the Senate of Hamburg caused this bridge to be destroyed, on the ground that it was a dangerous medium of communication with the town. But the enormous expense necessary for keeping the bridge in repair was a consideration which had great weight in the determination of the Senate. — *Bourrienne.*

"Hamburg," says Puymaigre (one of the defenders), "was not so much a fortress as an intrenched camp, covered by the Elbe and the Elster on two points, and surrounded by a simple earthen rampart. The approaches were defended by several outer forts, especially by the fort Etoile, in front of Altona; but the Elbe and the Elster were soon frozen by a sudden frost of twenty degrees, which made it possible to cross the rivers (*Puymaigre*, p. 155).

"Haarburg," he goes on to say, "an important port, was joined by a causeway raised fifteen feet above the Island of Wielhelsbourg, and having two flying bridges connecting it with the mainland at either end." This is the so-called bridge referred to by Bourrienne, and was created in six weeks by M. Jousselin. For a description of some of the fighting near this causeway see *De Gonneville*, vol. ii. pp. 104–147. By extraordinary energy Davoust defended his post, beating back the besiegers and keeping the city in perfect quiet. The measures he had to resort to, such as burning part of the suburbs, turning out the useless mouths, part of the inevitably crue' rules

The inhabitants were dreadfully oppressed, but all the cruel measures and precautions of the French were ineffectual, for the Allies advanced in great force and occupied Westphalia, which movement obliged the Governor of Hamburg to recall to the town the different detachments scattered round Hamburg.

At Lübeck the departure of the French troops was marked by blood. Before they evacuated the town, an old man, and a butcher named Prahl, were condemned to be shot. The butcher's crime consisted in having said, in speaking of the French, "Der teufel hohle sie" (the devil take them). The old man fortunately escaped his threatened fate, but, notwithstanding the entreaties and tears of the inhabitants, the sentence upon Prahl was carried into execution.

The garrison of Hamburg was composed of French, Italian, and Dutch troops. Their number at first amounted to 30,000, but sickness made great havoc among them. From sixty to eighty perished daily in the hospitals. When the garrison evacuated Hamburg in May, 1814, it was reduced to about 15,000 men.[1] In the month of December provisions began to diminish, and there was no possibility of renewing the supply. The poor were first of all made to leave the town, and afterwards all persons who were not usefully employed. It is no exaggeration to estimate at 50,000 the number of persons who were thus exiled. The colonel commanding the gendarmerie at Hamburg notified to the exiled inhabitants that those who

Davoust was bound to carry out, — made his conduct be bitterly attacked at the time, especially in England, where such matters were happily unknown in absence of invasion. Puymaigre, disliking Davoust personally, vouches for the Marshal having only done his duty; see *Puymaigre*, pp. 155–157. The defence, equally with the attack, of a large town, involves inevitable misery to the population, but it is hard to understand why all the blame is to fall on the defender. Davoust was, however, it must be allowed, a severe man. "As for me," said he, "when I am carrying on war I am obliged to leave my philanthropy in my wife's wardrobe" (*Diary of Henry Greville*, Second Series, p. 121).

[1] To get more men Davoust impressed all the employés of the Government, etc., to their great disgust. He thus got some 1200 men, and drilled them to keep order inside the town. He could not, however, make them consider themselves soldiers. The Receiver-General, M. Garnié des Champs, was put on duty at his own door, and then begged that a real sentry might be put there, as he had much cash in his house: "He," said he, "could never pass for a real sentry." "Twelve Cossacks," says Puymaigre, one of their captains, "would have put my troop to flight;" see *Puymaigre*, p. 159.

did not leave the town within the prescribed time would receive fifty blows with a cane and afterwards be driven out. But if penance may be commuted with priests so it may with gendarmes. Delinquents contrived to purchase their escape from the bastinado by a sum of money, and French gallantry substituted with respect to females the birch for the cane. I saw an order directing all female servants to be examined as to their health unless they could produce certificates from their masters. On the 25th of December the Governor granted twenty-four hours longer to persons who were ordered to quit the town; and two days after this indulgence an ordinance was published declaring that those who should return to the town after once leaving it were to be considered as rebels and accomplices of the enemy, and as such condemned to death by a prevotal court. But this was not enough. At the end of December people, without distinction of sex or age, were dragged from their beds and conveyed out of the town on a cold night, when the thermometer was between sixteen or eighteen degrees; and it was affirmed that several old men perished in this removal. Those who survived were left on the outside of the Altona gates. At Altona they all found refuge and assistance. On Christmas day 7000 of these unfortunate persons were received in the house of M. Rainville,[1] formerly *aide de camp* to Dumouriez, and who left France together with that general. His house, which was at Holstein, was usually the scene of brilliant entertainments, but it was converted into the abode of misery, mourning, and death. All possible attention was bestowed on the unfortunate outlaws; but few profited by it, and what is worse, the inhabitants of Altona suffered for their generosity. Many of the unfortunate persons were affected with the epidemic disease which was raging in Hamburg, and which in consequence broke out at Altona.

All means of raising money in Hamburg being exhausted, a seizure was made of the funds of the Bank of that city, which yet contained from seven to eight millions of marks. Were those who ordered this measure not aware that to seize

[1] Apparently a somewhat capacious building ?

on the funds of some of the citizens of Hamburg was an injury to all foreigners who had funds in the Bank?[1] Such is a brief statement of the vexations and cruelties which long oppressed this unfortunate city. Napoleon accused Hamburg of Anglomania, and by ruining her he thought to ruin England. Hamburg, feeble and bereft of her sources, could only complain, like Jerusalem when besieged by Titus: "*Plorans, ploravit in nocte.*"

[1] It is impossible to see how Davoust could have acted differently in this matter. "This pretended robbery," says *De Gonneville* (vol. ii. p. 149), "only took place in order to furnish the means of paying the army and providing for the expense. . . . Besides, this operation was performed in the most legal manner, by a commission composed of the superior servants of the said Bank, eminent merchants of the city, and generals and commissaries belonging to the army." That a general in a besieged city should leave his men and the contractors unpaid while money was idle in the Bank would be absurd. It was for the French Government afterwards to replace the sum spent in their service. The accusation made on such points against Davoust, while the Government of the Restoration left him undefended, alienated him, and had their effect in the *Cent Jours;* see *Thiers*, tome xviii. livre lv. p. 378. Davoust had similarly and necessarily seized all the wine (good wine, says Puymaigre) and the brandy to the amount of 3,000,000 francs, the merchants receiving bills afterwards paid by Louis XVIII. (*Puymaigre*, p. 161). Davoust is blamed because he did not surrender a town intrusted to him and which he was able to defend, and also because he did not let his garrison starve when he could not procure money from France. Hamburg was not evacuated by the French troops until May, 1814, being only surrendered after the conclusion of peace.

CHAPTER XXX.

1813—1814.

Prince Eugène and the affairs of Italy — The Army of Italy on the frontiers of Austria — Eugène's regret at the defection of the Bavarians — Murat's dissimulation and perfidy — His treaty with Austria — Hostilities followed by a declaration of war — Murat abandoned by the French generals — Proclamation from Paris — Murat's success — Gigantic scheme of Napoleon — Napoleon advised to join the Jacobins — His refusal — Armament of the National Guard — The Emperor's farewell to the officers — The Congress of Châtillon — Refusal of an armistice — Napoleon's character displayed in his negotiations — Opening of the Congress — Discussions — Rupture of the conferences.

I SHALL now proceed to notice the affairs of Italy and the principal events of the Viceroyalty of Eugène. In order to throw together all that I have to say about the Viceroy I must anticipate the order of time.

After the campaign of 1812, when Eugène revisited Italy, he was promptly informed of the more than doubtful dispositions of Austria towards France. He then made preparations for raising an army capable of defending the country which the Emperor had committed to his safeguard. Napoleon was fully aware how much advantage he would derive from the presence on the northern frontiers of Italy of an army sufficiently strong to harass Austria, in case she should draw aside the transparent veil which still covered her policy. Eugène did all that depended on him to meet the Emperor's wishes; but in spite of his efforts the army of Italy was, after all, only an imaginary army to those who could compare the number of men actually enrolled with the numbers stated in the lists. When, in July, 1813, the Viceroy was informed of the turn taken by the negotiations at the shadow of a Congress assembled at Prague, he had no longer any doubt of the renewal of hostilities; and foreseeing an attack on Italy he resolved as speedily as possible to approach the frontiers of Austria. He

had succeeded in assembling an army composed of French and Italians, and amounting to 45,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry. On the renewal of hostilities the Viceroy's headquarters were at Udine. Down to the month of April, 1814, he succeeded in maintaining a formidable attitude, and in defending the entrance of his kingdom by dint of that military talent which was to be expected in a man bred in the great school of Napoleon, and whom the army looked up to as one of its most skilful generals.

During the great and unfortunate events of 1813 all eyes had been fixed on Germany and the Rhine; but the defection of Murat for a time diverted attention to Italy. That event did not so very much surprise me, for I had not forgotten my conversation with the King of Naples in the Champs Elysées, with which I have made the reader acquainted. At first Murat's defection was thought incredible by every one, and it highly excited Bonaparte's indignation. Another defection which occurred about the same period deeply distressed Eugène, for though raised to the rank of a prince, and almost a sovereign, he was still a man, and an excellent man. He was united to the Princess Amelia of Bavaria, who was as amiable and as much beloved as he, and he had the deep mortification to count the subjects of his father-in-law among the enemies whom he would probably have to combat. Fearing lest he should be harassed by the Bavarians on the side of the Tyrol, Eugène commenced his retrograde movement in the autumn of 1813. He at first fell back on the Tagliamento, and successively on the Adige. On reaching that river the army of Italy was considerably diminished, in spite of all Eugène's care of his troops. About the end of November Eugène learned that a Neapolitan corps was advancing upon Upper Italy, part taking the direction of Rome, and part that of Ancona. The object of the King of Naples was to take advantage of the situation of Europe, and he was duped by the promises held out to him as the reward of his treason. Murat seemed to have adopted the artful policy of Austria; for not only had he determined to join the coalition, but he was even maintaining communications with England and

Austria, while at the same time he was making protestations of fidelity to his engagements with Napoleon.[1]

When first informed of Murat's treason by the Viceroy the Emperor refused to believe it. "No," he exclaimed to those about him, "it cannot be! Murat, to whom I have given my sister! Murat, to whom I have given a throne! Eugène must be misinformed. It is impossible that Murat has declared himself against me!" It was, however, not only possible but true. Gradually throwing aside the dissimulation beneath which he had concealed his designs, Murat seemed inclined to renew the policy of Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the art of deceiving was deemed by the Italian Governments the most sublime effort of genius. Without any declaration of war, Murat ordered the Neapolitan General who occupied Rome to assume the supreme command in the Roman States, and to take possession of the

[1] Joachim was in treaty at the same time with England, France, Austria, and the Viceroy of Italy, thinking by such means the better to conceal from them his true designs, if indeed he really had any fixed designs. The primary cause of all Joachim's aberrations was the extraordinary conduct pursued by Napoleon towards him, who one day treated him as a King, and the next scarcely showed him the respect due to his former *aide de camp*. Joachim wrote to the Emperor that he had 30,000 men ready to support their common cause. Napoleon answered that the 30,000 men were to be sent to the banks of the Po, where they were to await *his* further orders. This notification reached the King whilst he was visiting Pompeii with the Queen. Murat tore the letter in pieces, threw it on the ground, stamped upon it, then gathering up the fragments he returned in haste to Naples and assembled his Ministers, to whom he said, "Gentlemen, the Emperor uses me in the most unwarrantable manner, and treats me with no more regard than if I were a Corporal." If, instead of acting in this cavalier manner, the Emperor had excited the self-love of Joachim by his usual praise, and put him at the head of all the Italians as well as of the French, then commanded by the Viceroy, to whom he might have given some other charge, the heroic King of Naples would have startled Vienna with an army of 100,000 men! But such fortune was not in store either for Italy or for France, inordinate ambition having already damped the genius of Napoleon. The year before the Emperor, in a remarkable order of the day, had vaunted Prince Eugène to the skies at the expense of Joachim, and now he left these two rivals in Italy, where their mutual jealousy paralyzed the power of almost 150,000 men obtained out of the whole Peninsula, and of about 30,000 Frenchmen stationed in Lombardy. The above-mentioned force under the command of an able general might have entirely changed the destiny of the Empire of France! (*Memoirs of General Pépé*, vol. i. p. 319: Bentley, 1846).

On learning the loss of the battle of Waterloo, Murat exclaimed to his principal equerry, the Duke of Roccaromana, "Had I led the cavalry the battle would have been won." The same opinion was expressed by Napoleon at St. Helena, and many years later at Paris I heard General Flaxo assert a similar conviction (*Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 123).

country. General Miollis, who commanded the French troops in Rome, could only throw himself, with his handful of men, into the Castle of St. Angelo, the famous mole of Adrian, in which was long preserved the treasury of Sixtus V. The French General soon found himself blockaded by the Neapolitan troops, who also blockaded Civita Vecchia and Ancona.[1]

The treaty concluded between Murat and Austria was definitively signed on the 11th of January, 1814.[2] As soon as he

[1] The King put new blood into the public administration, not merely by the activity and firmness which he exerted but by his practical anxiety to give a proper direction to public affairs. The natural clemency of his character, which even conciliated those who were least likely to be moved by it, facilitated the execution of his intentions. On the first visit that Joachim made to Paris after the events just recited Napoleon exclaimed, when he saw him enter the *salon*, "*Voilà un roi qui ne recule jamais.*" Had Joachim better known how to organize his army and to maintain discipline between the French and the Neapolitan troops he would have succeeded in obtaining far better results. By nature generous, and by no means insensible to flattery, Joachim was extremely averse to inflicting punishment, and was prone to recompense not merely those who merited it but to reward others whose conduct should have entitled them to very different treatment. This happened because he could never resist the supplications of the courtiers, still less the entreaties of the ladies about the Court, and, like all princes, he was extremely liberal to those whom he termed *mes dévoués*, without reflecting that the less elevated a man is by nature the more devotion he affects to princes, and the more he flatters their power. The beauty of his person, the charm of his smile, the natural urbanity of his manner — to which, however, he was inclined to add more importance than was consistent with his proper dignity — and the richness of his dress, pleased the multitude and the army. The affability and gentleness of his manners, which were such as could not have been anticipated from a man of low birth, endeared him to the Court. In his youth, however, he had been placed at the College of Toulouse, and had availed himself to the utmost of the education bestowed upon him. I do not ever recollect having presented myself before him on my return from executing any of his orders without his expressing his thanks to me in the most amiable manner. One day he was returning from the Campo di Morte, when a woman in tears, and holding a petition in her hand, came forward to present it to him. The King's horse, frightened at the sight of the paper, began to kick and rear, and ended by throwing his Majesty some distance from the spot. After swearing roundly in the French fashion, Joachim took the paper and granted its petition, which was the life of the poor woman's husband, who was to have been executed on the following day.

People of all classes, and even officers in the army, were in the habit of presenting themselves to the King as he passed through the streets with a petition in one hand and an inkstand in the other. The good King Joachim granted those requests with too much facility, not considering that far from increasing his popularity by such conduct his too easy compliance was calculated to awaken discontent and distrust of the efficiency of the laws (*Memoir of General Pépé*, vol. i. p. 263: Bentley, 1846).

[2] On the 11th of February, 1814, Austria by treaty guaranteed Naples to Murat, who was also to receive territory containing 400,000 souls from the Papal States. Murat on his part renounced his *claims* to Sicily, and furnished 30,000 men against Napoleon (*Martens*, tome ix. p. 660). This was a strange step on the part of Austria, who soon began to yield to the requests of Louis

was informed of it the Viceroy, certain that he should soon have to engage with the Neapolitans, was obliged to renounce the preservation of the line of the Adige, the Neapolitan army being in the rear of his right wing. He accordingly ordered a retrograde movement to the other side of the Mincio, where his army was cantoned. In this position, Prince Eugène, on the 8th of February, had to engage with the Austrians, who had come up with him, and the victory of the Mincio arrested, for some time, the invasion of the Austrian army and its junction with the Neapolitan troops.

It was not until eight days after that Murat officially declared war against the Emperor; and immediately several general and superior officers, and many French troops who were in his service, abandoned him, and repaired to the headquarters of the Viceroy. Murat made endeavors to detain them; they replied, that as he had declared war against France, no Frenchman who loved his country could remain in his service. "Do you think," returned he, "that my heart is less French than yours? On the contrary, I am much to be pitied. I hear of nothing but the disasters of the Grand Army. I have been obliged to enter into a treaty with the Austrians, and an arrangement with the English, commanded by Lord Bentinck, in order to save my kingdom from a threatened landing of the English and the Sicilians, which would infallibly have excited an insurrection."

There could not be a more ingenuous confession of the antipathy which Joachim knew the Neapolitans to entertain towards his person and government.[1] His address to the French was ineffectual. It was easy to foresee what would ensue. The Viceroy soon received an official communication from Napoleon's War Minister, accompanied by an Imperial decree, recalling all the French who were in the service of Joachim, and declaring that all who were taken

XVIII., that Murat should be overthrown. See Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 22, 36, 46, 88, and 135, remembering always the old affection of Metternich for Caroline Bonaparte, wife of Murat.

[1] This is not quite correct: the Neapolitans, as a mass, did not entertain an antipathy toward Murat. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

with arms in their hands should be tried by a court-martial as traitors to their country. Murat commenced by gaining advantages which could not be disputed. His troops almost immediately took possession of Leghorn and the citadel of Ancona, and the French were obliged to evacuate Tuscany.

The defection of Murat overthrew one of Bonaparte's gigantic conceptions. He had planned that Murat and Eugène with their combined forces should march on the rear of the Allies, while he, disputing the soil of France with the invaders, should multiply obstacles to their advance; the King of Naples and the Viceroy of Italy were to march upon Vienna and make Austria tremble in the heart of her capital before the timid millions of her Allies, who measured their steps as they approached Paris, should desecrate by their presence the capital of France. When informed of the vast project, which, however, was but the dream of a moment, I immediately recognized that eagle glance, that power of discovering great resources in great calamities, so peculiar to Bonaparte.

Napoleon was yet Emperor of France; but he who had imposed on all Europe treaties of peace no less disastrous than the wars which had preceded them, could not now obtain an armistice; and Caulaincourt who was sent to treat for one at the camp of the Allies, spent twenty days at Luneville before he could even obtain permission to pass the advanced posts of the invading army. In vain did Caulaincourt entreat Napoleon to sacrifice, or at least resign temporarily, a portion of that glory acquired in so many battles, and which nothing could efface in history. Napoleon replied, "I will sign whatever you wish. To obtain peace I will exact no condition; but I will not dictate my own humiliation." This concession, of course, amounted to a determination not to sign or to grant anything.

In the first fortnight of January, 1814, one-third of France was invaded, and it was proposed to form a new Congress to be held at Châtillon-sur-Seine. The situation of Napoleon grew daily worse and worse. He was advised to seek extraordinary resources in the interior of the Empire, and was re-

minded of the fourteen armies which rose, as if by enchantment, to defend France at the commencement of the Revolution. Finally, a reconciliation with the Jacobins, a party who had power to call up masses to aid him, was recommended. For a moment he was inclined to adopt this advice. He rode on horseback through the suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, courted the populace, affectionately replied to their acclamations, and he thought he saw the possibility of turning to account the attachment which the people evinced for him. On his return to the Palace some prudent persons ventured to represent to him that, instead of courting this absurd sort of popularity it would be more advisable to rely on the nobility and the higher classes of society. "Gentlemen," replied he, "you may say what you please, but in the situation in which I stand my only nobility is the rabble of the faubourgs, and I know of no rabble but the nobility whom I have created." This was a strange compliment to all ranks, for it was only saying that they were all rabble together.

At this time the Jacobins were disposed to exert every effort to serve him; but they required to have their own way, and to be allowed freely to excite and foster revolutionary sentiments. The press, which groaned under the most odious and intolerable censorship, was to be wholly resigned to them. I do not state these facts from hearsay. I happened by chance to be present at two conferences in which were set forward projects infected with the odor of the clubs, and these projects were supported with the more assurance because their success was regarded as certain. Though I had not seen Napoleon since my departure for Hamburg, yet I was sufficiently assured of his feeling towards the Jacobins to be convinced that he would have nothing to do with them. I was not wrong. On hearing of the price they set on their services he said, "This is too much; I shall have a chance of deliverance in battle, but I shall have none with these furious blockheads. There can be nothing in common between the demagogic principles of '93 and the monarchy, between clubs of madmen and a regular Ministry, between a Committee of Public Safety and an Emperor, between revolutionary tribunals and established laws.

If fall I must, I will not bequeath France to the Revolution from which I have delivered her."

These were golden words, and Napoleon thought of a more noble and truly national mode of parrying the danger which threatened him. He ordered the enrolment of the National Guard of Paris, which was placed under the command of Marshal Moncey. A better choice could not have been made, but the staff of the National Guard was a focus of hidden intrigues, in which the defence of Paris was less thought about than the means of taking advantage of Napoleon's overthrow. I was made a captain in this Guard, and, like the rest of the officers, I was summoned to the Tuileries, on the 23d of January, when the Emperor took leave of the National Guard previously to his departure from Paris to join the army.

Napoleon entered with the Empress. He advanced with a dignified step, leading by the hand his son, who was not yet three years old. It was long since I had seen him. He had grown very corpulent, and I remarked on his pale countenance an expression of melancholy and irritability. The habitual movement of the muscles of his neck was more decided and more frequent than formerly. I shall not attempt to describe what were my feelings during this ceremony, when I again saw, after a long separation, the friend of my youth, who had become master of Europe, and was now on the point of sinking beneath the efforts of his enemies. There was something melancholy in this solemn and impressive ceremony. I have rarely witnessed such profound silence in so numerous an assembly. At length Napoleon, in a voice as firm and sonorous as when he used to harangue his troops in Italy or in Egypt, but without that air of confidence which then beamed on his countenance, delivered to the assembled officers an address which was published in all the journals of the time. At the commencement of this address he said, "I set out this night to take the command of the army. On quitting the capital I confidently leave behind me my wife and my son, in whom so many hopes are centred." I listened attentively to Napoleon's address, and, though he delivered it firmly, he either felt or feigned emotion. Whether or not the

emotion was sincere on his part, it was shared by many present; and for my own part I confess that my feelings were deeply moved when he uttered the words, "I leave you my wife and my son." At that moment my eyes were fixed on the young Prince, and the interest with which he inspired me was equally unconnected with the splendor which surrounded and the misfortunes which threatened him. I beheld in the interesting child not the King of Rome but the son of my old friend. All day long afterwards I could not help feeling depressed while comparing the farewell scene of the morning with the day on which we took possession of the Tuileries. How many centuries seemed the fourteen years which separated the two events!

It may be worth while to remind those who are curious in comparing dates that Napoleon, the successor of Louis XVI., and who had become the nephew of that monarch by his marriage with the niece of Marie Antoinette, took leave of the National Guard of Paris on the anniversary of the fatal 21st of January,[1] after twenty-five years of successive terror, fear, hope, glory, and misfortune.

Meanwhile, a Congress was opened at Châtillon-sur-Seine,[2] at which were assembled the Duke of Vicenza on the part of France, Lords Aberdeen and Cathcart and Sir Charles Stewart [3] as the representatives of England, Count Razumowsky on the part of Russia, Count Stadion for Austria, and Count

[1] Bourrienne makes a mistake here. The King was executed on the 21st of January, 1793, and Napoleon, as indeed Bourrienne himself has just said, received the officers of the National Guard on the 23d of January, 1814, and set out on the 25th of January. See also *Mict*, tome iii. pp. 369 and 371. Napoleon, even at such a time, was not likely to allow such a coincidence to happen: see the care with which in 1800 he avoided going to an ordinary party on the anniversary of the 18th Brumaire (*Junot*, tome i. p. 420).

[2] It should be remembered that at the time of the Congress of Châtillon the Allies were already in communication with the Royalist agents from Paris; and while, with more or less good faith, they were offering peace to Napoleon, they were listening to the offers of the friends of the Bourbons. The proceedings of the Royalists may have been natural: they were certainly unpatriotic, and the Allies were practically offered any terms if they upset the power of Napoleon. The Baron de Vitrolles (tome i. pp. 99 and 101) tells us in his Memoirs how he impressed on Metternich that the forces of Napoleon must be crushed if France were to pronounce for the Bourbons. In their eagerness as partisans they forgot that, the army once crushed, France lay at the feet of the Allies, who could then make their own terms.

[3] Afterwards the Marquis of Londonderry, who published an interesting account of the Congress.

Humboldt for Prussia. Before the opening of the Congress, the Duke of Vicenza, in conformity with the Emperor's orders, demanded an armistice, which is almost invariably granted during negotiations for peace; but it was now too late: the Allies had long since determined not to listen to any such demand. They therefore answered the Duke of Vicenza's application by requiring that the propositions for peace should be immediately signed. But these were not the propositions of Frankfort. The Allies established as their basis the limits of the old French monarchy. They conceived themselves authorized in so doing by their success and by their situation.

To estimate rightly Napoleon's conduct during the negotiations for peace which took place in the conferences at Châtillon it is necessary to bear in mind the organization he had received from nature and the ideas with which that organization had imbued him at an early period of life. If the last negotiations of his expiring reign be examined with due attention and impartiality it will appear evident that the causes of his fall arose out of his character. I cannot range myself among those adulators who have accused the persons about him with having dissuaded him from peace. Did he not say at St. Helena, in speaking of the negotiations at Châtillon, "A thunderbolt alone could have saved us: to treat, to conclude, was to yield foolishly to the enemy." These words forcibly portray Napoleon's character. It must also be borne in mind how much he was captivated by the immortality of the great names which history has bequeathed to our admiration, and which are perpetuated from generation to generation. Napoleon was resolved that his name should re-echo in ages to come, from the palace to the cottage. To live without fame appeared to him an anticipated death. If, however, in this thirst for glory, not for notoriety, he conceived the wish to surpass Alexander and Cæsar, he never desired the renown of Erostratus, and I will say again what I have said before, that if he committed actions to be condemned, it was because he considered them as steps which helped him to place himself on the summit of immortality on which he wished to place his name. Witness what he wrote to his brother Jerôme, "*Bet-*

ter never to have lived than to live without glory:" witness also what he wrote later to his brother Louis, "*It is better to die as a King than to live as a Prince.*" How often in the days of my intimacy with Bonaparte has he not said to me, "Who knows the names of those kings who have passed from the thrones on which chance or birth seated them? They lived and died unnoticed. The learned, perhaps, may find them mentioned in old archives, and a medal or a coin dug from the earth may reveal to antiquarians the existence of a sovereign of whom they had never before heard. But, on the contrary, when we hear the names of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar, Mahomet, Charlemagne, Henry IV., and Louis XIV., we are immediately among our intimate acquaintance." I must add, that when Napoleon thus spoke to me in the gardens of Malmaison he only repeated what had often fallen from him in his youth, for his character and his ideas never varied; the change was in the objects to which they were applied.

From his boyhood Napoleon was fond of reading the history of the great men of antiquity; and what he chiefly sought to discover was the means by which those men had become great. He remarked that military glory secures more extended fame than the arts of peace and the noble efforts which contribute to the happiness of mankind. History informs us that great military talent and victory often give the power, which, in its turn, procures the means of gratifying ambition. Napoleon was always persuaded that that power was essential to him, in order to bend men to his will, and to stifle all discussions on his conduct. It was his established principle never to sign a disadvantageous peace. To him a tarnished crown was no longer a crown. He said one day to M. de Caulaincourt, who was pressing him to consent to sacrifices, "Courage may defend a crown, but infamy never." In all the last acts of Napoleon's career I can retrace the impress of his character, as I had often recognized in the great actions of the Emperor the execution of a thought conceived by the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy.

On the opening of the Congress the Duke of Vicenza, convinced that he could no longer count on the natural limits of

France promised at Frankfort by the Allies, demanded new powers. Those limits were doubtless the result of reasonable concessions, and they had been granted even after the battle of Leipsic; but it was now necessary that Napoleon's Minister should show himself ready to make further concessions if he wished to be allowed to negotiate. The Congress was opened on the 5th of February, and on the 7th the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied powers declared themselves categorically. They inserted in the protocol that after the successes which had favored their armies they insisted on France being restored to her old limits, such as they were during the monarchy before the Revolution; and that she should renounce all direct influence beyond her future limits.

This proposition appeared so extraordinary to M. de Caulaincourt that he requested the sitting might be suspended, since the conditions departed too far from his instructions to enable him to give an immediate answer. The Plenipotentiaries of the Allied powers acceded to his request, and the continuation of the sitting was postponed till eight in the evening. When it was resumed the Duke of Vicenza renewed his promise to make the greatest sacrifices for the attainment of peace. He added that the amount of the sacrifices necessarily depended on the amount of the compensations, and that he could not determine on any concession or compensation without being made acquainted with the whole. He wished to have a general plan of the views of the Allies, and he requested that their Plenipotentiaries would explain themselves decidedly respecting the number and description of the sacrifices and compensations to be demanded. It must be acknowledged that the Duke of Vicenza perfectly fulfilled the views of the Emperor in thus protracting and gaining time by subtle subterfuges, for all that he suggested had already been done.

On the day after this sitting some advantages gained by the Allies, who took Châtillon-sur-Marne and Troyes, induced Napoleon to direct Caulaincourt to declare to the Congress that if an armistice were immediately agreed on he was ready to consent to France being restored to her old limits. By

securing this armistice Napoleon hoped that happy chances might arise, and that intrigues might be set on foot; but the Allies would not listen to any such proposition.

At the sitting of the 10th of March the Duke of Vicenza inserted in the protocol that the last courier he had received had been arrested and detained a considerable time by several Russian general officers, who had obliged him to deliver up his despatches, which had not been returned to him till thirty-six hours after at Chaumont. Caulaincourt justly complained of this infraction of the law of nations and established usage, which, he said, was the sole cause of the delay in bringing the negotiations to a conclusion. After this complaint he communicated to the Congress the ostensible instructions of Napoleon, in which he authorized his Minister to accede to the demands of the Allies. But in making this communication M. de Caulaincourt took care not to explain the private and secret instructions he had also received. The Allies rejected the armistice because it would have checked their victorious advance; but they consented to sign the definitive peace, which of all things was what the Emperor did not wish.

Napoleon at length determined to make sacrifices, and the Duke of Vicenza submitted new propositions to the Congress. The Allies replied, in the same sitting, that these propositions contained no distinct and explicit declaration on the project presented by them on the 17th of February; that, having on the 28th of the same month demanded a decisive answer within the term of ten days, they were about to break up the negotiations. Caulaincourt then declared verbally: —

1st. That the Emperor Napoleon was ready to renounce all pretension or influence whatever in countries beyond the boundaries of France.

2d. To recognize the independence of Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, and that as to England, France would make such concessions as might be deemed necessary in consideration of a reasonable equivalent.

Upon this the sitting was immediately broken up without a reply. It must be remarked that this singular declaration was verbal, and consequently not binding, and that the limits

of France were mentioned without being specified. It cannot be doubted that Napoleon meant the limits conceded at Frankfort, to which he was well convinced the Allies would not consent, for circumstances were now changed. Besides, what could be meant by the *reasonable equivalent* from England? Is it astonishing that this obscurity and vagueness should have banished all confidence on the part of the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied powers? Three days after the sitting of the 10th of March they declared they could not even enter into a discussion of the verbal protocol of the French Minister. They requested that M. de Caulaincourt would declare whether he would accept or reject the project of a treaty presented by the Allied Sovereigns,[1] or offer a counter-project.

The Duke of Vicenza, who was still prohibited, by secret instructions from coming to any conclusion on the proposed basis, inserted in the protocol of the sitting of the 13th of March a very ambiguous note. The Plenipotentiaries of the Allies, in their reply, insisted upon receiving another declaration from the French Plenipotentiary, which should contain an acceptance or refusal of their project of a treaty presented in the conference of the 7th of February, or a counter-project. After much discussion Caulaincourt agreed to draw up a counter-project, which he presented on the 15th, under the following title: "Project of a definitive Treaty between France and the Allies." In this extraordinary project, presented after so much delay, M. Caulaincourt, to the great astonishment of the Allies, departed in no respect from the declarations of the 10th of March. He replied again to the ultimatum of the Allies, or what he wished to regard as such, by defending a multitude of petty interests, which were of no importance in so great a contest; but in general the conditions seemed rather those of a conqueror dictating to his enemies than of a man overwhelmed by misfortune. As may readily be imagined, they were, for the most part, received with derision by the Allies.

[1] The conditions of this treaty were the boundaries of France before the Revolution. — *Bourrienne.*

Everything tends to prove that the French Plenipotentiary had received no positive instructions from the 5th of February, and that, after all the delay which Napoleon constantly created, Caulaincourt never had it in his power to answer, categorically, the propositions of the Allies. Napoleon never intended to make peace at Châtillon on the terms proposed. He always hoped that some fortunate event would enable him to obtain more favorable conditions.

On the 18th of March, that is to say, three days after the presentation of this project of a treaty, the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies recorded in the protocol their reasons for rejecting the extraordinary project of the French Minister. For my part, I was convinced, for the reasons I have mentioned, that the Emperor would never agree to sign the conditions proposed in the ultimatum of the Allies, dated the 13th of March, and I remember having expressed that opinion to M. de Talleyrand. I saw him on the 14th, and found him engaged in perusing some intelligence he had just received from the Duke of Vicenza, announcing, as beyond all doubt, the early signature of peace. Caulaincourt had received orders to come to a conclusion. Napoleon, he said, had given him a *carte blanche* to save the capital, and avoid a battle, by which the last resources of the nation would be endangered. This seemed pretty positive, to be sure; but even this assurance did not, for a moment, alter my opinion. The better to convince me, M. de Talleyrand gave me Caulaincourt's letter to read. After reading it I confidently said, "He will never sign the conditions." M. de Talleyrand could not help thinking me very obstinate in my opinion, for he judged of what the Emperor would do by his situation, while I judged by his character. I told M. de Talleyrand that Caulaincourt might have received written orders to sign, for the sake of showing them to the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies, but that I had no doubt he had been instructed to postpone coming to a conclusion, and to wait for final orders. I added, that I saw no reason to change my opinion, and that I continued to regard the breaking up of the Congress as nearer than appearances seemed to indicate. Accordingly, three days afterwards, the

Allies grew tired of the delay and the conferences were broken up. Thus Napoleon sacrificed everything rather than his glory. He fell from a great height, but he never, by his signature, consented to any dismemberment of France.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Allies, convinced that these renewed difficulties and demands had no other object but to gain time, stated that the Allied powers, faithful to their principles, and in conformity with their previous declarations, regarded the negotiations at Châtillon as terminated by the French Government. This rupture of the conferences took place on the 19th of March, six days after the presentation of the ultimatum of the Allied powers.[1] The issue of these long discussions was thus left to be decided by the chances of war, which were not very favorable to the man who boldly contended against armed Europe. The successes of the Allies during the conferences at Châtillon had opened to their view the road to Paris,[2] while Napoleon shrunk from the necessity of signing his own disgrace. In these circumstances was to be found the sole cause of his ruin, and he might have said, "*Tout est perdu, fors la gloire.*" His glory is immortal.

[1] The conviviality and harmony that reigned between the Ministers made the society and intercourse at Châtillon most agreeable. The diplomatists dined alternately with each other: M. de Caulaincourt liberally passing for all the Ministers, through the French advanced posts, convoys of all the good cheer in epicurean wines, etc., that Paris could afford; nor was female society wanting to complete the charm and banish *ennui* from the Châtillon Congress, which I am sure will be long recollected with sensations of pleasure by all the Plenipotentiaries there engaged (*Memoirs of Lord Burghersh*).

[2] The Emperor Alexander (of Russia) upon the slightest reverse gives orders to treat upon any terms, at the first sign of success he will listen to nothing (*De Vitrolles*, tome i. p. 82).

CHAPTER XXXI.

1814.

Curious conversation between General Reynier and the Emperor Alexander — Napoleon repulses the Prussians — The Russians at Fontainebleau — Battle of Brienne — Sketch of the campaign of France — Supper after the battle of Champ Aubert — Intelligence of the arrival of the Duc d'Angoulême and the Comte d'Artois in France — The battle of the ravens and the eagle — Battle of Craonne — Departure of the Pope and the Spanish Princes — Capture of a convoy — Macdonald at the Emperor's headquarters — The inverted cipher — ANNEX.

I WAS always persuaded, and everything I have since seen has confirmed my opinion, that the Allies entering France had no design of restoring the House of Bourbon, or of imposing any Government whatever on the French people.[1] They came to destroy and not to found. That which they wished to destroy from the commencement of their success was Napoleon's supremacy, in order to prevent the future invasions with which they believed Europe would still be constantly threatened. If, indeed, I had entertained any doubt on this subject it would have been banished by the account I heard of

[1] This statement is in complete agreement with the *Memoirs of the Baron de Vitrolles* (Paris, Charpentier, 1884), in which we read of the first communications of the Royalists in Paris with the Allies. Vitrolles saw Stadion, the Austrian Plenipotentiary at Châtillon, apparently on the 10th March, 1814, and was told by him that if Napoleon acceded to conditions which gave the Allies sufficient guaranties, they only fought to obtain peace, and would seize it with eagerness. Metternich, a few days later, met him in the same way, remarking on the silence of France. "We have traversed France, we have lived in it for more than two months, and nothing like this has been shown to us. . . . We have found in the population with which we have mixed nothing of what you announce, neither need of repose, remembrance of former days, nor even any general expression of discontent with the Emperor." Though the Comte d'Artois was close to the Allies' headquarters they appeared not to know or to care anything about him or the other Princes. There is, however, some inconsistency between Vitrolles's description and Metternich's own account of his conversation with Alexander, apparently in January, 1814. "Napoleon's power is broken and will not rise again. . . . When the overthrow of the Empire comes there will be only the Bourbons to take possession again of their undying rights" (*Metternich*, vol. i. p. 228). Either Metternich dissembled very much with Vitrolles, or the silence of the occupied provinces had changed his ideas; see *De Vitrolles*,

General Reynier's conversation with the Emperor Alexander. That General, who was made prisoner at Leipsic, was exchanged, and returned to France. In the beginning of February, 1814, he passed through Troyes, where the Emperor Alexander then was. Reynier expressed a desire to be allowed to pay his respects to the Emperor, and to thank him for having restored him to liberty. He was received with that affability of manner which was sometimes affected by the Russian monarch.

On his arrival at Paris General Reynier called at the Duc de Rovigo's, where I had dined that day, and where he still was when I arrived. He related in my hearing the conversation to which I have alluded, and stated that it had all the appearance of sincerity on the Emperor's part. Having asked Alexander whether he had any instructions for Napoleon, as the latter, on learning that he had seen his Majesty would not fail to ask him many questions, he replied that he had nothing particular to communicate to him. Alexander added that he was Napoleon's friend, but that he had, personally, much reason to complain of his conduct; that the Allies would have nothing more to do with him; that they had no intention of forcing any Sovereign upon France; but that they would no longer acknowledge Napoleon as Emperor of the French. "For my part," said Alexander, "I can no longer place any confidence in him. He has deceived me too often." In reply to this Reynier made some remarks dictated by his attachment and fidelity to Bonaparte. He observed that Napoleon was acknowledged as Sovereign of France by every treaty. "But," added Reynier, "if you should persist in forcing him to resign the supreme power, whom will you put in his place?" — "Did you not choose him; why then can you not choose some

tome i. pp. 76–112, and especially p. 312, where, when the Allies were in Paris, Dalberg tells him of the hesitation of Alexander and of the King of Prussia.

Writing long afterwards Metternich (vol. i. p. 244) says, "The form of government which Napoleon had introduced was agreeable to all France, but it was weary of wars, of which it could see no end. The return of the Bourbons was not longed for in the sense which the Royalists attributed to this feeling, and the Royalist party itself had much diminished during the course of five and twenty years. It was longed for by the friends of public order and political peace — that is, by the great majority of the nation."

one else to govern you? I repeat that we do not intend to force any one upon you: but we will have no more to do with Napoleon."

Several Generals were then named; and after Reynier had explained the great difficulties which would oppose any such choice, Alexander interrupted him saying, "But, General, there is Bernadotte.[1] Has he not been voluntarily chosen Prince Royal of Sweden; may he not also be raised to the same rank in France? He is your countryman; surely then you may choose him, since the Swedes took him, though a foreigner." General Reynier, who was a man of firm character, started some objections, which I thought at the time well founded; and Alexander put an end to the conversation by saying, rather in a tone of dissatisfaction, "Well, General, the fate of arms will decide."

The campaign of France forced Napoleon to adopt a kind of operations quite new to him. He had been accustomed to attack; but he was now obliged to stand on his defence, so that, instead of having to execute a previously conceived plan, as when, in the Cabinet of the Tuileries, he traced out to me the field of Marengo, he had now to determine his movements according to those of his numerous enemies. When the Emperor arrived at Châlons-sur-Marne the Prussian army was advancing by the road of Lorraine. He drove it back beyond St. Dizier. Meanwhile the Grand Austro-Russian army passed the Seine and the Yonne at Montereau, and even sent forward a corps which advanced as far as Fontainebleau. Napoleon then made a movement to the right in order to drive back the troops which threatened to march on Paris, and by a curious

[1] Alexander said to the Baron de Vitrolles, on the 17th of March, 1814, at Troyes, "We have already carefully sought for what would suit France if Napoleon disappeared. Some time ago we thought of Bernadotte; his influence over the army, the favor in which he must be with the friends of the Revolution, had at one time fixed our views on him, but afterwards several motives have made us put him aside" (*Vitrolles*, tome i. p. 119). Alexander did not state the reasons against Bernadotte. The speech must have been striking to Vitrolles (who had come to plead the cause of the Bourbons), who had when a boy been taught fencing by Bernadotte, then a sergeant of the regiment "Royal Marine." It is due to Bernadotte that he when Marshal and Prince never forgot the kind way he had been received when sergeant by the family of Vitrolles, and it was to him that Vitrolles owed his removal from the list of emigrants (*Vitrolles's Introduction*, p. xiii.).

chance he came up with the troops in the very place where he passed the boyish years in which he cherished what then seemed wild and fabulous dreams of his future fate. What thoughts and recollections must have crowded on his mind when he found himself an Emperor and a King, at the head of a yet powerful army, in the chateau of the Comte de Brienne, to whom he had so often paid his homage! It was at Brienne that he had said to me, thirty-four years before, "I will do these Frenchmen all the harm I can." Since then he had certainly changed his mind; but it might be said that fate persisted in forcing the man to realize the design of the boy in spite of himself. No sooner had Napoleon revisited Brienne as a conqueror than he was repulsed and hurried to his fall, which became every moment more certain.[1]

I shall not enter into any details of the campaign of France, because the description of battles forms no part of my plan. Still, I think it indispensable briefly to describe Napoleon's miraculous activity from the time of his leaving Paris to the entrance of the Allies into the capital. Few successful campaigns have enabled our Generals and the French army to reap so much glory as they gained during this great reverse of fortune. For it is possible to triumph without honor, and to fall with glory. The chances of the war were not doubtful, but certainly the numerous hosts of the Allies could never have anticipated so long and brilliant a resistance. The theatre of the military operations soon approached so near to Paris that the general eagerness for news from the army was speedily satisfied, and when any advantage was gained by the Emperor his partisans saw the enemy already repulsed from the French territory. I was not for a moment deceived by these illusions, as I well knew the determination and the resources of the Allied sovereigns. Besides, events were so rapid and various in this war of extermination that the guns of the Invalides announcing a victory were sometimes immediately followed by the distant

[1] An engagement took place at Brienne, and Napoleon, with 15,000 men, kept 80,000 Russians in check for twelve hours. — *Bourrienne.*

rolling of artillery, denoting the enemy's near approach to the capital.

The Emperor left Paris on the 25th of January, at which time the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia were assembled at Langres. Napoleon rejoined his Guard at Vitry-le-Français. On the second day after his departure he drove before him the Prussian army, which he had forced to evacuate St. Dizier. Two days after this the battle of Brienne was fought, and on the 1st of February between 70,000 and 80,000 French and Allied troops stood face to face. On this occasion the commanders on both sides were exposed to personal danger, for Napoleon had a horse killed under him, and a Cossack fell dead by the side of Marshal Blucher.

A few days after this battle Napoleon entered Troyes, where he staid but a short time, and then advanced to Champaubert. At the latter place was fought the battle which bears its name. The Russians were defeated, General Alsufieff was made prisoner, and 2000 men and 30 guns fell into the hands of the French. After this battle the Emperor was under such a delusion as to his situation that while supping with Berthier, Marmont, and his prisoner, General Alsufieff, the Emperor said, "Another such victory as this, gentlemen, and I shall be on the Vistula." Finding that no one replied, and reading in the countenances of his Marshals that they did not share his hopes, "I see how it is," he added, "every one is growing tired of war; there is no more enthusiasm. The sacred fire is extinct." Then rising from the table, and stepping up to General Drouot, with the marked intention of paying him a compliment which should at the same time convey a censure on the Marshals, "General," said he, patting him on the shoulder, "we only want a hundred men like you, and we should succeed." Drouot replied, with great presence of mind and modesty, "Rather say a hundred thousand, Sire." This anecdote was related to me by the two principal persons who were present on the occasion.

Napoleon soon began to have other subjects of disquietude

besides the fate of battles. He was aware that since the beginning of February the Duc d'Angoulême had arrived at St. Jean de Luz, whence he had addressed a proclamation to the French armies in the name of his uncle, Louis XVIII.; and he speedily heard of the Comte d'Artois's arrival at Vesoul, on the 21st of February, which place he did not leave until the 16th of March following.

Meanwhile hostilities were maintained with increased vigor over a vast line of operations. How much useless glory did not our soldiers gain in these conflicts! In spite of prodigies of valor the enemy's masses advanced, and gradually concentrated, so that this war might be compared to the battles of the ravens and the eagle in the Alps. The eagle slays hundreds of his assailants — every blow of his beak is the death of an enemy, but still the vultures return to the charge, and press upon the eagle until they destroy him.

As the month of February drew to its close the Allies were in retreat on several points, but their retreat was not a rout. After experiencing reverses they fell back without disorder, and retired behind the Aube, where they rallied and obtained numerous re-enforcements, which daily arrived, and which soon enabled them to resume the offensive.

Still Napoleon continued astonishing Europe, leagued as it was against him. At Craonne, on the 7th of March, he destroyed Blucher's corps, in a severe action, but the victory was attended by great loss to the conqueror.[1] Marshal Victor was seriously wounded, as well as Generals Grouchy and La Ferrière.

While Napoleon was resisting the numerous enemies assembled to destroy him it might be said that he was also his own enemy, either from false calculation or from negligence with respect to his illustrious prisoners, who, on his departure

[1] Blucher, of course, was not destroyed, though he suffered from the dispersal of his forces. Jomini (tome iv. p. 556) sums up the day thus: — "The victory was ours (Napoleon's), but the losses we suffered made it fatal to us. Both sides had more than 6000 men *hors de combat;* this was little for the Allies, but was much for us." In fact, the Allies were then playing the same costly but sure game as was adopted by General Grant against Lee in Virginia. In the continual fighting the smaller force, however relatively smaller its loss, still was the greatest sufferer.

from Paris, had not yet been sent to their States. The Pope was then at Fontainebleau, and the Princes of Spain at Valençay. The Pope, however, was the first to be allowed to depart. Surely Bonaparte could never have thought of the service which the Pope might have rendered him at Rome, into which Murat's troops would never have dared to march had his Holiness been present there. With regard to the Spanish Princes Napoleon must have been greatly blinded by confidence in his fortune to have so long believed it possible to retain in France those useless trophies of defeated pretensions. It was, besides, so easy to get rid of the exiles of Valençay by sending them back to the place from whence they had been brought! It was so natural to recall with all speed the troops from the south when our armies in Germany began to be repulsed on the Rhine and even driven into France![1] With the aid of these veteran troops Napoleon and his genius might have again turned the scale of fortune. But Napoleon reckoned on the nation, and he was wrong, for the nation was tired of him. His cause had ceased to be the cause of France.

The latter days of March were filled up by a series of calamities to Napoleon. On the 23d the rear-guard of the French army suffered considerable loss. To hear of attacks on his rear-guard must indeed have been mortifying to Napoleon, whose advanced guards had been so long accustomed to open the path of victory! Prince Schwartzenberg soon passed the Aube and marched upon Vitry and Châlons. Napoleon, counting on the possibility of defending Paris, threw himself, with the velocity of the eagle, on Schwartzenberg's rear by passing by Doulevant and Bar-sur-Aube. He pushed forward his advanced guards to Chaumont, and there saw the Austrian army make a movement which he took to be a retreat; but it was

[1] Though Napoleon undoubtedly suffered much from the loss of men left in the garrisons in Germany, etc., it must not be assumed that these were all veterans, though probably Dantzic and the Polish fortresses were largely occupied by men levied before the 1812 campaign; see, however, De Gonneville's description of his cuirassiers, who soon formed part of the garrison of Hamburg. The men had not any notion of the way to set about saddling their horses, and when mounted the whole regiment was unhorsed or dispersed through the fright of the horses when the men attempted to draw swords to return the compliment of a guard (*Gonneville*, vol. ii. pp. 99-101).

no such thing. The movement was directed on Paris, while Blucher, who had re-occupied Châlons-sur-Marne, marched to meet Prince Schwartzenberg, and Napoleon, thinking to cut off their retreat, was himself cut off from the possibility of returning to Paris. Everything then depended on the defence of Paris, or, to speak more correctly, it seemed possible, by sacrificing the capital, to prolong for a few days the existence of the phantom of the Empire which was rapidly vanishing. On the 26th was fought the battle of Fère Champenoise, where, valor yielding to numbers, Marshals Marmont and Mortier were obliged to retire upon Sezanne after sustaining considerable loss.

It was on the 26th of March, and I beg the reader to bear this date in mind, that Napoleon suffered a loss which, in the circumstances in which he stood, was irreparable.[1] At the battle of Fère Champenoise the Allies captured a convoy consisting of nearly all the remaining ammunition and stores of the army, a vast quantity of arms, caissons, and equipage of all kinds. The whole became the prey of the Allies, who published a bulletin announcing this important capture. A copy of this order of the day fell into the hands of Marshal Macdonald, who thought that such news ought immediately to be communicated to the Emperor. He therefore repaired himself to the headquarters of Napoleon, who was then preparing to recover Vitry-le-Français, which was occupied by the Prussians. The Marshal, with a view of dissuading the Emperor from what he considered a vain attempt, presented him with the bulletin.

This was on the morning of the 27th: Napoleon would not believe the news. "No!" said he to the Marshal, "you are deceived, this cannot be true." Then perusing the bulletin with more attention. "Here," said he, "look yourself. This is the 27th, and the bulletin is dated the 29th. You see the

[1] The battle of La Fère Champenoise was fought on the 25th not the 26th March (see *Thiers*, tome xvii. p. 562), and was remarkable for two things. The artillery of the Allies fired on one another for some little time, and a column of French National Guards, 5000 odd strong, who had only joined the army ten days before, made a desperate and honorable resistance to the enormously superior forces brought against them; see Muffling, *Passages from my Life*, pp. 502, 503, and *Jomini*, tome iv. pp. 581, 582.

thing is impossible. The bulletin is forged!" The Marshal, who had paid more attention to the news than to its date, was astounded. But having afterwards shown the bulletin to Drouot, that General said, "Alas! Marshal, the news is but too true. The error of the date is merely a misprint, the 9 is a 6 inverted!" On what trifles sometimes depend the most important events. An inverted cipher sufficed to flatter Bonaparte's illusion, or at least the illusions which he wished to maintain among his most distinguished lieutenants, and to delay the moment when they should discover that the loss they deplored was too certain. On that very day the Empress left Paris.

[*ANNEX TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.*]

It is even more than usually difficult to fix the number of troops brought into the field in the campaign of 1814 as both sides received re-enforcements, and as a large part of the forces originally under Soult and Suchet were brought northwards. The following figures seem to agree with those given by the best authorities as the strength at the beginning of the year. The Army of Bohemia, or the Grand Army of the Allies, under Schwartzenberg, was about 116,000 strong, and the Army of Silesia, composed of Russian and Prussian corps, under Blucher, about 88,000 strong, were opposed by Napoleon with some 8700 men. Napoleon was re-enforced from time to time, but Schwartzenberg had a reserve of 5000 at Bâle (Hamley, *Operations of War*, p. 278). Soult, with about 40,000 men, faced Wellington, with 100,000, of whom some 28,000 were employed at Bayonne. In Belgium Maison, with 12,000 men, faced the Duke of Saxe-Weimar with 2500, and in Italy Eugène, with 36,000, opposed an Austrian army of 70,000, eventually joined by Murat. The French troops which held the various fortresses in Germany were blockaded by superior numbers of the Allies. In the interior of France large levies were being made, and Augereau was sent to Lyons to command a force of young troops, increased by drafts from Suchet, to meet the Austrians under Bubna.

In this defensive campaign of 1814 the genius of Bonaparte

displayed itself with wonderful brilliancy. According to the Marquis of Londonderry: —

"Napoleon, after the battles of Brienne and La Rothière, displayed, by his masterly movements with an inferior against *two* superior armies, and by braving his accumulated difficulties, that undoubted science in war which his bitterest enemies must accord to his genius. In proportion as his embarrassments increased he seemed to rise superior as an individual. During his adverse fortune on the Elbe he appeared fluctuating and irresolute, and his lengthened stay in untenable and disadvantageous positions was the cause of his fatal overthrow at Leipsic and of subsequent misfortunes. But now he appeared once more to have burst forth with all his talent and all his energies and mental resources." [1]

At the battle of La Rothière Napoleon exhibited great personal courage, and Lord Londonderry remarks: —

"Bonaparte was seen to encourage his troops and expose his person fearlessly during the combat, and Marshal Blucher's movement of his cavalry, which he himself led on, was spoken of in the highest terms. Napoleon, who at this period scarcely acted in any instance on common military calculation, drew up his army on the 1st of February in two lines on the great plain before La Rothière, occupying the villages, and neglecting much stronger ground in his rear about Brienne, evidently showing that he meant to play a desperate game. He lead on *la jeune garde* in person against Marshal Blucher's army, to wrest the village of La Rothière from the gallant corps of Sacken; but three repeated efforts were ineffectual. All agreed that the enemy fought with great intrepidity. Bonaparte seemed to have set his political existence on a die, as he exposed himself everywhere: his horse was shot under him, and he had the mortification of witnessing the capture of a battery in charge of *la jeune garde*. Had Marshal Blucher not previously immortalized himself this day would have crowned him in the annals of fame, for whatever were the well-grounded apprehensions entertained by many for the result of the Prince of Würtemberg's attack on the right, the Marshal dauntlessly effected those combinations upon which the result of the day depended. The Russian artillery were spoken of in the highest terms: the ground was covered with snow, and so deep that they were obliged to leave one-half of their guns in the rear. Yet by harnessing double teams to the other half they contrived to bring those forward and get a sufficient number into action. The Allies brought about 70,000 or 80,000 men into this battle; the other corps of the army were not yet in line: the French were supposed to have about the same strength. The enemy's last attack on the village of La Rothière was at two o'clock on the morning of the 2d, immediately after which they commenced their retreat. Passing the Aube river, they took up a very strong rear-guard position in the neighborhood of Lesmont."

[1] See Narrative of the War in Germany and France in 1813 and 1814.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1814.

The men of the Revolution and the men of the Empire — The Council of Regency — Departure of the Empress from Paris — Marmont and Mortier — Joseph's flight — Meeting at Marmont's hôtel — Capitulation of Paris — Marmont's interview with the Emperor at Fontainebleau — Colonels Fabvier and Denys — The Royalist cavalcade — Meeting at the hôtel of the Comte de Morfontaine — M. de Chateaubriand and his pamphlet — Deputation to the Emperor Alexander — Entrance of the Allied sovereigns into Paris — Alexander lodged in M. Talleyrand's hôtel — Meetings held there — The Emperor Alexander's declaration — My appointment as Postmaster-General — Composition of the Provisional Government — Mistake respecting the conduct of the Emperor of Austria — Caulaincourt's mission from Napoleon — His interview with the Emperor Alexander — Alexander's address to the deputation of the Senate — M. de Caulaincourt ordered to quit the capital.

The grandees of the Empire and the first subjects of Napoleon were divided into two classes totally distinct from each other. Among these patronized men were many who had been the first patrons of Bonaparte and had favored his accession to Consular power. This class was composed of his old friends and former companions-in-arms. The others, who may be called the children of the Empire, did not carry back their thoughts to a period which they had not seen.[1] They had never known anything but Napoleon and the Empire, beyond which the sphere of their ideas did not extend, while among Napoleon's old brothers-in-arms it was

[1] It is difficult to conceive the way in which the Bourbons had dropped out of the public knowledge at this time. When Davoust announced at Hamburg the recall of Louis XVIII. the soldiers thought it was the father of the Duc d'Enghien, or the son of Louis XVI. (*Puymaigre*, p. 167). De Fezensac writes that some officers could not understand who was meant, saying that the King was dead. It was much the same among the upper classes. The Marquise de Coigny, hearing the Bourbons mentioned, said, "I do not like Ghosts" ("*revenants*"). Metternich said in March, 1814, to De Vitrolles that in the part of France the Allies had then crossed nothing showed any remembrance of former days, or even any general expression of discontent with Napoleon. As De Vitrolles himself says, the Bourbons had only been named once since Napoleon reigned, and then it was in the ditch of Vincennes; see *De Vitrolles*, tome i. pp. 23, 47, and 96.

still remembered that there was once a country, a France, before they had helped to give it a master. To this class of men France was not confined to the narrow circle of the Imperial headquarters, but extended to the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the two oceans.

On the other hand, numbers of ardent and adventurous young men, full of enthusiasm for Bonaparte, had passed from the school to the camp. They were entirely opposed to Napoleon's downfall, because with his power would vanish those dreams of glory and fortune which had captivated their imaginations. These young men, who belonged to the class which I have denominated children of the Empire, were prepared to risk and commit everything to prolong the political life of their Emperor.

The distinction I have drawn between what may be called the men of France and the men of the Empire was not confined to the army, but was equally marked among the high civil functionaries of the State.[1] The old Republicans could not possibly regard Napoleon with the same eyes as those whose elevation dated only from Napoleon; and the members of assemblies anterior to the 18th Brumaire could not entertain the same ideas as those whose notions of national franchises and public rights were derived from their seats as auditors in the Council of State. I know not whether this distinction between the men of two different periods has been before pointed out, but it serves to explain the conduct of many persons of elevated rank during the events of 1814. With regard to myself, convinced as I was of the certainty of Napoleon's fall, I conceived that the first duty of every citizen was claimed by his country; and although I may incur censure, I candidly avow that Napoleon's treatment of me during the last four years of his power was not without some

[1] For a good description of a specimen of this class of men see Beugnot (vol. ii. pp. 27–38), where he pictures one of the conventionalists, Jean Bon St. André, the Préfet of Mayence, disliking the frippery and despotism of the Empire, not afraid in the very presence of the Emperor to dwell on the temptation to throw him into the Rhine, and prophesying that Napoleon would bring France to disaster, but himself serving France faithfully, and dying from disease contracted in succoring the wounded, while others were dreaming of what they might gain from betraying their country.

influence on my prompt submission to the Government which succeeded his. I, however, declare that this consideration was not the sole nor the most powerful motive of my conduct. Only those who were in Paris at the period of the capitulation can form an idea of the violence of party feeling which prevailed there both for and against Napoleon, but without the name of the Bourbons ever being pronounced. They were almost unknown to the new generation, forgotten by many of the old, and feared by the conventionalists; at that time they possessed only the frail support of the coteries of the Faubourg St. Germain, and some remains of the emigration. But as it is certain that the emigrants could offer only vain demonstrations and wishes in support of the old family of our Kings, they did little to assist the restoration of the Bourbons. Another thing equally certain is, that they alone, by their follies and absurd pretensions, brought about the return of Bonaparte and the second exile of Louis XVIII. in the following year.

On the 28th of March was convoked an extraordinary Council of Regency, at which Maria Louisa presided. The question discussed was, whether the Empress should remain in Paris or proceed to Blois. Joseph Bonaparte strongly urged her departure, because a letter from the Emperor had directed that in case of Paris being threatened the Empress-Regent and all the Council of Regency should retire to Blois. The Arch-Chancellor and the majority of the Council were of the same opinion, but one of the most influential members of the Council observed to Joseph that the letter referred to had been written under circumstances very different from those then existing, and that it was important the Empress should remain in Paris, where she would, of course, obtain from the Emperor her father and the Allied sovereigns, more advantageous conditions than if she were fifty leagues from Paris. The adoption of this opinion would only have retarded for a few days a change which had become inevitable; nevertheless it might have given rise to great difficulties. It must be admitted that for the interests of Napoleon it was the wisest counsel that could be suggested. However, it was overruled by Joseph's advice.

M. de Talleyrand, as a member of the Council of Regency, also received the order to quit Paris on the 30th of March. At this period I was at his house every day. When I went to him that day I was told he had started. However I went up, and remained some time in his hôtel with several of his friends who had met there. We soon saw him return, and for my part I heard with satisfaction that they had not allowed him to pass the barriers. It was said then, and it has been repeated since, that M. de Talleyrand was not a stranger to the gentle violence used towards him. The same day of this visit to M. de Talleyrand I also went to see the Duc de Rovigo (Savary), with the friendly object of getting him to remain, and to profit by his position to prevent disturbances. He refused without hesitating, as he only thought of the Emperor. I found him by his fireside, where there was a large fire, in which he was burning all the papers which might have compromised every one who had served his ministry (Police). I congratulated him sincerely on this loyal occupation: fire alone could purify the mass of filth and denunciations which encumbered the police archives.[1]

On the departure of the Empress many persons expected a popular movement in favor of a change of Government; but the capital remained tranquil. Many of the inhabitants, indeed, thought of defence, not for the sake of preserving Napoleon's government, but merely from that ardor of feeling which belongs to our national character. Strong indignation

[1] Talleyrand was most anxious not to leave Paris, and he applied to Savary to obtain permission to remain. Savary refused, and told him that he ought to start, but unfortunately did not make sure that the Prince really did so. It is said that it was M. de Rémusat who carried out the little plot by which the willing Talleyrand was turned back from the barriers and left free to plan a new career for himself, much puzzled as he was to know which side to take; see *Savary*, tome vii. p. 21. A large portion of the dignitaries ordered to Blois did not go (see *Miot*, tome iii. p. 389), the feeling at Paris being the exact opposite to that entertained by Beugnot, who was then in the provinces at Lille. "I had long considered the Emperor as lost, but I had no notion that his misfortunes absolved me from my oaths" (*Beugnot*, vol. ii. p. 89).

Bourrienne's pleasure at seeing Savary engaged in destroying the police records was most natural; his belief that Savary would at once leave his fallen master is characteristic and resembles that of his friend Talleyrand, who tried to dissuade Meneval from accompanying the Empress into Austria; see *Meneval*, tome iii. p. 386. All this time Bourrienne was most busy. We shall find him a few pages farther on trying to lure over Marmont.

was excited by the thought of seeing foreigners masters of Paris — a circumstance of which there had been no example since the reign of Charles VII. Meanwhile the critical moment approached. On the 29th of March Marshals Marmont and Mortier fell back to defend the approaches to Paris. During the night the barriers were consigned to the care of the National Guard, and not a foreigner, not even one of their agents, was allowed to enter the capital.

At daybreak on the 30th of March the whole population of Paris was awakened by the report of cannon, and the plain of St. Denis was soon covered with Allied troops, who were debouching upon it from all points. The heroic valor of our troops was unavailing against such a numerical superiority. But the Allies paid dearly for their entrance into the French capital. The National Guard, under the command of Marshal Moncey, and the pupils of the Polytechnic School transformed into artillery men, behaved in a manner worthy of veteran troops. The conduct of Marmont on that day alone would suffice to immortalize him. The corps he commanded was reduced to between 7000 and 8000 infantry and 800 cavalry, with whom, for the space of twelve hours he maintained his ground against an army of 55,000 men, of whom it is said 14,000 were killed, wounded, and taken. Marshal Marmont put himself so forward in the heat of the battle that a dozen of men were killed by the bayonet at his side, and his hat was perforated by a ball. But what was to be done against overwhelming numbers!

In this state of things the Duke of Ragusa made known his situation to Joseph Bonaparte, who authorized him to negotiate.

Joseph's answer is so important in reference to the events which succeeded that I will transcribe it here.

If the Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso can no longer hold out, they are authorized to negotiate with Prince Schwartzenberg and the Emperor of Russia, who are before them.

They will fall back on the Loire. (Signed) JOSEPH.

MONTEMARTRE, *30th March*, 1814,
¼ past 12 *o'clock.*

It was not until a considerable time after the receipt of this formal authority that Marmont and Mortier ceased to make a vigorous resistance against the Allied army, for the suspension of arms was not agreed upon until four in the afternoon. It was not waited for by Joseph; at a quarter past twelve — that is to say, immediately after he had addressed to Marmont the authority just alluded to — Joseph repaired to the Bois de Boulogne to regain the Versailles road, and from thence to proceed to Rambouillet. The precipitate flight of Joseph astonished only those who did not know him. I know for a fact that several officers attached to his staff were much dissatisfied at his alacrity on this occasion.

In these circumstances what was to be done but to save Paris, which there was no possibility of defending two hours longer.[1] Methinks I still see Marmont when, on the evening of the 30th of March, he returned from the field of battle to his hôtel in the Rue de Paradis, where I was waiting for him, together with about twenty other persons, among whom were MM. Perregaux and Lafitte. When he entered he was scarcely recognizable: he had a beard of eight days' growth; the great-coat which covered his uniform was in tatters, and he was blackened with powder from head to foot. We considered what was best to be done, and all insisted on the necessity of signing a capitulation. The Marshal must recollect that the exclamation of every one about him was, "France must be saved." MM. Perregaux and Lafitte delivered their opinions in a very decided way, and it will readily be conceived how great was the influence of two men who were at the head of the financial world. They alleged that the general wish of the Parisians, which nobody had a better opportunity of knowing than themselves, was decidedly averse to a protracted conflict, and that France was tired of the yoke of Bonaparte. This last declaration gave a wider range to the business under consideration. The question was no longer confined to the

[1] Here Bourrienne follows the account given in the Memoirs of Marmont taken from the *National* of 8th August, 1844. See *Ragusa*, tome vi. pp. 351-356, and Marmont's own account (tome vi. pp. 240-251). Marmont, who had one arm still in a sling from the wound received at Salamanca, and two fingers of the other hand injured, describes himself as having to charge at the head of a few men sword in hand.

capitulation of Paris, but a change in the government was thought of, and the name of the Bourbons was pronounced for the first time. I do not recollect which of us it was who, on hearing mention made of the possible recall of the old dynasty, remarked how difficult it would be to bring about a restoration without retrograding to the past. But I think I am perfectly correct in stating that M. Lafitte said, "Gentlemen, we shall have nothing to fear if we have a good constitution which will guarantee the rights of all." The majority of the meeting concurred in this wise opinion, which was not without its influence on Marshal Marmont.

During this painful meeting an unexpected incident occurred. One of the Emperor's *aides de camp* arrived at Marmont's. Napoleon, being informed of the advance of the Allies on Paris, had marched with the utmost speed from the banks of the Marne on the road of Fontainebleau. In the evening he was in person at Froidmanteau, whence he despatched his envoy to Marshal Marmont. From the language of the *aide de camp* it was easy to perceive that the state of opinion at the Imperial headquarters was very different from that which prevailed among the population of Paris. The officer expressed indignation at the very idea of capitulating, and he announced with inconceivable confidence the approaching arrival of Napoleon in Paris, which he yet hoped to save from the occupation of the enemy. The officer informed us that Napoleon trusted to the people rising in spite of the capitulation, and that they would unpave the streets to stone the Allies on their entrance. I ventured to dissent from this absurd idea of defence, and I observed that it was madness to suppose that Paris could resist the numerous troops who were ready to enter on the following day; that the suspension of arms had been consented to by the Allies only to afford time for drawing up a more regular capitulation, and that the armistice could not be broken without trampling on all the laws of honor. I added that the thoughts of the people were directed towards a better future; that the French were tired of a despotic Government and of the distress to which continual war had reduced trade and industry; "for," said I, "when a

nation is sunk to such a state of misery its hopes can only be directed towards the future; it is natural they should be so directed, even without reflection." Most of the individuals present concurred in my opinion, and the decision of the meeting was unanimous. Marshal Marmont has since said to me, "I have been blamed, my dear Bourrienne: but you were with me on the 30th of March. You were a witness to the wishes expressed by a portion of the principal inhabitants of Paris. I acted as I was urged to do only because I considered the meeting to be composed of men entirely disinterested, and who had nothing to expect from the return of the Bourbons."

Such is a correct statement of the facts which some persons have perverted with the view of enhancing Napoleon's glory. With respect to those versions which differ from mine I have only one comment to offer, which is, that I saw and heard what I describe.

The day after the capitulation of Paris Marmont went in the evening to see the Emperor at Fontainebleau. He supped with him. Napoleon praised his defence of Paris. After supper the Marshal rejoined his corps at Essonne, and six hours after the Emperor arrived there to visit the lines. On leaving Paris Marmont had left Colonels Fabvier and Denys to direct the execution of the capitulation. These officers joined the Emperor and the Marshal as they were proceeding up the banks of the river at Essonne. They did not disguise the effect which the entrance of the Allies had produced in Paris. At this intelligence the Emperor was deeply mortified, and he returned immediately to Fontainebleau, leaving the Marshal at Essonne.

At daybreak on the 31st of March Paris presented a novel and curious spectacle. No sooner had the French troops evacuated the capital than the principal streets resounded with cries of "Down with Bonaparte!" — "No conscription!" — "No consolidated duties (*droits réunis*)!" With these cries were mingled that of "The Bourbons forever!"[1] but this latter

[1] One of these scenes was formed by a practical joke played successfully by Talleyrand on the Abbé de Pradt, then Archbishop of Malines. He got the clever but tricky and flighty Archbishop to go in full dress into the streets, waving a white handkerchief and shouting "Vive le Roi," assuring

cry was not repeated so frequently as the others: in general I remarked that the people gaped and listened with a sort of indifference. As I had taken a very active part in all that had happened during some preceding days I was particularly curious to study what might be called the physiognomy of Paris.[1] This was the second opportunity which had offered itself for such a study, and I now saw the people applaud the fall of the man whom they had received with enthusiasm after the 18th Brumaire. The reason was, that liberty was then hoped for, as it was hoped for in 1814. I went out early in the morning to see the numerous groups of people who had assembled in the streets. I saw women tearing their handkerchiefs and distributing the fragments as the emblems of the revived lily. That same morning I met on the Boulevards, and some hours afterwards on the Place Louis XV., a party of gentlemen who paraded the streets of the capital proclaiming the restoration of the Bourbons and shouting, "Vive le Roi!" and "Vive Louis XVIII.!" At their head I recognized MM. Sosthenès de la Rochefoucauld, Comte de Froissard, the Duc de Luxembourg, the Duc de Crussol, Seymour, etc. The cavalcade distributed white cockades in passing along, and was speedily joined by a numerous crowd, who repaired to the Place Vendôme. The scene that was acted there is well known, and the enthusiasm of popular joy could scarcely excuse the fury that was directed against the effigy of the man whose misfortunes, whether merited or not, should have protected him from such outrages.[2] These excesses served, perhaps more

him he would create a sensation. As was to be expected, Pradt, at first received favorably by some Royalists, was soon set on by Bonapartists, hustled, and sent back in a very dishevelled state. "M. de Talleyrand coolly heard him out and answered, 'It is just as I told you: so dressed you could not fail to make a wonderful effect'" (*Beugnot*, vol. ii. pp. 112, 113). Such were said to be some of the acts of the head of the Provisional Government during the agony of France.

[1] The part Bourrienne says he took was of course against his former friend. "During the last days which preceded the entry of the Allies into Paris," says Meneval (tome iii. p. 366), "urged by the anxiety which tormented us, I often went to the office of M. de Lavalette, head of the Posts, to get news of the approach of the enemy. . . . I did not fail to find there M. de Bourrienne, who came with a less innocent object than mine, but who disguised it by exaggerated demonstrations of zeal."

[2] Among other things the people dragged down from the triumphal column in the Place Vendôme, the statue of Napoleon. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

than is generally supposed, to favor the plans of the leaders of the Royalist party, to whom M. Nesselrode had declared that before he would pledge himself to further their views he must have proofs that they were seconded by the population of Paris.

I was afterwards informed by an eyewitness of what took place on the evening of the 31st of March in one of the principal meetings of the Royalists, which was held in the hôtel of the Comte de Morfontaine, who acted as president on the occasion. Amidst a chaos of abortive propositions and contradictory motions M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld proposed that a deputation should be immediately sent to the Emperor Alexander to express to him the wish of the meeting. This motion was immediately approved, and the mover was chosen to head the deputation. On leaving the hôtel the deputation met M. de Chateaubriand, who had that very day been, as it were, the precursor of the restoration, by publishing his admirable manifesto, entitled, "Bonaparte and the Bourbons." He was invited to join the deputation; but nothing could overcome his diffidence and induce him to speak. On arriving at the hôtel in the Rue St. Florentin the deputation was introduced to Count Nesselrode, to whom M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld briefly explained its object; he spoke of the wishes of the meeting and of the manifest desire of Paris and of France. He represented the restoration of the Bourbons as the only means of securing the peace of Europe; and observed, in conclusion, that as the exertions of the day must have been very fatiguing to the Emperor, the deputation would not solicit the favor of being introduced to him, but would confidently rely on the good faith of his Imperial Majesty. "I have just left the Emperor," replied M. Nesselrode, "and can pledge myself for his intentions. Return to the meeting and announce to the French people that in compliance with their wishes his Imperial Majesty will use all his influence to restore the crown to the legitimate monarch: his Majesty Louis XVIII. shall re-ascend the throne of France." With this gratifying intelligence the deputation returned to the meeting in the Rue d'Anjou.

There is no question that great enthusiasm was displayed on the entrance of the Allies into Paris. It may be praised or blamed, but the fact cannot be denied. I closely watched all that was passing, and I observed the expression of a sentiment which I had long anticipated when, after his alliance with the daughter of the Cæsars, the ambition of Bonaparte increased in proportion as it was gratified: I clearly foresaw Napoleon's fall. Whoever watched the course of events during the last four years of the Empire must have observed, as I did, that from the date of Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa the forms of the French Government became daily more and more tyrannical and oppressive. The intolerable height which this evil had attained is evident from the circumstance that at the end of 1813 the Legislative Body, throwing aside the mute character which it had hitherto maintained, presumed to give a lecture to him who had never before received a lecture from any one. On the 31st of March it was recollected what had been the conduct of Bonaparte on the occasion alluded to, and those of the deputies who remained in Paris related how the gendarmes had opposed their entrance into the hall of the Assembly. All this contributed wonderfully to irritate the public mind against Napoleon. He had become master of France by the sword, and the sword being sheathed, his power was at an end, for no popular institution identified with the nation the new dynasty which he hoped to found. The nation admired but did not love Napoleon, for it is impossible to love what is feared, and he had done nothing to claim the affections of France.

I was present at all the meetings and conferences which were held at M. de Talleyrand's hôtel, where the Emperor Alexander had taken up his residence.[1] Of all the persons

[1] For the extraordinary scene at the hôtel of Talleyrand all this time see *Beugnot*, vol. ii. pp. 96, 97. "It was a remarkable scene when M. de Talleyrand endeavored to pass, with his awkward walk, from his bedroom to his library, to give an audience promised to some one who had been waiting for hours. He had to cross the *salon*; he was stopped by one, seized on by another, blockaded by a third, until, wearied out, he returned to the place whence he had started, leaving the unfortunate man, whom he despaired of reaching, to remain in unavailing attendance." "It is difficult," says Vitrolles (tome i. p. 325), "to have an idea of what the Provisional Government was. It was held entirely in the bedchamber of M. de Talleyrand in the *entresol* of

present at these meetings M. de Talleyrand was most disposed to retain Napoleon at the head of the Government, with restrictions on the exercise of his power. In the existing state of things it was only possible to choose one of three courses; first, to make peace with Napoleon, with the adoption of proper securities against him; second, to establish a Regency; and third, to recall the Bourbons.

On the 13th of March I witnessed the entrance of the Allied sovereigns into Paris, and after the procession had passed the new street of the Luxembourg I repaired straight to M. de Talleyrand's hôtel, which I reached before the Emperor Alexander, who arrived at a quarter past one. When his Imperial Majesty entered M. de Talleyrand's drawing-room most of the persons assembled, and particularly the Abbé de Pradt, the Abbé de Montesquiou, and General Dessolles, urgently demanded the restoration of the Bourbons. The Emperor did not come to any immediate decision. Drawing me into the embrasure of a window, which looked upon the street, he made some observations which enabled me to guess what would be his determination. "M. de Bourrienne," said he, "you have been the friend of Napoleon, and so have I. I was

his hôtel. Some clerks collected under the direction of Dupont de Nemours, last and best of economists, formed the staff, and Roux-Laborie was the Secretary-General attached. M. de Talleyrand's room was open to every one he knew, men and women, and the conversation of every one who came or went took the place of real deliberations on State affairs. Some more or less clever passages to be published in the newspapers became the great work of the day, and this was called forming public opinion. Then, if an idea, among all those which passed in the heads of the comers and goers, struck the Prince de Talleyrand, he made a decree of it, and the members of the Government signed it on trust when they came in their turn to pay a visit to their president." The course of affairs gave Talleyrand's conduct a much greater air of decision than that waiter on events had any right to. For his great indecision and timidity see *De Vitrolles*, tome i., especially where Dalberg, who knew him well, says of him, "You do not know the ape: he would not risk burning the end of his paw, not even if all the chestnuts were for him alone" (p. 68). See also p. 347, where Talleyrand, when on the point of handing to De Vitrolles his letter for the Comte d'Artois, hears the Marshals Ney and Macdonald, and the Duke of Vicenza (Caulaincourt), announced to the Czar. "The Prince de Talleyrand immediately put back into his deepest pocket the letter intended for the Comte d'Artois, and taking me by the arm led me to the embrasure of a window. 'This is an incident,' said he to me, laying stress on the word to show that it was important; 'we must see what it will lead to; you cannot start at this moment. The Emperor Alexander does unexpected things; one cannot be the son of Paul I. with impunity.'"

his sincere friend; but there is no possibility of remaining at peace with a man of such bad faith." These last words opened my eyes; and when the different propositions which were made came under discussion I saw plainly that Bonaparte, in making himself Emperor, had made up the bed for the Bourbons.

A discussion ensued on the three possible measures which I have above mentioned, and which were proposed by the Emperor Alexander himself. I thought, if I may so express myself, that his Majesty was playing a part, when, pretending to doubt the possibility of recalling the Bourbons, which he wished above all things, he asked M. de Talleyrand what means he proposed to employ for the attainment of that object? Besides the French, there were present at this meeting the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzenberg, M. Nesselrode, M. Pozzo-di-Borgo, and Prince Liechtenstein. During the discussion Alexander walked about with some appearance of agitation. "Gentlemen," said he, addressing us in an elevated tone of voice, "you know that it was not I who commenced the war; you know that Napoleon came to attack me in my dominions. But we are not drawn here by the thirst of conquest or the desire of revenge. You have seen the precautions I have taken to preserve your capital, the wonder of the arts, from the horrors of pillage, to which the chances of war would have consigned it.[1] Neither my Allies nor myself are engaged in a war of reprisals; and I should be inconsolable if any violence were committed on your magnificent city. We are not waging war against France, but against Napoleon, and the enemies of French liberty. William, and you, Prince" (here the Emperor turned towards the King of Prussia and Prince Schwartzenberg, who represented the Emperor of Austria), "you can both bear testimony that the sentiments I express are yours." Both bowed assent to this observation of Alexander, which his Majesty several times repeated in different words. He insisted that France should be perfectly free; and declared that as soon as the wishes of

[1] One day the Emperor Alexander said, "History will record that Napoleon visited my capital, and that I have visited *his*."

the country were understood, he and his Allies would support them, without seeking to favor any particular government.

The Abbé de Pradt then declared, in a tone of conviction, that we were all Royalists, and that the sentiments of France concurred with ours. The Emperor Alexander, adverting to the different governments which might be suitable to France, spoke of the maintenance of Bonaparte on the throne, the establishment of a Regency, the choice of Bernadotte, and the recall of the Bourbons. M. de Talleyrand next spoke, and I well remember his saying to the Emperor of Russia, "Sire, only one of two things is possible. We must either have Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Bonaparte, if you can support him; but you cannot, for you are not alone. . . . We will not have another soldier in his stead. If we want a soldier, we will keep the one we have; he is the first in the world. After him any other who may be proposed would not have ten men to support him. I say again, Sire, either Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Anything else is an intrigue." [1] These remarkable words of the Prince de Benevento produced on the mind of Alexander all the effect we could hope for. Thus the question was simplified, being reduced now to only two alternatives; and as it was evident that Alexander would have nothing to do with either Napoleon or his family, it was reduced to the single proposition of the restoration of the Bourbons.

On being pressed by us all, with the exception of M. de Talleyrand, who still wished to leave the question undecided between Bonaparte and Louis XVIII., Alexander at length declared that he would no longer treat with Napoleon. When

[1] "The Bourbons are a principle, all the rest is only an intrigue," is the phrase generally attributed to Talleyrand. The skilful use he made of his new principle of legitimacy should be read at length in his correspondence with Louis XVIII. during the Congress of Vienna (London, Bentley, 1881, 2 vols.). In his mouth it became a weapon for obtaining the restoration to the Bourbons of their former crowns, etc. But the application of the principle was sometimes troublesome. It was not easy to demand at one and the same time that Naples should be restored to the Bourbons because it was held by them before the Revolution, and that Avignon should be retained by the Bourbons in virtue of its having been torn by the Revolution from the Pope.

Avignon had belonged to the Pope from 1348, when Pope Clement VI. bought it from the Comtesse de Provence. The French Republic annexed it in 1791, and the Pope ceded it in 1797. When all the other States were reclaiming their dominions there was no reason to urge against the Pope asking for his. A note, Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 33 (Bentley, 1881), says that the Pope *did* claim it.

it was represented to him that that declaration, referred only to Napoleon personally, and did not extend to his family, he added, "Nor with any member of his family." Thus, as early as the 31st of March the restoration of the Bourbons might be considered as decided.

I cannot omit mentioning the hurry with which Laborie, whom M. de Talleyrand appointed Secretary to the Provisional Government, rushed out of the apartment as soon as he got possession of the Emperor Alexander's declaration. He got it printed with such expedition that in the space of an hour it was posted on all the walls in Paris: and it certainly produced an extraordinary effect. As yet nothing warranted a doubt that Alexander would not abide by his word. The treaty of Paris could not be anticipated: and there was reason to believe that France, with a new Government, would obtain more advantageous conditions than if the Allies had treated with Napoleon. But this illusion speedily vanished.

On the evening of the 31st of March I returned to M. de Talleyrand's. I again saw the Emperor Alexander, who, stepping up to me, said, "M. de Bourrienne, you must take the superintendence of the Post-office department." I could not decline this precise invitation on the part of the Czar; and besides, Lavalette having departed on the preceding day, the business would have been for a time suspended; a circumstance which would have been extremely prejudicial to the restoration which we wished to favor.

I went at once to the hôtel in the Rue J. J. Rousseau, where, indeed, I found that not only was there no order to send out the post next day, but that it had been even countermanded. I went that night to the administrators, who yielded to my requests, and, seconded by them, next morning I got all the clerks to be at their post. I re-organized the service, and the post went out on the 1st of April as usual. Such are my remembrances of the 31st of March.[1]

[1] This conduct of Bourrienne's is the exact parallel of that of Lavalette in 1815, for which the Bourbons tried to shoot him. It should be noted that it was not for any love of order that Bourrienne obeyed the command of a foreign sovereign, but, as he owns, in favor of the Restoration he was working for, and whose want of gratitude he did not foresee.

A Provisional Government was established, of which M. de Talleyrand was appointed President. The other members were General Beurnonville, Comte François de Jaucourt, the Duc Dalberg, who had married one of Maria Louisa's ladies of honor, and the Abbé de Montesquiou. The place of Chancellor of the Legion of Honor was given to the Abbé de Pradt. Thus there were two abbés among the members of the Provisional Government, and by a singular chance they happened to be the same who had officiated at the mass which was performed in the Champ de Mars on the day of the first federation.

Those who were dissatisfied with the events of the 31st of March now saw no hope but in the possibility that the Emperor of Austria would separate from his Allies, or, at least not make common cause with them in favor of the re-establishment of the Bourbons. But that monarch had been brought up in the old policy of his family, and was imbued with the traditional principles of his Cabinet. I know for a fact that the sentiments and intentions of the Emperor of Austria perfectly coincided with those of his Allies. Anxious to ascertain the truth on this subject, I ventured, when in conversation with the Emperor Alexander, to hint at the reports I had heard relative to the cause of the Emperor of Austria's absence. I do not recollect the precise words of his Majesty's answer, but it enabled me to infer with certainty that Francis II. was in no way averse to the overthrow of his son-in-law, and that his absence from the scene of the discussions was only occasioned by a feeling of delicacy natural enough in his situation.[1]

1 "Let France declare itself," said Metternich to De Vitrolles about the 12th of March, 1814, at Troyes, "and we are ready to support it: no consideration shall stop us. Do you believe that we consider ourselves as tied by the interests of our Archduchess or by those of her son? Nothing of the sort: the safety of States is not sacrificed to family sentiments, and even the perspective of a Regency which should give power to the Empress and her son will not turn us from following the conditions necessary for the existence of the States of Europe" (*Vitrolles*, p. 100). This agrees with Metternich's answer to Napoleon on the 26th of June, 1813. "The Emperor Francis will then dethrone his daughter?" asked Napoleon. "The Emperor," I replied, "knows nothing but his duty, and he will fulfil it. Whatever the fate of his daughter may be, the Emperor Francis is in the first place a monarch, and the interests of his people will always take the first place in his calculations" (*Metternich*, vol. i. p. 191). But in January, 1813, the temporary For-

Caulaincourt, who was sent by Napoleon to the headquarters of the Emperor Alexander, arrived there on the night of the 30th of March. He, however, did not obtain an interview with the Czar until after his Majesty had received the Municipal Council of Paris, at the head of which was M. de Chabrol. At first Alexander appeared somewhat surprised to see the Municipal Council, which he did not receive exactly in the way that was expected; but this coldness was merely momentary, and he afterwards addressed the Council in a very gracious way, though he dropped no hint of his ulterior intentions.

Alexander, who entertained a personal regard for Caulaincourt, received him kindly in his own character, but not as the envoy of Napoleon. "You have come too late," said the Czar. "It is all over. I can say nothing to you at present. Go to Paris, and I will see you there." These words perfectly enlightened Caulaincourt as to the result of his mission. His next interview with the Emperor Alexander at M. de Talleyrand's did not take place until after the declaration noticed in my last chapter. The conversation they had together remained a secret, for neither Alexander nor the Duke of Vicenza mentioned it; but there was reason to infer, from some words which fell from the Emperor Alexander, that he had received Caulaincourt rather as a private individual than as the ambassador of Napoleon, whose power, indeed, he could not recognize after his declaration. The Provisional Government was not entirely pleased with Caulaincourt's presence in Paris, and a representation was made to the Russian Emperor on the subject. Alexander concurred in the opinion of the Provisional Government, which was expressed through the medium of the Abbé de Pradt. M. de Caulaincourt, therefore, at the wish of the Czar, returned to the Emperor, then at Fontainebleau.

eign Secretary wrote from Paris to Caulaincourt at Luneville that "the letter of the Emperor Francis to his august daughter is pretty nearly in the same sense as that of M. de Metternich: the Emperor again protests that whatever may be the event, he will never separate the cause of his daughter and that of his grandson from that of France" (*Vitrolles*, tome i. p. 48). But this is exactly what he did do, and even to an extraordinary extent, in sending Napoleon to Elba and retaining the Empress and the King of Rome.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1814.

Situation of Bonaparte during the events of the 30th and 31st of March — His arrival at Fontainebleau — Plan of attacking Paris — Arrival of troops at Fontainebleau — The Emperor's address to the Guard — Forfeiture pronounced by the Senate — Letters to Marmont — Correspondence between Marmont and Schwartzenberg — Macdonald informed of the occupation of Paris — Conversation between the Emperor and Macdonald at Fontainebleau — Beurnonville's letter — Abdication on condition of a Regency — Napoleon's wish to retract his act of abdication — Macdonald, Ney, and Caulaincourt sent to Paris — Marmont released from his promise by Prince Schwartzenberg.

On the morning of the 30th of March, while the battle before the walls of Paris was at its height, Bonaparte was still at Troyes. He quitted that town at ten o'clock, accompanied only by Bertrand, Caulaincourt, two *aides de camp*, and two orderly officers. He was not more than two hours in travelling the first ten leagues, and he and his slender escort performed the journey without changing horses, and without even alighting. They arrived at Sens at one o'clock in the afternoon. Everything was in such confusion that it was impossible to prepare a suitable mode of conveyance for the Emperor. He was therefore obliged to content himself with a wretched cariole, and in this equipage, about four in the morning, he reached Froidmanteau, about four leagues from Paris. It was there that the Emperor received from General Belliard, who arrived at the head of a column of artillery, the first intelligence of the battle of Paris. He heard the news with an air of composure, which was probably affected to avoid discouraging those about him. He walked for about a quarter of an hour on the high road, and it was after that promenade that he sent Caulaincourt to Paris. Napoleon afterwards went to the house of the postmaster, where he ordered his maps to be brought to him, and, according to cus-

tom, marked the different positions of the enemy's troops with pins, the heads of which were touched with wax of different colors. After this description of work, which Napoleon did every day, or sometimes several times a day, he repaired to Fontainebleau, where he arrived at six in the morning. He did not order the great apartments of the castle to be opened, but went up to his favorite little apartment, where he shut himself up, and remained alone during the whole of the 31st of March.[1]

In the evening the Emperor sent for the Duke of Ragusa, who had just arrived at Essonne with his troops. The Duke reached Fontainebleau between three and four o'clock on the morning of the 1st of April. Napoleon then received a detailed account of the events of the 30th from Marmont, on whose gallant conduct before Paris he bestowed much praise.

All was gloom and melancholy at Fontainebleau, yet the Emperor still retained his authority, and I have been informed that he deliberated for some time as to whether he should retire behind the Loire, or immediately hazard a bold stroke upon Paris, which would have been much more to his taste than to resign himself to the chances which an uncertain temporizing might bring about. This latter thought pleased him; and he was seriously considering his plan of attack when the news of the 31st, and the unsuccessful issue of Caulaincourt's mission, gave him to understand that his situation was more desperate than he had hitherto imagined.

Meanwhile the heads of his columns, which the Emperor had left at Troyes, arrived on the 1st of April at Fontainebleau, the troops having marched fifty leagues in less than three days, one of the most rapid marches ever performed. On the 2d of April Napoleon communicated the events of Paris to the Generals who were about him, recommending them to conceal the news lest it should dispirit the troops, upon whom he yet relied. That day, during an inspection of the troops, which took place in the court of the Palace, Bona-

[1] This little apartment is situated on the first story, parallel with what is called the Gallery of Francis I., where Monaldeschi was murdered by order of Queen Christina of Sweden. — *Bourrienne.*

parte assembled the officers of his Guard, and harangued them as follows: —

Soldiers! the enemy has stolen three marches upon us, and has made himself master of Paris. We must drive him thence. Frenchmen, unworthy of the name, emigrants whom we have pardoned, have mounted the white cockade, and joined the enemy. The wretches shall receive the reward due to this new crime. Let us swear to conquer or die, and to enforce respect to the tri-colored cockade, which has for twenty years accompanied us on the path of glory and honor.

He also endeavored to induce the Generals to second his mad designs upon Paris,[1] by making them believe that he had made sincere efforts to conclude peace. He assured them that he had expressed to the Emperor Alexander his willingness to purchase it by sacrifices; that he had consented to resign even the conquests made during the Revolution, and to confine himself within the old limits of France. "Alexander," added Napoleon, "refused; and, not content with that refusal, he has leagued himself with a party of emigrants, whom, perhaps, I was wrong in pardoning for having borne arms against France. Through their perfidious insinuations Alexander has permitted the white cockade to be mounted on the capital. We will maintain ours, and in a few days we will march upon Paris. I rely on you."[2]

When the boundless attachment of the Guards to the Emperor is considered it cannot appear surprising that these last words, uttered in an impressive tone, should have produced a feeling of enthusiasm, almost electrical, in all to whom they

[1] The plan of Napoleon to make a sudden and fresh attack on the Allies does not seem a mad one if the army had been ready to undertake it with ardor. Jomini (see tome iv. pp. 591, 592) seems to consider that at least better terms might have been got. Hamley (*Operations of War*, p. 290, edition of 1872, in which the campaign of 1814 should be studied) treats the attempt as impossible with officers weary of war and a country impatient of his rule. Thiers (tome xvii. p. 692) says that posterity will judge that success was at least likely. Marmont (tome vi. p. 253) says that Napoleon forgot that the Marne, with its bridges all destroyed, lay between him and the enemy, and he thenceforward seems to have considered that Napoleon was mad, and that his own duty was to betray him and France, and then (p. 260) to tenderly offer to look after his (the Emperor's) bodily comfort for the rest of his life.

[2] An interesting account of the events attendant upon the entrance of the Allies into Paris, and of the situation of Napoleon at Fontainebleau, from the pen of an eye-witness, will be found in the third volume of the *Memoirs of Madame Junot* (Duchesse d'Abrantès), English edition of 1883.

were addressed. The old companions of the glory of their chief exclaimed with one voice, "Paris! Paris!" But, fortunately, during the night, the Generals having deliberated with each other saw the frightful abyss into which they were about to precipitate France. They therefore resolved to intimate in discreet terms to the Emperor that they would not expose Paris to destruction, so that on the 3d of April, prudent ideas succeeded the inconsiderate enthusiasm of the preceding day.[1]

The wreck of the army assembled at Fontainebleau, which

[1] Efforts were making in the capital to effect a rising *en masse* of the populace in favor of Bonaparte. Had these efforts succeeded Paris would have been bombarded, and possibly left as miserable a heap of ruins as Moscow had been two years before. But the burghers, artisans, and even the mere mob were not disposed for such extremities.

Paris was now quite tranquil; and notwithstanding several of Bonaparte's emissaries were in the city endeavoring to work on the people, with money and promises, to rise on the Allies, no instance of disorder occurred.

So much did M. de Caulaincourt at length despair of the possibility of Bonaparte's return that he sounded M. de Talleyrand and the Duc Dalberg as to the intention of the Allies with regard to his Emperor's future lot, as he considered him a lost man. The Senate met to deliberate and to pronounce their decision; but since the declaration of the Emperor Alexander, in the name of the Allies, they had but one course to adopt, which was to declare Bonaparte *hors de la loi*.

The National Guards, who had been commanded by Marshal Moncey, were without a leader, he having fled. Count Montmorency remained, and what part he would take was yet uncertain. The brother-in-law to the late General Moreau was mentioned as likely to be placed at the head of the National Guards; but hitherto every arrangement was necessarily incomplete.

A report now arrived by a letter from Toulouse, of a great battle having been fought on the 23d ult. between Lord Wellington and Marshal Soult, in which the latter had been completely defeated, and driven into Toulouse, with only one piece of artillery left.

The decision of the Senate, who met on the 1st of April, declared that as Napoleon Bonaparte had deserted the Government of France, they felt themselves called upon to choose another chief, and that they were unanimous in calling to the throne their legitimate sovereign, Louis XVIII.

The management of every new measure undoubtedly lay with the Emperor of Russia, and the confidential Cabinet which he had formed. . . . In an incidental conversation I had with M. de Talleyrand at this period he told me that steps were taking to communicate with all the French troops and fortresses. He believed strongly in a movement among the troops favorable to the new order of things. Marmont and Lefebvre were the Marshals who it was thought would declare first. On the other hand, it was said Bonaparte had an immense number of emissaries in Paris. M. Girardin, Marshal Berthier's *aide de camp*, was in the city with large sums of money at his disposal: some hundreds of the Old Guard had been introduced into Paris to head an insurrection, and Bonaparte was determined, at any risk, *de se faire jour dans Paris*.

These various histories amused the alarmists of the day, but an excessive tranquillity and even indifference reigned around (*Lord Londonderry's Narrative*).

was the remnant of 1,000,000 of troops levied during fifteen months, consisted only of the corps of the Duke of Reggio (Oudinot), Ney, Macdonald, and General Gerard, which altogether did not amount to 25,000 men, and which, joined to the remaining 7000 of the Guard, did not leave the Emperor a disposable force of more than 32,000 men. Nothing but madness or despair could have suggested the thought of subduing, with such scanty resources, the foreign masses which occupied and surrounded Paris.

On the 2d of April the Senate published a *Sénatus-consulte*, declaring that Napoleon had forfeited the throne, and abolishing the right of succession, which had been established in favor of his family. Furnished with this act, and without awaiting the concurrence of the Legislative Body, which was given next day, the Provisional Government published an address to the French armies. In this address the troops were informed that they were no longer the soldiers of Napoleon, and that the Senate released them from their oaths. These documents were widely circulated at the time, and inserted in all the public journals.

The address of the Senate was sent round to the Marshals, and was of course first delivered to those who were nearest the capital; of this latter number was Marmont, whose allegiance to the Emperor, as we have already seen, yielded only to the sacred interests of his country. Montessuis was directed by the Provisional Government to convey the address to Marmont, and to use such arguments as were calculated to strengthen those sentiments which had triumphed over his dearest personal affections. I gave Montessuis a letter to Marmont, in which I said: —

"My dear Friend — An old acquaintance of mine will convey to you the remembrances of our friendship. He will, I trust, influence your resolution: a single word will suffice to induce you to sacrifice all for the happiness of your country. To secure that object you, who are so good a Frenchman and so loyal a knight, will not fear either dangers or obstacles. Your friends expect you, long for you, and I trust will soon embrace you."

Montessuis also took one from General Dessolles, whom the Provisional Government had appointed Governor of the Na-

tional Guard in the room of Marshal Moncey, who had left Paris on the occupation of the Allies. General Dessolles and I did not communicate to each other our correspondence, but when I afterwards saw the letter of Dessolles I could not help remarking the coincidence of our appeal to Marmont's patriotism. Prince Schwartzenberg also wrote to Marmont to induce him to espouse a cause which had now become the cause of France. To the Prince's letter Marmont replied, that he was disposed to concur in the union of the army and the people, which would avert all chance of civil war, and stop the effusion of French blood; and that he was ready with his troops to quit the army of the Emperor Napoleon on the condition that his troops might retire with the honors of war, and that the safety and liberty of the Emperor were guaranteed by the Allies.

After Prince Schwartzenberg acceded to these conditions Marmont was placed in circumstances which obliged him to request that he might be released from his promise.

I happened to learn the manner in which Marshal Macdonald was informed of the taking of Paris. He had been two days without any intelligence from the Emperor, when he received an order in the handwriting of Berthier, couched in the following terms: "The Emperor desires that you halt wherever you may receive this order." After Berthier's signature the following words were added as a postscript: "You, of course, know that the enemy is in possession of Paris." When the Emperor thus announced, with apparent negligence, an event which totally changed the face of affairs, I am convinced his object was to make the Marshal believe that he looked upon that event as less important than it really was. However, this object was not attained, for I recollect having heard Macdonald say that Berthier's singular postscript, and the tone of indifference in which it was expressed, filled him with mingled surprise and alarm. Marshal Macdonald then commanded the rearguard of the army which occupied the environs of Montereau. Six hours after the receipt of the order here referred to Macdonald received a second order directing him to put his troops in motion, and he learned

the Emperor's intention of marching on Paris with all his remaining force.

On receiving the Emperor's second order Macdonald left his corps at Montereau and repaired in haste to Fontainebleau. When he arrived there the Emperor had already intimated to the Generals commanding divisions in the corps assembled at Fontainebleau his design of marching on Paris. Alarmed at this determination the Generals, most of whom had left in the capital their wives, children, and friends, requested that Macdonald would go with them to wait upon Napoleon and endeavor to dissuade him from his intention. "Gentlemen," said the Marshal, "in the Emperor's present situation such a proceeding may displease him. It must be managed cautiously. Leave it to me, gentlemen, I will go to the château."

Marshal Macdonald accordingly went to the Palace of Fontainebleau, where the following conversation ensued between him and the Emperor, and I beg the reader to bear in mind that it was related to me by the Marshal himself. As soon as he entered the apartment in which Napoleon was the latter stepped up to him and said, "Well, how are things going on?" — "Very badly, Sire." — "How? . . . badly! . . . What then are the feelings of your army?" — "My army, Sire, is entirely discouraged . . . appalled by the fate of Paris." — "Will not your troops join me in an advance on Paris?" — "Sire, do not think of such a thing. If I were to give such an order to my troops I should run the risk of being disobeyed." — "But what is to be done? I cannot remain as I am; I have yet resources and partisans. It is said that the Allies will no longer treat with me. Well! no matter. I will march on Paris. I will be revenged on the inconstancy of the Parisians and the baseness of the Senate. Woe to the members of the Government they have patched up for the return of their Bourbons; that is what they are looking forward to. But to-morrow I shall place myself at the head of my Guards, and to-morrow we shall be in the Tuileries."

The Marshal listened in silence, and when at length Napoleon became somewhat calm he observed, "Sire, it appears,

then, that you are not aware of what has taken place in Paris — of the establishment of a Provisional Government, and —" — "I know it all: and what then?" — "Sire," added the Marshal, presenting a paper to Napoleon, "here is something which will tell you more than I can." Macdonald then presented to him a letter from General Beurnonville, announcing the forfeiture of the Emperor pronounced by the Senate, and the determination of the Allied powers not to treat with Napoleon, or any member of his family. "Marshal," said the Emperor, before he opened the letter, "may this be read aloud?" — "Certainly, Sire." The letter was then handed to Barré, who read it. An individual who was present on the occasion described to me the impression which the reading of the letter produced on Napoleon. His countenance exhibited that violent contraction of the features which I have often remarked when his mind was disturbed. However, he did not lose his self-command, which indeed never forsook him when policy or vanity required that he should retain it; and when the reading of Beurnonville's letter was ended he affected to persist in his intention of marching on Paris. "Sire," exclaimed Macdonald, "that plan must be renounced. Not a sword would be unsheathed to second you in such an enterprise."

After this conversation between the Emperor and Macdonald the question of the abdication began to be seriously thought of. Caulaincourt had already hinted to Napoleon that in case of his abdicating personally there was a possibility of inducing the Allies to agree to a Council of Regency. Napoleon then determined to sign the act of abdication, which he himself drew up in the following terms: —

The Allied powers having declared that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to leave France, and even to lay down his life for the welfare of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, those of the Regency of the Empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the Empire. Given at our Palace of Fontainebleau, 2d April, 1814.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

After having written this act the Emperor presented it to the Marshals, saying, "Here, gentlemen! are you satisfied?"

This abdication of Napoleon was certainly very useless, but in case of anything occurring to render it a matter of importance the act might have proved entirely illusory. Its meaning might appear unequivocal to the generality of people, but not to me, who was so well initiated in the cunning to which Napoleon could resort when it suited his purpose. It is necessary to observe that Napoleon does not say that "he descends from the throne," but that "he is *ready* to descend from the throne." This was a subterfuge, by the aid of which he intended to open new negotiations respecting the form and conditions of the Regency of his son, in case of the Allied sovereigns acceding to that proposition. This would have afforded the means of gaining time.

He had not yet resigned all hope, and therefore he joyfully received a piece of intelligence communicated to him by General Allix. The General informed the Emperor that he had met an Austrian officer who was sent by Francis II. to Prince Schwartzenberg, and who positively assured him that all which had taken place in Paris was contrary to the wish of the Emperor of Austria. That this may have been the opinion of the officer is possible, and even probable. But it is certain from the issue of a mission of the Duc de Cadore (Champagny), of which I shall presently speak, that the officer expressed merely his own personal opinion. However, as soon as General Allix had communicated this good news, as he termed it, to Napoleon, the latter exclaimed to the persons who were about him, "I told you so, gentlemen. Francis II. cannot carry his enmity so far as to dethrone his daughter. Vicenza, go and desire the Marshals to return my act of abdication. I will send a courier to the Emperor of Austria."

Thus Bonaparte in his shipwreck looked round for a saving plank, and tried to nurse himself in illusions. The Duke of Vicenza went to Marshals Ney and Macdonald, whom he found just stepping into a carriage to proceed to Paris. Both

positively refused to return the act to Caulaincourt, saying, "We are sure of the concurrence of the Emperor of Austria, and we take everything upon ourselves." The result proved that they were better informed than General Allix.

During the conversation with Marshal Macdonald which has just been described the Emperor was seated. When he came to the resolution of signing the abdication he rose and walked once or twice up and down his cabinet. After he had written and signed the act he said, "Gentlemen, the interests of my son, the interests of the army, and above all, the interests of France, must be defended. I therefore appoint as my commissioners to the Allied powers the Duke of Vicenza, the Prince of the Moskowa, and the Duke of Ragusa. . . . Are you satisfied?" added he, after a pause. "I think these interests are consigned to good hands." All present answered, as with one voice, "Yes, Sire." But no sooner was this answer pronounced than the Emperor threw himself upon a small yellow sofa, which stood near the window, and striking his thigh with his hand with a sort of convulsive motion, he exclaimed, "No, gentlemen: I will have no Regency! With my Guards and Marmont's corps I shall be in Paris to-morrow." Ney and Macdonald vainly endeavored to undeceive him respecting this impracticable design. He rose with marked ill humor, and rubbing his head, as he was in the habit of doing when agitated, he said in a loud and authoritative tone, "Retire."

The Marshals withdrew, and Napoleon was left alone with Caulaincourt. He told the latter that what had most displeased him in the proceedings which had just taken place was the reading of Beurnonville's letter. "Sire," observed the Duke of Vicenza, "it was by your order that the letter was read." — "That is true. . . . But why was it not addressed directly to me by Macdonald?" — "Sire, the letter was at first addressed to Marshal Macdonald, but the *aide de camp* who was the bearer of it had orders to communicate its contents to Marmont on passing through Essonne, because Beurnonville did not precisely know where Macdonald would be found." After this brief explanation the Emperor ap-

peared satisfied, and he said to Caulaincourt, "Vicenza, call back Macdonald."

The Duke of Vicenza hastened after the Marshal, whom he found at the end of the gallery of the Palace, and he brought him back to the Emperor. When Macdonald returned to the cabinet the Emperor's warmth had entirely subsided, and he said to him with great composure, "Well, Duke of Tarantum, do you think that the Regency is the only possible thing?" — "Yes, Sire." — "Then I wish you to go with Ney to the Emperor Alexander, instead of Marmont; it is better that he should remain with his corps, to which his presence is indispensable. You will therefore go with Ney. I rely on you. I hope you have entirely forgotten all that has separated us for so long a time." — "Yes, Sire, I have not thought of it since 1809." — "I am glad of it, Marshal, and I must acknowledge to you that I was in the wrong." While speaking to the Marshal the Emperor manifested unusual emotion. He approached him and pressed his hand in a most affectionate way.

The Emperor's three Commissioners — that is to say, Marshals Macdonald and Ney and the Duke of Vicenza — had informed Marmont that they would dine with him as they passed through Essonne, and would acquaint him with all that had happened at Fontainebleau. On their arrival at Essonne the three Imperial Commissioners explained to the Duke of Ragusa the object of their mission, and persuaded him to accompany them to the Emperor Alexander. This obliged the Marshal to inform them how he was situated. The negotiations which Marmont had opened and almost concluded with Prince Schwartzenberg were rendered void by the mission which he had joined, and which it was necessary he should himself explain to the Commander of the Austrian army. The three Marshals and the Duke of Vicenza repaired to Petit Bourg, the headquarters of Prince Schwartzenberg, and there the Prince released Marmont from the promise he had given.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1814.

Unexpected receipts in the Post-office Department — Arrival of Napoleon's Commissioners at M. de Talleyrand's — Conference of the Marshals with Alexander — Alarming news from Essonne — Marmont's courage — The white cockade and the tri-colored cockade — A successful stratagem — Three Governments in France — The Duc de Cadore sent by Maria Louisa to the Emperor of Austria — Maria Louisa's proclamation to the French people — Interview between the Emperor of Austria and the Duc de Cadore — The Emperor's protestation of friendship for Napoleon — M. Metternich and M. Stadion — Maria Louisa's departure for Orleans — Blucher's visit to me — Audience of the King of Prussia — His Majesty's reception of Berthier, Clarke, and myself — Bernadotte in Paris — Cross of the Polar Star presented to me by Bernadotte.

After my nomination as Director-General of the Post-office the business of that department proceeded as regularly as before. Having learned that a great many intercepted letters had been thrown aside I sent, on the 4th of April, an advertisement to the *Moniteur*, stating that the letters to and from England or other foreign countries which had been lying at the Post-office for more than three years would be forwarded to their respective addresses. This produced to the Post-office a receipt of nearly 300,000 francs, a fact which may afford an idea of the enormous number of intercepted letters.

On the night after the publication of the advertisement I was awakened by an express from the Provisional Government, by which I was requested to proceed with all possible haste to M. de Talleyrand's hôtel. I rose, and I set off immediately, and I got there some minutes before the arrival of the Emperor's Commissioners. I went up to the *salon* on the first floor, which was one of the suite of apartments occupied by the Emperor Alexander. The Marshals retired to confer with the monarch, and it would be difficult to describe the anxiety — or, I may rather say, consternation — which, during

their absence, prevailed among some of the members of the Provisional Government and other persons assembled in the *salon* where I was.

While the Marshals were with Alexander I learned that they had previously conversed with M. de Talleyrand, who observed to them, "If you succeed in your designs you will compromise all who have met in this hôtel since the 1st of April, and the number is not small. For my part, take no account of me, I am willing to be compromised." I had passed the evening of this day with M. de Talleyrand, who then observed to the Emperor Alexander in my presence, "Will you support Bonaparte? No, you neither can nor will. I have already had the honor to tell your Majesty that we can have no choice but between Bonaparte and Louis XVIII.; anything else would be an intrigue, and no intrigue can have power to support him who may be its object. Bernadotte, Eugène, the Regency, all those propositions result from intrigues. In present circumstances nothing but a new principle is sufficiently strong to establish the new order of things which must be adopted. *Louis XVIII. is a principle.*"

None of the members of the Provisional Government were present at this conference, for no one was willing to appear to influence in any way the determination of the chief of the coalition upon the subject of this important mission.[1] General Dessolles alone, in quality of commander of the National Guard of Paris, was requested to be present. At length the Marshals entered the *salon* where we were, and their appearance created a sensation which it is impossible to describe; but the expression of dissatisfaction which we thought we remarked in their countenances restored the hopes of those who for some hours had been a prey to apprehensions. Macdonald, with his head elevated, and evidently under the influence of strong irritation, approached Beurnonville, and thus addressed him, in answer to a question which the latter had put to him. "Speak not to me, sir; I have nothing to say to you. You have made me forget a friendship of thirty years!"

[1] In the account of the next few days Bourrienne follows pretty closely the Memoirs of Marmont (Paris, Perrotin, 1857, nine tomes).

Then turning to Dupont, "As for you, sir," he continued in the same tone, "your conduct towards the Emperor is not generous. I confess that he has treated you with severity, perhaps he may even have been unjust to you with respect to the affair of Baylen, but how long has it been the practice to avenge a personal wrong at the expense of one's country?" [1]

These remarks were made with such warmth, and in so elevated a tone of voice, that Caulaincourt thought it necessary to interfere, and said, "Do not forget, gentlemen, that this is the residence of the Emperor of Russia." At this moment M. de Talleyrand returned from the interview with the Emperor which he had had after the departure of the Marshals, and approaching the group formed round Macdonald, "Gentlemen," said he, "if you wish to dispute and discuss, step down to my apartments." — "That would be useless," replied Macdonald; "my comrades and I do not acknowledge the Provisional Government." The three Marshals, Ney, Macdonald, and Marmont, then immediately retired with Caulaincourt, and went to Ney's hôtel, there to await the answer which the Emperor Alexander had promised to give them after consulting the King of Prussia.

Such was this night-scene, which possessed more dramatic effect than many which are performed on the stage. In it all was real: on its *dénouement* depended the political state of France, and the existence of all those who had already declared themselves in favor of the Bourbons. It is a remarkable fact, and one which affords a striking lesson to men who are tempted to sacrifice themselves for any political cause, that most of those who then demanded the restoration of the Bourbons at the peril of their lives have successively fallen into disgrace.

When the Marshals and Caulaincourt had retired we were all anxious to know what had passed between them and the Emperor of Russia. I learned from Dessolles, who, as I have stated, was present at the conference in his rank of commander of the National Guard of Paris, that the Marshals

[1] General Dupont, beaten by the Spaniards, surrendered, with 20,000 men, at Baylen (in Andalusia), on the 22d of July, 1808.

were unanimous in urging Alexander to accede to a Regency. Macdonald especially supported that proposition with much warmth; and among the observations he made I recollect Dessolles mentioned the following: — "I am not authorized to treat in any way for the fate reserved for the Emperor. We have full powers to treat for the Regency, the army, and France; but the Emperor has positively forbidden us to specify anything personally regarding himself." Alexander merely replied, "That does not astonish me." The Marshals then, resuming the conversation, dwelt much on the respect which was due to the military glory of France. They strongly manifested their disinclination to abandon the family of a man who had so often led them to victory; and lastly, they reminded the Emperor Alexander of his own declaration, in which he proclaimed, in his own name as well as on the part of his Allies, that it was not their intention to impose on France any government whatever.

Dessolles, who had all along declared himself in favor of the Bourbons, in his turn entered into the discussion with as much warmth as the partisans of the Regency. He represented to Alexander how many persons would be compromised for merely having acted or declared their opinions behind the shield of his promises. He repeated what Alexander had already been told, that the Regency would, in fact, be nothing but Bonaparte in disguise. However, Dessolles acknowledged that such was the effect of Marshal Macdonald's powerful and persuasive eloquence that Alexander seemed to waver; and, unwilling to give the Marshals a positive refusal, he had recourse to a subterfuge, by which he would be enabled to execute the design he had irrevocably formed without seeming to take on himself alone the responsibility of a change of government. Dessolles accordingly informed us that Alexander at last gave the following answer to the Marshals: "Gentlemen, I am not alone; in an affair of such importance I must consult the King of Prussia, for I have promised to do nothing without consulting him. In a few hours you shall know my decision." It was this decision which the Marshals went to wait for at Ney's.

Most of the members of the Provisional Government attributed the evasive reply of the Emperor Alexander to the influence of the speech of Dessolles. For my part, while I do justice to the manner in which he declared himself on this important occasion, I do not ascribe to his eloquence the power of fixing Alexander's resolution, for I well know by experience how easy it is to make princes appear to adopt the advice of any one when the counsel given is precisely that which they wish to follow. From the sentiments of Alexander at this time I had not the slightest doubt as to the course he would finally pursue; and I considered what he said about consulting the King of Prussia to be merely a polite excuse, by which he avoided the disagreeable task of giving the Marshals a direct refusal.

I therefore returned home quite satisfied as to the result of the Emperor Alexander's visit to the King of Prussia. I knew, from the persons about the Czar, that he cherished a hatred, which was but too well justified, towards Bonaparte. Frederick William is of too firm a character to have yielded to any of the considerations which might on this subject have been pressed on him as they had been on the Emperor of Russia. But, besides that the King of Prussia had legitimate reasons for disliking Napoleon, policy would at that time have required that he should appear to be his enemy, for to do so was to render himself popular with his subjects. But the King of Prussia did not need to act under the dictates of policy; he followed his own opinion in rejecting the propositions of the Marshals, which he did without hesitation, and with much energy.

While the Marshals had gone to Paris Bonaparte was anxious to ascertain whether his Commissioners had passed the advanced posts of the foreign armies, and in case of resistance he determined to march on Paris, for he could not believe that he had lost every chance. He sent an *aide de camp* to desire Marmont to come immediately to Fontainebleau: such was Napoleon's impatience that instead of waiting for the return of his *aide de camp* he sent off a second and then a third officer on the same errand. This rapid succession

of envoys from the Emperor alarmed the general who commanded the different divisions of Marmont's corps at Essonne. They feared that the Emperor was aware of the Convention concluded that morning with Prince Schwartzenberg, and that he had sent for Marmont with the view of reprimanding him. The fact was, Napoleon knew nothing of the matter, for Marmont, on departing for Paris with Macdonald and Ney, had left orders that it should be said he had gone to inspect his lines. Souham, Lebrun des Essarts, and Bordesoulle, who had given their assent to the Convention with Prince Schwartzenberg, deliberated in the absence of Marmont, and, perhaps being ignorant that he was released from his promise, and fearing the vengeance of Napoleon, they determined to march upon Versailles. On arriving there the troops not finding the Marshal at their head thought themselves betrayed, and a spirit of insurrection broke out among them. One of Marmont's *aides de camp*, whom he had left at Essonne, exerted every endeavor to prevent the departure of his general's corps, but, finding all his efforts unavailing, he hastened to Paris to inform the Marshal of what had happened. When Marmont received this news he was breakfasting at Ney's with Macdonald and Caulaincourt: they were waiting for the answer which the Emperor Alexander had promised to send them. The march of his corps on Versailles threw Marmont into despair. He said to the Marshals, "I must be off to join my corps and quell this mutiny;" and without losing a moment he ordered his carriage and directed the coachman to drive with the utmost speed. He sent forward one of his *aides de camp* to inform the troops of his approach.

Having arrived within a hundred paces of the place where his troops were assembled he found the generals who were under his orders advancing to meet him. They urged him not to go farther, as the men were in open insurrection. "I will go into the midst of them," said Marmont. "In a moment they shall either kill me or acknowledge me as their chief." He sent off another *aide de camp* to range the troops in the order of battle. Then, alighting from the carriage and mounting a horse, he advanced alone, and thus

harangued his troops: "How! Is there treason here? Is it possible that you disown me? Am I not your comrade? Have I not been wounded twenty times among you? . . . Have I not shared your fatigues and privations? And am I not ready to do so again?" Here Marmont was interrupted by a general shout of "Vive le Maréchal! Vive le Maréchal!"[1]

The alarm caused among the members of the Provisional Government by the mission of the Marshals was increased by the news of the mutiny of Marmont's troops. During the whole of the day we were in a state of tormenting anxiety. It was feared that the insurrectionary spirit might spread among other corps of the army, and the cause of France again be endangered. But the courage of Marmont saved everything. It would be impossible to convey any idea of the

[1] Marmont's conduct at this time has been much debated, but it may easily be summed up He was not a politician, but a soldier intrusted with an important command by a man who had raised him and overwhelmed him with benefits. "Large allowances, which were unceasingly increased, considerable gifts, and all the advantages of a brilliant position," are his own words when he reproaches his wife for treating him as he treated his Emperor (*Ragusa*, tome vii. p. 62). He entered into secret negotiations with the Allies. What the nature of the negotiations were we can best judge by this. During his absence Napoleon sent repeatedly for him, or for the next senior officer. Marmont's generals, acquainted with his plans, became alarmed, and carried off their men into the enemy's lines, Souham saying, "Better to kill the devil than to be killed by him." If they and Marmont were not engaged in a treasonable and disgraceful plot, what possible cause of alarm had they more than the other officers, who, pressing Napoleon to abdicate, still refrained from treachery? The poor soldiers found out the treason of their leaders, and attempted to return to their right place. Marmont succeeded in bringing them back into the snare. "This," says he (tome vi. p. 269), "was the reward of my generous confidence in them." The reward of the confidence of Napoleon in him he does not tell us of, but hints that he wished to go to Elba to care for the comforts of the man he betrayed. Some extenuation of his conduct may be found in the fact that he seems to have thought Napoleon mad at the time. Speaking of the 1st of April (tome vi. p. 253) he says, "From this moment I was struck by the complete derangement which had replaced his ordinary clearness and that power of reasoning which was so habitual with him." He seems to have really believed this, for he said to Metternich in September, 1819, "Since the last time that I heard Napoleon speak, before he became mad, this is the first reasonable conversation I have heard" (*Metternich*, vol. iii. p. 335). Also, neither he nor any of the men laboring to upset Napoleon seem to have dreamt of the way in which they were laying France, helpless, at the feet of the Allies. But the tricky plea that, while he was acting thus, Napoleon had, without Marmont's knowledge, already abdicated, could never save Marmont in a court of honor. See the whole matter fairly put in *Thiers*, livre liii. tome xvii. pp. 717, 718. Weakening the French army in the face of the Allies was weakening France; and if it were right, necessary, and honorable to betray Napoleon, it certainly was not right, necessary, or honorable to betray France.

manner in which he was received by us at Talleyrand's when he related the particulars of what had occurred at Versailles.[1]

On the evening of the day on which Marmont had acted so nobly it was proposed that the army should adopt the white cockade. In reply to this proposition the Marshal said, "Gentlemen, I have made my troops understand the necessity of serving France before all things. They have, consequently, returned to order, and I can now answer for them. But what I cannot answer for is to induce them to abandon the colors which have led them to victory for the last twenty years. Therefore do not count upon me for a thing which I consider to be totally hostile to the interests of France. I will speak to the Emperor Alexander on the subject." Such were Marmont's words. Every one appeared to concur in his opinion, and the discussion terminated. For my own part, I find by my notes that I declared myself strongly in favor of Marmont's proposition.

The Marshal's opinion having been adopted, at least provisionally, an article was prepared for the *Moniteur* in nearly the following terms: —

"The white cockade has been, during the last four days, a badge for the manifestation of public opinion in favor of the overthrow of an oppressive Government: it has been the only means of distinguishing the partisans of the restoration of the old dynasty, to which at length we are to be indebted for repose. But as the late Government is at an end, all colors differing from our national colors are useless: let us, therefore, resume those which have so often led us to victory.

Such was the spirit of the article, though possibly the above copy may differ in a few words. It met with the unqualified approbation of every one present. I was therefore extremely surprised, on looking at the *Moniteur* next day, to find that the article was not inserted. I knew not what courtly interference prevented the appearance of the article, but I remember that Marmont was very ill pleased at its omission. He complained on the subject to the Emperor Alexander, who promised to write, and in fact did write, to

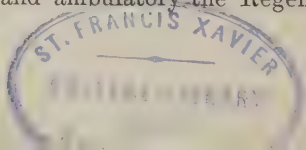
[1] When I returned that night to M. de Talleyrand's I was made much of and complimented, every one asking me for details of what had occurred (*Raguse*, tome vi. p. 269).

the Provisional Government to get the article inserted. However, it did not appear, and in a few days we obtained a solution of the enigma, as we might perhaps have done before if we had tried. The Emperor Alexander also promised to write to the Comte d'Artois, and to inform him that the opinion of France was in favor of the preservation of the three colors, but I do not know whether the letter was written, or, if it was, what answer it received.

Marshal Jourdan, who was then at Rouen, received a letter, written without the knowledge of Marmont, informing him that the latter had mounted the white cockade in his corps. Jourdan thought he could not do otherwise than follow Marmont's example, and he announced to the Provisional Government that in consequence of the resolution of the Duke of Ragusa he had just ordered his corps to wear the white cockade. Marmont could now be boldly faced, and when he complained to the Provisional Government of the non-insertion of the article in the *Moniteur* the reply was, "It cannot now appear. You see Marshal Jourdan has mounted the white cockade: you would not give the army two sets of colors!"

Marmont could make no answer to so positive a fact. It was not till some time after that I learned Jourdan had determined to unfurl the white flag only on the positive assurance that Marmont had already done so. Thus we lost the colors which had been worn by Louis XVI., which Louis XVIII., when a Prince, had adopted, and in which the Comte d'Artois showed himself on his return to the Parisians, for he entered the capital in the uniform of the National Guard. The fraud played off by some members of the Provisional Government was attended by fatal consequences; many evils might have been spared to France had Marmont's advice been adopted.

At the period of the dissolution of the Empire there might be said to be three Governments in France, viz. the Provisional Government in Paris, Napoleon's at Fontainebleau, and the doubtful and ambulatory Regency of Maria Louisa. Doubtful and ambulatory the Regency might well be called,


ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

for there was so little decision as to the course to be adopted by the Empress that it was at first proposed to conduct her to Orleans, then to Tours, and she went finally to Blois. The uncertainty which prevailed respecting the destiny of Maria Louisa is proved by a document which I have in my possession, and of which there cannot be many copies in existence. It is a circular addressed to the prefects by M. de Montalivet, the Minister of the Interior, who accompanied the Empress. In it a blank is left for the seat of the Government, to which the prefects are desired to send their communications. In the copy I possess the blank is filled up with the word "Blois" in manuscript.

As soon as Maria Louisa was made acquainted with the events that had taken place around Paris she sent for the Duc de Cadore,[1] and gave him a letter addressed to the Emperor of Austria, saying, "Take this to my father, who must be at Dijon. I rely on you for defending the interests of France, those of the Emperor, and above all those of my son." Certainly Maria Louisa's confidence could not be better placed, and those great interests would have been defended by the Duc de Cadore *si defendi possent.*

After the departure of the Duc de Cadore Maria Louisa published the following proclamation, addressed to the French people: —

BY THE EMPRESS REGENT.

A Proclamation.

The events of the war have placed the capital in the power of foreigners. The Emperor has marched to defend it at the head of his armies, so often victorious. They are face to face with the enemy before the walls of Paris. From the residence which I have chosen, and from the Ministers of the Emperor, will emanate the only orders which you can acknowledge. Every town in the power of foreigners ceases to be free, and every order which may proceed from them is the language of the enemy, or that which it suits his hostile views to propagate. You will be faithful to

[1] Jean Nompère de Champagny, Duc de Cadore. One of the most worthy of Napoleon's Ministers. Minister of the Interior from 1804 to August, 1807, then Minister of Foreign Affairs to April, 1811, then honorably shelved as Intendant Général de la Couronne, and in 1814 appointed Secretary of the Regency.

your oaths. You will listen to the voice of a Princess who was[1] consigned to your good faith, and whose highest pride consists in being a Frenchwoman, and in being united to the destiny of the sovereign whom you have freely chosen. My son was less sure of your affections in the time of our prosperity; his rights and his person are under your safeguard.

(By order) MONTALIVET. (Signed) MARIA LOUISA.

BLOIS, *3d April*, 1814.

It is to be inferred that the Regency had within three days adopted the resolution of not quitting Blois, for the above document presents no blanks, nor words filled up in writing. The Empress's proclamation, though a powerful appeal to the feelings of the French people, produced no effect. Maria Louisa's proclamation was dated the 4th of April, on the evening of which day Napoleon signed the conditional abdication, with the fate of which the reader has already been made acquainted. M. de Montalivet transmitted the Empress's proclamation, accompanied by another circular, to the prefects, of whom very few received it.

M. de Champagny, having left Blois with the letter he had received from the Empress, proceeded to the headquarters of the Emperor of Austria, carefully avoiding those roads which were occupied by Cossack troops. He arrived, not without considerable difficulty, at Chanseaux, where Francis II. was expected. When the Emperor arrived the Duc de Cadore was announced, and immediately introduced to his Majesty. The Duke remained some hours with Francis II., without being able to obtain from him anything but fair protestations. The Emperor always took refuge behind the promise he had given to his Allies to approve whatever measures they might adopt.

The Duke was not to leave the Emperor's headquarters that evening, and, in the hope that his Majesty might yet reflect on the critical situation of his daughter, he asked permission

[1] I was informed that when the document was printed and presented to the Empress she drew her pen through the word *was*, and made the sentence read as follows: "You will listen to the voice of a Princess who *has consigned herself* to your good faith," etc. The unfortunate Princess did all she could to rally to her cause, and above all to the cause of her son, those whose resolutions were still wavering, and the truth is that, personally, Maria Louisa inspired real interest even in those who, from policy or regard for France, were most actively laboring to overthrow the Imperial despotism. — *Bourrienne.*

to take leave next morning. He accordingly presented himself to the Emperor's levee, when he renewed his efforts in support of the claims of Maria Louisa. "I have a great affection for my daughter, and also for my son-in-law," said the Emperor. "I bear them both in my heart, and would shed my blood for them." — "Ah, Sire!" exclaimed M. de Champagny, "such a sacrifice is not necessary." — "Yes, Duke, I say again I would shed my blood, I would resign my life for them, but I have given my Allies a promise not to treat without them, and to approve all that they may do. Besides," added the Emperor, "my Minister, M. de Metternich, has gone to their headquarters, and I will ratify whatever he may sign."

When the Duc de Cadore related to me the particulars of his mission, in which zeal could not work an impossibility, I remarked that he regarded as a circumstance fatal to Napoleon the absence of M. de Metternich and the presence of M. Stadion at the headquarters of the Emperor of Austria. Though in all probability nothing could have arrested the course of events, yet it is certain that the personal sentiments of the two Austrian Ministers towards Napoleon were widely different. I am not going too far when I affirm that, policy apart, M. de Metternich was much attached to Napoleon.[1] In support of this assertion I may quote a fact of which I can guarantee the authenticity. When M. de Metternich was complimented on the occasion of Maria Louisa's marriage he replied, "To have contributed to a measure which has received the approbation of 80,000,000 men is indeed a just subject of congratulation." Such a remark openly made by the intelligent Minister of the Cabinet of Vienna was well calculated to gratify the ears of Napoleon, from whom, however, M. de Metternich in his personal relations did not conceal the truth. I recollect a reply which was made by M. de Metternich at Dresden after a little hesitation. "As to you," said the Emperor, "you will not go to war with me. It is impossible that you can declare yourselves against me. That can never be." — "Sire, we are not now quite allies, and some-

[1] This attachment of Metternich to Napoleon was much believed in at the time; see *De Vitrolles*, tome i. pp. 69 and 78.

time hence we may become enemies." This hint was the last which Napoleon received from Metternich, and Napoleon must have been blind indeed not to have profited by it. As to M. Stadion, he entertained a profound dislike of the Emperor. That Minister knew and could not forget that his preceding exclusion from the Cabinet of Vienna had been due to the all-powerful influences of Napoleon.

Whether or not the absence of Metternich influenced the resolution of Francis II., it is certain that that monarch yielded nothing to the urgent solicitations of a Minister who conscientiously fulfilled the delicate mission consigned to him. M. de Champagny rejoined the Empress at Orleans, whither she had repaired on leaving Blois. He found Maria Louisa almost deserted, all the Grand Dignitaries of the Empire having successively returned to Paris after sending in their submissions to the Provisional Government.

I had scarcely entered upon the exercise of my functions as Postmaster-General when, on the morning of the 2d of April, I was surprised to see a Prussian general officer enter my cabinet. I immediately recognized him as General Blucher. He had commanded the Prussian army in the battle which took place at the gates of Paris. "Sir," said he, "I consider it one of my first duties on entering Paris to thank you for the attention I received from you in Hamburg. I am sorry that I was not sooner aware of your being in Paris. I assure you that had I been sooner informed of this circumstance the capitulation should have been made without a blow being struck. How much blood might then have been spared!" — "General," said I, "on what do you ground this assurance?" — "If I had known that you were in Paris I would have given you a letter to the King of Prussia. That monarch, who knows the resources and intentions of the Allies, would, I am sure, have authorized you to decide a suspension of arms before the neighborhood of Paris became the theatre of the war." — "But," resumed I, "in spite of the good intentions of the Allies, it would have been very difficult to prevent resistance. French pride, irritated as it was by reverses, would have opposed insurmountable obstacles to such a measure." —

"But, good heavens! you would have seen that resistance could be of no avail against such immense masses." — "You are right, General; but French honor would have been defended to the last." — "I am fully aware of that; but surely you have earned glory enough!" — "Yet our French susceptibility would have made us look upon that glory as tarnished if Paris had been occupied without defence. . . . But under present circumstances I am well pleased that you were satisfied with my conduct in Hamburg, for it induces me to hope that you will observe the same moderation in Paris that I exercised there. The days are past when it could be said, Woe to the conquered." — "You are right; yet," added he, smiling, "you know we are called the northern barbarians." — "Then, General," returned I, "you have a fair opportunity of showing that that designation is a libel."

Some days after Blucher's visit I had the honor of being admitted to a private audience of the King of Prussia. Clarke and Berthier were also received in this audience, which took place at the hôtel of Prince Eugène, where the King of Prussia resided in Paris. We waited for some minutes in the *salon*, and when Frederick William entered from his cabinet I remarked on his countenance an air of embarrassment and austerity which convinced me that he had been studying his part, as great personages are in the habit of doing on similar occasions. The King on entering the *salon* first noticed Berthier, whom he addressed with much kindness, bestowing praises on the French troops, and complimenting the Marshal on his conduct during the war in Germany. Berthier returned thanks for these well-merited praises, for though he was not remarkable for strength of understanding or energy of mind, yet he was not a bad man, and I have known many proofs of his good conduct in conquered countries.

After saluting Berthier the King of Prussia turned towards Clarke, and his countenance immediately assumed an expression of dissatisfaction. He had evidently not forgotten Clarke's conduct in Berlin. He reminded him that he had rendered the Continental system more odious than it was in itself, and that he had shown no moderation in the execution of his orders.

"In short," said his Majesty, "if I have any advice to give you, it is that you never again return to Prussia." The King pronounced these words in so loud and decided a tone that Clarke was perfectly confounded. He uttered some unintelligible observations, which, however, Frederick William did not notice, for suddenly turning towards me he said, with an air of affability, "Ah! M. de Bourrienne, I am glad to see you, and I take this opportunity of repeating what I wrote to you from Königsberg. You always extended protection to the Germans, and did all you could to alleviate their condition. I learned with great satisfaction what you did for the Prussians whom the fate of war drove into Hamburg; and I feel pleasure in telling you, in the presence of these two gentlemen, that if all the French agents had acted as you did we should not, probably, be here." I expressed, by a profound bow, how much I was gratified by this complimentary address,[1] and the King, after saluting us, retired.

About the middle of April Bernadotte arrived in Paris. His situation had become equivocal, since circumstances had banished the hopes he might have conceived in his interview with the Emperor Alexander at Abo. Besides, he had been represented in some official pamphlets as a traitor to France, and among certain worshippers of our injured glory there prevailed a feeling of irritation, and which was unjustly directed towards Bernadotte.

I even remember that Napoleon, before he had fallen from his power, had a sort of national protest made by the police against the Prince Royal of Sweden. This Prince had reserved an hôtel in the Rue d'Anjou, and the words, "Down with the traitor! down with the perjurer," were shouted there; but this had no result, as it was only considered an outrage caused by a spirit of petty vengeance.

While Bernadotte was in Paris I saw him every day. He but faintly disguised from me the hope he had entertained of ruling France; and in the numerous conversations to which our respective occupations led I ascertained, though Bernadotte did not formally tell me so, that he once had strong expectations of succeeding Napoleon.

[1] At the expense of his countryman.

Pressed at last into his final intrenchments he broke through all reserve and confirmed all I knew of the interview of Abo.

I asked Bernadotte what he thought of the projects which were attributed to Moreau; whether it was true that he had in him a competitor, and whether Moreau had aspired to the dangerous honor of governing France. "Those reports," replied the Prince Royal of Sweden, "are devoid of foundation: at least I can assure you that in the conversations I have had with the Emperor Alexander, that sovereign never said anything which could warrant such a supposition. I know that the Emperor of Russia wished to avail himself of the military talents of Moreau in the great struggle that had commenced, and to enable the exiled general to return to his country, in the hope that, should the war prove fortunate, he would enjoy the honors and privileges due to his past services."

Bernadotte expressed to me astonishment at the recall of the Bourbons, and assured me that he had not expected the French people would so readily have consented to the Restoration. I confess I was surprised that Bernadotte, with the intelligence I knew him to possess, should imagine that the will of subjects has any influence in changes of government!

During his stay in Paris Bernadotte evinced for me the same sentiments of friendship which he had shown me at Hamburg. One day I received from him a letter, dated Paris, with which he transmitted to me one of the crosses of the Polar Star, which the King of Sweden had left at his disposal. Bernadotte was not very well satisfied with his residence in Paris, in spite of the friendship which the Emperor Alexander constantly manifested towards him. After a few days he set out for Sweden, having first taken leave of Comte d'Artois. I did not see him after his farewell visit to the Count, so that I know not what was the nature of the conversation which passed between the two Princes.[1]

[1] Metternich (vol i. p. 208) says, "It does not admit of a doubt that the Crown Prince (Bernadotte) had personal designs on the throne of France.

Even if his operations in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 did not furnish the actual proof of the existence of this pretension, the words spoken by him would be equivalent to a confession." Receiving news of the victory of Grosbeeren, "'Bernadotte cried out enthusiastically, 'La France au plus digne.' —'Grands Dieux!' answered Pozzo, 'la France est à moi.' The Crown Prince was silent." Metternich (vol. i. p. 225) says that at Langres, in 1814, Bernadotte was at once suggested if any person except a Bourbon or the son of Napoleon were to hold the crown. De Vitrolles (tome i. p. 462) dates Bernadotte's hopes of the crown from his interview with the Czar at Abo in 1812, when only Lord Cathcart, the English Ambassador, was present. It was this pretension on the part of Bernadotte that made him so anxious to avoid striking any great blow in 1813 with his Swedes against the French. Muffling (p. 82), after describing how Blucher, being informed of the daily progressive measures which the Crown Prince adopted to prove to the French army that he acted not only as their countryman but as their friend, and how far he was from wishing to destroy them by his Swedes, or to shed their blood, says that Blucher marched to his right to obviate all political high treason. "Thus one of the three Frenchmen summoned by the sovereigns to assist them in conquering Napoleon had to be watched by an army of 100,000 men!" "It was to Lord Stewart's threat to withdraw the English subsidy if Bernadotte would not advance to Leipsic that," says Muffling (p. 87), "the plains of Breitenfeld are indebted for the honor of being trodden by a successor of the great King of Sweden." Blucher's suspicions may have had some foundation See *Marmont*, tome vii. pp. 26–28, where he says that Bernadotte, in 1814, was in communication with General Maison, commanding a French corps in Flanders (a former *aide de camp* of his), and offered to disarm the Prussian corps under his orders, and then to pass over to the French He only required from Napoleon a promise in writing to procure for him another sovereignty if he thus lost his claims to the throne of Sweden. Napoleon refused to sign the engagement himself, offering that it should be signed by his brother Joseph: and the affair thus fell to the ground from want of mutual confidence. Napoleon let Alexander receive Bernadotte's communication, and the Czar informed Bernadotte that he forgave him on account of his previous conduct, but made him engage to leave France at once. So says Marmont, without professing to have seen any proofs, but remarking that the sudden departure of Bernadotte from Paris was thus explained. For the feelings of the Restoration as to Bernadotte's retention of his position in 1815, see Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 6, 7, where a distinction is drawn between him and Murat. "It is," says Talleyrand, "an evil, a very great evil, that that man should have been called upon to succeed to the throne of Sweden. But it is an evil which, if ever it can be remedied at all, can only be remedied by time, and the events that time will bring."

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE DOMINION OF NAPOLEON I. (Irrespective of occupied territories) at the time of his greatest power.

Armstrong & Co. Lith. Boston, & 84 W. B'way, New York.

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING MAP.

It is an interesting question to consider what in Napoleon's mind was to be the real extent of his dominions. By comparing the map of the French Empire given in this volume with what we know of Napoleon's ideas it appears clear that he had formed a well-considered plan of dominion, not only practicable, but which he had actually carried out almost to completion; though, like many of his plans, well grounded in itself, it suffered from the extravagant and rash attempts which often ruined the results of his usually prudent course. France, spreading to the Rhine, holding the passages of that river, extending to the Pyrenees and the Alps, and threatening England by her possession of Belgium and Holland, was to form a compact centralized State able to throw her armies with overwhelming force on any country daring to rebel. The greater part of Germany was to be composed of small States, each far too weak in itself to oppose the dominant power, but still large enough to look with jealousy on any attempt of its neighbors to absorb it. French laws and customs introduced into this Confederation, misnamed "of the Rhine," would have gradually assimilated it to France; and in a hundred years it might have been as difficult to separate it from France as it was with Alsace in 1870. Here the power of France was to stop at all events for a long period. As he himself said to Metternich in 1808, "I only wish for direct influence in Europe to the banks of the Rhine, and indirectly as far as the Elbe, the Inn, and the Isonzo. The thing is quite simple; I think I am the stronger for not going as far as the Vistula, but keeping myself more concentrated. Prussia will become the strongest power of the second order. . . . I do not desire to extend my influence beyond the natural line I have pointed out to you" (*Metternich*, vol. ii. p. 256). Here we have Napoleon in one of his best moods. Prussia and Austria, outlying States, too weak to resist, were to be left till in course of time the rising tide of French influence would overflow their frontiers and they too would assume the same position as Bavaria already held. The Austrian marriage probably saved Austria from further dismemberment. She was to remain a State nominally of the first order: indeed, by giving up her Polish provinces, she was to regain her lands on the east of the Adriatic as well as the former Venetian dominions there; that is, she was to receive the lands shown on the map as in the possession of Napoleon as the Illyrian provinces. Further, she had hopes held out to her of receiving part of Turkey; see *Metternich*, vol. i. p. 137. Thus Austria would have then held the position into which she was forced in 1886, — that of a State watching Russia, abandoning all hope of increasing her dominions in Germany, and looking for any further increase towards Turkey. The Duchy of Warsaw, increased by the Polish provinces of Russia and Austria, would have been in fact, and probably in name, a revived Poland, watching Russia and looking to France for protection.

The North of Italy, gradually formed into one State, would have, in course of time as the old petty jealousies died out (a long process, as Napoleon knew), become a State strong enough to aid France, but too weak to be able to stand alone. Scattered as it were round the Continent, the dependent Kings of Sweden, Denmark, Naples, and Spain were to look to France for their protection.

It is important to remember that almost the whole of this was actually accomplished by Napoleon at the time when he threw away all the results of his labors by his mad attack on Spain. Metternich himself acknowledges that the middle of Germany was contented. "The people of those German States whose territory had been enlarged by the peace of Presburg (1805) and the peace of Vienna (1809) were contented with these and the protection of the conqueror of the world. . . . In Austria . . . the expression 'German feeling' had no more meaning than a myth" (*Metternich*, vol. i. p. 166). See also Metternich's confession of Austria's weakness even in 1813 (*Metternich*, vol. i. p. 177). There remained one thing — the inevitable attack on Russia. If we can imagine this carried out in the way we know Napoleon originally planned, a slow, gradual advance, supported by the new Polish State which was to grow up behind the army, the whole movement unhurried by the pressure in Spain, and his full prestige undimmed by the Spanish troubles, we must feel sure that Russia never could have withstood the shock. The ultimate defeat of Napoleon is no argument against the success of his really great plan: he fell not so much by the efforts of the Allies as from his own errors. He had placed France in a situation where she only required ordinary statesmanship and ordinary military talents to enable her to retain dominion over the Continent. The common error of believing that he aimed at making the whole of Europe in his time an integral part of his Empire hardly needs refutation.

It will be seen that the map presents some inconsistencies with this view of the Empire. But most of these can be explained. Napoleon held the Illyrian provinces, partly for a temporary purpose, to cut off Austria from the sea and so to carry out his Continental system, — chiefly to eventually use them as a bribe to Austria to yield her own Polish provinces and to consent to the revival of Poland. The annexation of the North of Germany was due to the wish to carry out the Continental system, and it is hardly possible that it was intended to be permanent. These lands would have probably been used for exchanges.

The retention by Napoleon of part of the North of Italy is not quite so easy to explain. It was probably partly due to his tendency to display a curious jealousy and distrust of his own creations. By the retention of these lands he retained a hold over the new Kingdom of Italy. But, what is more likely to have been his chief motive, he made the task of that Kingdom easier by lessening the number of the States she had to absorb. He himself, we know, was much impressed with the time required for the growth of a really national feeling in Italy; and the presence of

the French in Italy was alike a protection against Austria and a pressure exerted for the unification of the rest of the North of Italy. These lands would probably soon have been given to the Kingdom of Italy.

It is not so safe to prophesy what were his intentions in announcing and commencing the annexation of the provinces of Spain on the left of the Ebro. This measure was certainly partly intended as a threat to the Spaniards if they continued their resistance, to show them they might have to bear with a greater disaster than a foreign King, and it was partly induced by the greater facility for governing the provinces under direct French rule than through the weak Joseph.

This, however, is the only real difficulty the map presents. We there see a thoroughly practicable scheme for the permanent maintenance of French ascendency over the Continent.

In some maps Catalonia is shown as actually part of the French Empire. This is an error. Though the decree for the annexation was given, and though that province was made one of the Military Governments practically removed from the power of Joseph, the last formal step, that of annexing it by *Sénatus-consulte*, was never taken. The matter can be followed in detail in Du Casse's *Memoirs of Joseph*, tomes vii. viii. In what is probably the best authority — Spruner-Menke, *Hand Atlas*, dritte auflage, Gotha, Perthes, 1880, map 56 — Catalonia is left to Spain.

The following list of the more important annexations made under the actual government of Napoleon may be interesting. 1800, Country on left of Sesia taken from Piedmont and given to the Cisalpine Republic. Louisiana to west of Mississippi, with New Orleans, ceded by Louis XV. to Spain, is now given back by Spain, but is sold by France to the United States in 1803. 1801, Austria confirms the possession by France of the left bank of the Rhine, and again cedes Austrian Lombardy to the Cisalpine Republic; Tuscany formed into Kingdom of Etruria. 1802, Elba and Piedmont on right of the Sesia. 1805, Genoa; Austria cedes to Kingdom of Italy her share of the Venetian mainland possessions, Venice, Istria, Dalmatia, Bouches du Cattaro, and the mainland to the Adige. 1806, Neufchâtel, Berg, and Cleves (Anspach ceded by Prussia to France but exchanged with Bavaria for Berg). 1808, Flushing, Kehl, Cassel, and Wesel, Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany (or Kingdom of Etruria) annexed to France, and Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino to the Kingdom of Italy. 1809, part of Carinthia, Trieste, Istria, Carniola, etc., ceded by Austria. 1810, Holland, the Hanse Towns (Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen) with northern coast line of Germany, Ratisbon, the Valais, the Papal States, and Rome; Ragusa. 1812, Dantzic. The dates of annexation here given are those of the formal *Sénatus-consulte*; the annexation was often carried out by a decree of earlier date. If this list be compared with that of the various Republics (vol. iii. p. 145), and with the description of the Kingdom of Westphalia (vol. iii. p. 88) and of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (vol. iii. p. 74), the map will be the better understood.

THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.

"As far back as the winter of 1810 Napoleon formed the project of attacking Russia, and of reducing her to the state of dependence which had become the lot of the great German monarchies. He originally intended to declare war in the spring or summer of 1811, and to limit his efforts to a campaign on the Niemen; but as his preparations were not then complete, and the hesitating policy of the Russian Cabinet, alarmed at the prospect before it, seemed to assure him time to mature his plans, he delayed the enterprise till the following year, and finally decided that it should assume the most formidable proportions. Napoleon's general design, apart from the extravagance of the original conception, was marked by the profound skill in stratagem, the clear insight, and the admirable combinations which almost always distinguished his strategy. Though he continued the exhausting contest in Spain, he resolved to collect and draw together an army of such overwhelming strength that it could safely attempt to subdue Russia, and, compelling Austria and Prussia to join him, to move it gradually to the banks of the Niemen, and launch it thence into the heart of the Russian Empire. The positions he held upon the Vistula, and almost upon the Russian frontier, would enable him, he confidently hoped, to screen this operation for a considerable time; his domination over Northern Germany would give him the means of directing his masses in security from the Rhine and the Elbe; and between the vacillations of the Czar and the truce and submission of Europe, he calculated that he would succeed in reaching the Niemen in commanding force without encountering real opposition. The difficulties of the immense distances, the barren soil, and the climate of Russia remained yet to be met and conquered; but he had coped with them in 1807, and he would make sufficient provision against them. The great trading-ports on the North German seaboard should be made the basis of his operations; vast magazines should be formed in them, and their supplies be sent into Russia by water-carriage along the Frische Haff; and, without foregoing a bold offensive, the army should bear along with it the means of subsistence in ample quantities together with all its other material. 'The obstacles in my way are great,' wrote Napoleon, in a confidential letter, when ruminating on his vast project, 'but with the appliances I can command we shall be able to devour all obstacles.'

"The later months of 1811 and the first of the succeeding year were employed by Napoleon in preparations for carrying out this gigantic design. France answered bravely his summons to arms, and masses of conscripts were added to the legions which, though terribly thinned by the havoc and privations of war, still contained soldiers of Marengo and

Austerlitz. At the same time the call to the field was obeyed throughout all parts of the Empire; the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine were ordered to muster their contingents; armed men were raised and collected in thousands in Poland, in Holland, in the wilds of Illyria, and even in the conquered provinces of Spain; a great army was marshalled in Italy and held in readiness to cross the Alps; and treaties were made with Austria and Prussia, by which these Powers pledged themselves to furnish considerable additions to the huge force which was being directed against their old ally. Meanwhile, Germany being nearly as much under the control of Napoleon as France itself, arrangements were made on a great scale for the transport and subsistence of troops along the space from the Elbe to the Niemen; the granaries of Poland were moved to the seaboard, and accumulated in numerous *depôts* from the Oder and Vistula to the Pregel; the important fortresses of Dantzic and Königsberg were strengthened, and made vast places of arms capable of satisfying the needs of whole *corps d'armée*, and abundantly provided with magazines and warlike material of all kinds; the navigation of the Frische Haff and Curische Haff was carefully surveyed and connected with that of the Pregel and Niemen; and carriages, wagons, and carts were constructed in thousands to bear the supplies of the host which was destined to move into the plains of Russia.

"Though it was of course impossible to conceal them altogether, Napoleon masked these immense preparations with extraordinary dexterity and art; and whatever may be thought of his good faith, his conduct was marked with the highest ability. While he strained every nerve to accomplish his objects he deceived the Czar, only too anxious to conjure away what appeared destruction, with the pretence of negotiation and peace; he assured him that the condition of Germany was the real cause of his great armaments; and such was the success of his guile that his dispositions were far advanced and his troops in motion at all points before Alexander was convinced of the truth. By the early spring of 1812 the Emperor had more than 600,000 men in readiness for the intended enterprise; and under his guidance this enormous force, still widely scattered throughout the Empire, was gradually directed towards the theatre of operations. While Eugène Beauharnais with the Italian army crossed the Brenner and rallied the Bavarian contingent, Davoust, with the vanguard of the main host, advanced to the Vistula across Germany, connecting himself with a Polish corps under Poniatowski, in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and with the armies of the North German cities: the remaining divisions of the immense array drawing together from the Rhine, the Maine, and the Elbe, and marching forward in dense procession. 420,000 men were destined to begin the invasion and to cross the Niemen in the first instance; 200,000 being kept in second line to maintain the communications, to observe Germany, and to supply the inevitable waste of war; and, with the Austrian and Prussian contingents, not less than 650,000 soldiers were marshalled under the Imperial eagles in

March and April, 1812. The advance of these enormous masses across Germany towards the Russian frontier was purposely made methodical and slow, for Napoleon wished to preserve the appearance of negotiating till the last moment; he was anxious not to fatigue his troops; and he had resolved not to open the campaign until the summer growth of the herbage should enable his myriads of horses to subsist in the plains of Poland and Lithuania. When, however, his host had been collected within a short distance of the Russian frontier, his intention was to strike rapidly at once; and, notwithstanding the difficulties in his way, he hoped that his operations would be as brilliant as those of Jena and Friedland" (*Temple Bar*, "The Campaign of Moscow," vol. lxiii. pp. 97–99).

Napoleon's own means of transport was not neglected, and a special carriage was built for him at Brussels, and elaborately fitted up with every convenience for a long campaign. A very complete account of this vehicle will be found in Captain Malet's *Annals of the Road* (London, Longmans, 1876).

"Napoleon's carriage taken at Waterloo was presented to the Prince Regent, by whom it was afterwards sold to a Mr. Bullock for £2500. It eventually found its way to Madame Tussaud's Waxwork Exhibition, where it may still be seen.

"This very curious and convenient chariot was built by Symons of Brussels for the Russian campaign, and is adapted for the various purposes of a pantry and a kitchen, for it has places for holding and preparing refreshments which, by the aid of a lamp, could be heated in the carriage. It served also for a bedroom, a dressing-room, an office, etc.

"The seat is divided into two by a partition about six inches high. The exterior of this ingenious vehicle is of the form and dimensions of our large English travelling-chariot, except that it has a projection in front of about two feet, the right-hand half of which is open to the inside to receive the feet, thus forming a bed, while the left-hand half contained a store of various useful things.

"Beyond the projection in front, and nearer to the horses, was the seat for the coachman, contrived so as to prevent the driver from viewing the interior of the carriage, and yet so placed as to afford those within a clear sight of the horses and of the surrounding country. Beneath this seat was a receptacle for a box, about two and a half feet in length and four inches deep, containing a bedstead of polished steel which could be fitted up in a couple of minutes. Over the front windows was a roller blind of canvas, which when pulled down excluded rain while it admitted air.

"On the ceiling of the carriage is a network for carrying small travelling requisites. In a recess there was a *secrétaire*, ten inches by eighteen, which contained nearly a hundred articles presented to Napoleon by Maria Louisa, under whose care it was fitted up with every luxury and convenience that could be imagined. It contained, besides the usual requisites for a dressing-box (most of which were of solid gold), a magnificent breakfast service with plates, candlesticks, knives, forks, spoons, a spirit-lamp

for making breakfast in the carriage, a gold case for Napoleon's gold wash-hand basin, a number of essence bottles, and a variety of minute articles, such as needles and thread.

"At the bottom of this toilet-box, in a recess, were found, in 1815, 2000 gold Napoleons — on the top of it were writing-materials, a liquor-case, a wardrobe, writing-desk, maps, telescopes, pistols, etc., a large silver chronometer, by which the watches of the army were regulated, two merino mattresses, a travelling-cap, a sword, a uniform, and an imperial mantle and headdress" (p. 18).

MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

BY

LOUIS ANTOINE FAUVELET DE BOURRIENNE

HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

AN ACCOUNT OF THE IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE HUNDRED DAYS, OF NAPOLEON'S SURRENDER TO THE ENGLISH, AND OF HIS RESIDENCE AND DEATH AT ST. HELENA,

WITH ANECDOTES AND ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS FROM ALL THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES

EDITED BY R. W. PHIPPS

COLONEL, LATE ROYAL ARTILLERY

"Ah! Bourrienne, you also will be immortal!" said Napoleon.
"How, General?"—"Are you not my Secretary?"

New and Revised Edition

IN FOUR VOLUMES—VOL. IV.

NEW YORK
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MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

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When Marmont left Paris on the receipt of the intelligence from Essonne, Marshals Macdonald and Ney and the Duke of Vicenza waited upon the Emperor Alexander to learn his resolution before he could have been informed of the movement of Marmont's troops. I myself went during the morning to the hôtel of M. de Talleyrand, and it was there I learnt how what we had hoped for had become fact: the matter was completely decided. The Emperor Alexander had walked out at six in the morning to the residence of the King of Prussia in the Rue de Bourbon. The two sovereigns afterwards proceeded together to M. de Talleyrand's, where they were when Napoleon's Commissioners arrived. The Commissioners being introduced to the two sovereigns, the Empe-

ror Alexander, in answer to their proposition, replied that the Regency was impossible, as submissions to the Provisional Government were pouring in from all parts, and that if the army had formed contrary wishes those should have been sooner made known. "Sire," observed Macdonald, "that was impossible, as none of the Marshals were in Paris, and besides, who could foresee the turn which affairs have taken? Could we imagine that an unfounded alarm would have removed from Essonne the corps of the Duke of Ragusa, who has this moment left us to bring his troops back to order?" These words produced no change in the determination of the sovereigns, who would hear of nothing but the unconditional abdication of Napoleon. Before the Marshals took leave of the Emperor Alexander they solicited an armistice of forty-eight hours, which time they said was indispensable to negotiate the act of abdication with Napoleon. This request was granted without hesitation, and the Emperor Alexander, showing Macdonald a map of the environs of Paris, courteously presented him with a pencil, saying, "Here, Marshal, mark yourself the limits to be observed by the two armies." — "No, Sire," replied Macdonald, "we are the conquered party, and it is for you to mark the line of demarcation." Alexander determined that the right bank of the Seine should be occupied by the Allied troops, and the left bank by the French; but it was observed that this arrangement would be attended with inconvenience, as it would cut Paris in two, and it was agreed that the line should turn Paris. I have been informed that on a map sent to the Austrian staff to acquaint Prince Schwartzenberg with the limits definitively agreed on, Fontainebleau, the Emperor's headquarters, was by some artful means included within the line. The Austrians acted so implicitly on this direction that Marshal Macdonald was obliged to complain on the subject to Alexander, who removed all obstacles.

When, in discussing the question of the abdication conformably with the instructions he had received, Macdonald observed to the Emperor Alexander that Napoleon wished for nothing for himself, "Assure him," replied Alexander, "that a provision shall be made for him worthy of the rank

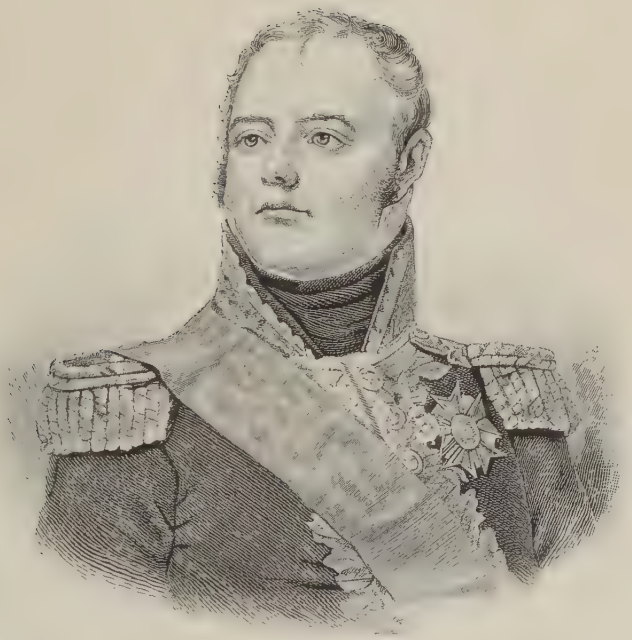
he has occupied. Tell him that if he wishes to reside in my States he shall be well received, though he brought desolation there. I shall always remember the friendship which united us. He shall have the island of Elba, or *something else.* After taking leave of the Emperor Alexander, on the 5th of April, Napoleon's Commissioners returned to Fontainebleau to render an account of their mission. I saw Alexander that same day, and it appeared to me that his mind was relieved of a great weight by the question of the Regency being brought to an end. I was informed that he intended to quit Paris in a few days, and that he had given full powers to M. Pozzo-di-Borgo, whom he appointed his Commissioner to the Provisional Government.

On the same day, the 5th of April, Napoleon inspected his troops in the Palace yard of Fontainebleau. He observed some coolness among his officers, and even among the private soldiers, who had evinced such enthusiasm when he inspected them on the 2d of April. He was so much affected by this change of conduct that he remained but a short time on the parade, and afterwards retired to his apartments.

About one o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April Ney, Macdonald, and Caulaincourt arrived at Fontainebleau to acquaint the Emperor with the issue of their mission, and the sentiments expressed by Alexander when they took leave of him. Marshal Ney was the first to announce to Napoleon that the Allies required his complete and unconditional abdication, unaccompanied by any stipulation, except that of his personal safety, which should be guaranteed. Marshal Macdonald and the Duke of Vicenza then spoke to the same effect, but in more gentle terms than those employed by Ney, who was but little versed in the courtesies of speech. When Marshal Macdonald had finished speaking Napoleon said with some emotion, "Marshal, I am sensible of all that you have done for me, and of the warmth with which you have pleaded the cause of my son. They wish for my complete and unconditional abdication. . . . Very well. . . . I again empower you to act on my behalf. You shall go and defend my interests and those of my family." Then, after a moment's pause,

he added, still addressing Macdonald, "Marshal, where shall I go?" Macdonald then informed the Emperor what Alexander had mentioned in the hypothesis of his wishing to reside in Russia. "Sire," added he, "the Emperor of Russia told me that he destined for you the island of Elba, or something else." — "Or something else!" repeated Napoleon hastily . . . "and what is that something else?" — "Sire, I know not." — "Ah! it is doubtless the island of Corsica, and he refrained from mentioning it to avoid embarrassment! Marshal, I leave all to you."

The Marshals returned to Paris as soon as Napoleon furnished them with new powers; Caulaincourt remained at Fontainebleau. On arriving in Paris Marshal Ney sent in his adhesion to the Provisional Government, so that when Macdonald returned to Fontainebleau to convey to Napoleon the definitive treaty of the Allies, Ney did not accompany him, and the Emperor expressed surprise and dissatisfaction at his absence. Ney, as all his friends concur in admitting, expended his whole energy in battle, and often wanted resolution when out of the field, consequently I was not surprised to find that he joined us before some other of his comrades. As to Macdonald, he was one of those generous spirits who may be most confidently relied on by those who have wronged them. Napoleon experienced the truth of this. Macdonald returned alone to Fontainebleau, and when he entered the Emperor's chamber he found him seated in a small arm-chair before the fireplace. He was dressed in a morning-gown of white dimity, and he wore his slippers without stockings. His elbows rested on his knees and his head was supported by his hands. He was motionless, and seemed absorbed in profound reflection. Only two persons were in the apartment, the Duke of Bassano, who was at a little distance from the Emperor, and Caulaincourt, who was near the fireplace. So profound was Napoleon's reverie that he did not hear Macdonald enter, and the Duke of Vicenza was obliged to inform him of the Marshal's presence. "Sire," said Caulaincourt, "the Duke of Tarantum has brought for your signature the treaty which is to be ratified to-morrow." The Emperor



MACDONALD.

DUC DE TARENTE.

then, as if roused from a lethargic slumber, turned to Macdonald, and merely said, "Ah, Marshal! so you are here!" Napoleon's countenance was so altered that the Marshal, struck with the change, said, as if it were involuntarily, "Is your Majesty indisposed?" — "Yes," answered Napoleon, "I have passed a very bad night." [1]

The Emperor continued seated for a moment, then rising, he took the treaty, read it without making any observations, signed it, and returned it to the Marshal, saying, "I am not now rich enough to reward these last services." — "Sire, interest never guided my conduct." — "I know that, and I now see how I have been deceived respecting you. I also see the designs of those who prejudiced me against you." — "Sire, I have already told you, since 1809 I am devoted to you in life and death." — "I know it. But since I cannot reward you as I would wish, let a token of remembrance, inconsiderable though it be, assure you that I shall ever bear in mind the services you have rendered me." Then turning to Caulaincourt Napoleon said, "Vicenza, ask for the sabre which was given me by Murad Bey in Egypt, and which I wore at the battle of Mount Thabor." Constant having brought the sabre, the Emperor took it from the hands of Caulaincourt and presented it to the Marshal. "Here, my faithful friend," said he, "is a reward which I believe will gratify you." Macdonald on receiving the sabre said, "If ever I have a son, Sire, this will be his most precious inheritance. I will never part with it as long as I live." — "Give me your hand," said

[1] It has been alleged that on the night preceding Macdonald's return to Fontainebleau Napoleon made an attempt to poison himself. But as I have no certain knowledge respecting this affair I shall not, as some persons have done, hazard conjectures on the subject. The circumstance was decidedly contradicted by Napoleon in his conversation at St. Helena. The only person who can remove the doubts which exist on the subject is Constant, who, I have been informed, never left Napoleon the whole night. — *Bourrienne.*

[Constant, in his *Memoirs*, confirms the report of Napoleon having taken poison at Fontainebleau. He states that on the night of the 11th of April he was suddenly called up on account of the Emperor's indisposition. On entering Napoleon's chamber he perceived in the fireplace a small leathern bag tied by a black ribbon, which he knew had contained opium, and which Napoleon had worn round his neck in all his campaigns since the commencement of the Spanish war. Caulaincourt and Yvan were immediately sent for. The dose was not sufficiently potent to produce death, and Napoleon recovered before morning.]

the Emperor, "and embrace me." At these words Napoleon and Macdonald affectionately rushed into each other's arms, and parted with tears in their eyes. Such was the last interview between Macdonald and Napoleon. I had the above particulars from the Marshal himself in 1814, a few days after he returned to Paris with the treaty ratified by Napoleon.

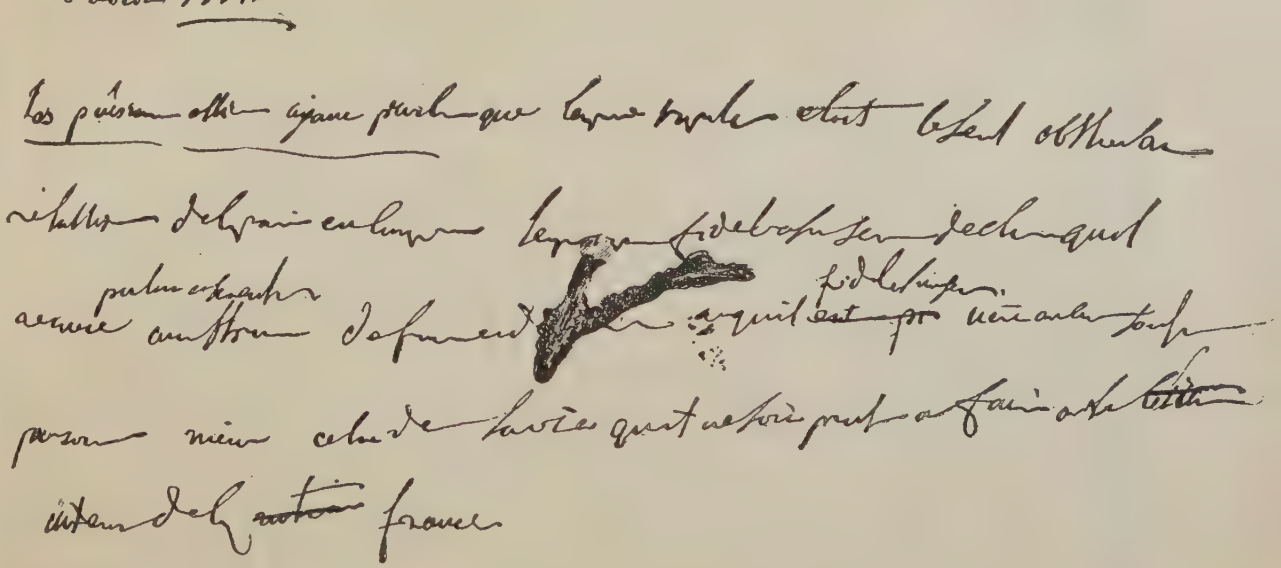
After the clauses of the treaty had been guaranteed Napoleon signed, on the 11th of April, at Fontainebleau, his act of abdication, which was in the following terms: — "*The Allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France.*" [See the autograph at side.]

It was not until after Bonaparte had written and signed the above act that Marshal Macdonald sent to the Provisional Government his recognition, expressed in the following dignified and simple manner: — "Being released from my allegiance by the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, I declare that I conform to the acts of the Senate and the Provisional Government." It is worthy of remark that Napoleon's act of abdication was published in the *Moniteur* on the 12th of April, the very day on which the Comte d'Artois made his entry into Paris with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom conferred on him by Louis XVIII. The 12th of April was also the day on which the Imperial army fought its last battle before Toulouse,[1] when the French troops, commanded by Soult, made Wellington purchase so dearly his entrance into the south of France.

Political revolutions are generally stormy, yet, during the great change of 1814 Paris was perfectly tranquil, thanks to the excellent discipline maintained by the commanders of the Allied armies, and thanks also to the services of the National

[1] The battle of Toulouse was fought on the 10th not 12th April. It was on the 12th that Wellington entered Toulouse unopposed.

FACSIMILE OF THE ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON IN 1814.



6 Avril 1814.

Les puissances alliées ayant proclamé que l'empereur Napoléon était le seul obstacle au rétablissement de la paix en Europe, l'empereur, fidèle à son serment déclare qu'il renonce pour lui et ses enfans, aux trônes de France et d'Italie, et qu'il, fidèle à son serment, n'est aucun sacrifice personnel, même celui de la vie, qu'il ne soit prêt à faire aux intérêts de la France.

Guard of Paris, who every night patrolled the streets. My duties as Director-General of the Post-office had of course obliged me to resign my captain's epaulet.

When I first obtained my appointment I had been somewhat alarmed to hear that all the roads were covered with foreign troops, especially Cossacks, who even in time of peace are very ready to capture any horses that may fall in their way. On my application to the Emperor Alexander his Majesty immediately issued a ukase, severely prohibiting the seizure of horses or anything belonging to the Post-office department. The ukase was printed by order of the Czar, and fixed up at all the post-offices, and it will be seen that after the 20th of March, when I was placed in an embarrassing situation, one of the postmasters on the Lille road expressed to me his gratitude for my conduct while I was in the service.

On the 10th of April a ceremony took place in Paris which has been much spoken of, and which must have had a very imposing effect on those who allow themselves to be dazzled by mere spectacle. Early in the morning some regiments of the Allied troops occupied the north side of the Boulevard, from the site of the old Bastile to the Place Louis XV., in the middle of which an altar of square form was erected. Thither the Allied sovereigns came to witness the celebration of mass according to the rites of the Greek Church. I went to a window of the hôtel of the Minister of the Marine to see the ceremony. After I had waited from eight in the morning till near twelve the pageant commenced by the arrival of half a dozen Greek priests, with long beards, and as richly dressed as the high priests who figure in the processions of the opera. About three-quarters of an hour after this first scene the infantry, followed by the cavalry, entered the place, which, in a few moments was entirely covered with military. The Allied sovereigns at length appeared, attended by brilliant staffs. They alighted from their horses and advanced to the altar. What appeared to me most remarkable was the profound silence of the vast multitude during the performance of the mass. The whole spectacle had the effect of a finely painted panorama. For

my own part, I must confess I was heartily tired of the ceremony, and was very glad when it was over. I could not admire the foreign uniforms, which were very inferior to ours. Many of them appeared fanciful, and even grotesque, and nothing can be more unsoldier-like than to see a man laced in stays till his figure resembles a wasp. The ceremony which took place two days after, though less pompous, was much more French. In the retinue which, on the 12th of April, momentarily increased round the Comte d'Artois, there were at least recollections for the old, and hopes for every one.

When, on the departure of the Commissioners whom Napoleon had sent to Alexander to treat for the Regency, it was finally determined that the Allied sovereigns would listen to no proposition from Napoleon and his family, the Provisional Government thought it time to request that Monsieur would, by his presence, give a new impulse to the partisans of the Bourbons. The Abbé de Montesquiou wrote to the Prince a letter,[1] which was carried to him by Viscount Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld, one of the individuals who, in these difficult circumstances, most zealously served the cause of the Bourbons. On the afternoon of the 11th Monsieur arrived at a country-house belonging to Madame Charles de Damas, where he passed the night. The news of his arrival spread through Paris with the rapidity of lightning, and every one wished to solemnize his entrance into the capital. The National Guard formed a double line from the barrier of Bondy to Notre Dame, whither the Prince was first to proceed, in observance of an old custom, which, however, had become very rare in France during the last twenty years.

M. de Talleyrand, accompanied by the members of the Provisional Government, several Marshals and general officers, and the municipal body, headed by the prefect of the Seine,

[1] Much of the negotiations, or rather communications, with the Comte d'Artois at this period was conducted by the Baron de Vitrolles, whose Memoirs, used by M. Thiers when still in manuscript (*Thiers*, tome xvii. livre liii. p. 496), have now been published in part (Paris, Charpentier, 1884).

went in procession beyond the barrier to receive Monsieur. M. de Talleyrand, in the name of the Provisional Government, addressed the Prince, who in reply made that observation which has been so often repeated, "Nothing is changed in France: there is only one Frenchman more."[1] This remark promised much. The Comte d'Artois next proceeded on horseback to the barrier St. Martin. I mingled in the crowd to see the procession and to observe the sentiments of the spectators. Near me stood an old knight of St. Louis, who had resumed the insignia of the order, and who wept for joy at again seeing one of the Bourbons. The procession soon arrived, preceded by a band playing the air, "Vive Henri Quatre!" I had never before seen Monsieur, and his appearance had a most pleasing effect upon me. His open countenance bore the expression of that confidence which his presence inspired in all who saw him. His staff was very brilliant, considering it was got together without preparation. The Prince wore the uniform of the National Guard, with the insignia of the Order of the Holy Ghost.

I must candidly state that where I saw Monsieur pass enthusiasm was chiefly confined to his own retinue, and to persons who appeared to belong to a superior class of society. The lower order of people seemed to be animated by curiosity and astonishment rather than any other feeling. I must add that it was not without painful surprise I saw a squadron of

[1] These words were never really uttered by the Comte d'Artois, and we can in this case follow the manufacture of the phrase. The reply actually made to Talleyrand was, "Sir, and gentlemen, I thank you; I am too happy. Let us get on; I am too happy." When the day's work was done, "Let us see," said Talleyrand; "what did Monsieur say? I did not hear much: he seemed much moved, and desirous of hastening on, but if what he did say will not suit you (Beugnot), make an answer for him, . . . and I can answer that Monsieur will accept it, and that so thoroughly that by the end of a couple of days he will believe he made it, and he will have made it: you will count for nothing." After repeated attempts, rejected by Talleyrand, Beugnot at last produced, "No more divisions. Peace and France! At last I see her once more, and nothing in her is changed, except that here is one more Frenchman." At last the great critic (Talleyrand) said, "This time I yield; that is really Monsieur's speech, and I will answer for you that he is the man who made it." Monsieur did not disdain to refer to it in his replies, and the prophecy of M. de Talleyrand was completely realized (*Beugnot*, vol. ii. p. 119).

Cossacks close the procession; and my surprise was the greater when I learned from General Sacken that the Emperor Alexander had wished that on that day the *one Frenchman more* should be surrounded only by Frenchmen, and that to prove that the presence of the Bourbons was the signal of reconciliation his Majesty had ordered 20,000 of the Allied troops to quit Paris. I know not to what the presence of the Cossacks is to be attributed, but it was an awkward circumstance at the time, and one which malevolence did not fail to seize upon.

Two days only intervened between Monsieur's entrance into Paris and the arrival of the Emperor of Austria. That monarch was not popular among the Parisians. The line of conduct he had adopted was almost generally condemned, for, even among those who had most ardently wished for the dethronement of his daughter, through their aversion to the Bonaparte family, there were many who blamed the Emperor of Austria's behavior to Maria Louisa: they would have wished that, for the honor of Francis II., he had unsuccessfully opposed the downfall of the dynasty, whose alliance he considered as a safeguard in 1809. This was the opinion which the mass of the people instinctively formed, for they judged of the Emperor of Austria in his character of a father and not in his character of a monarch; and as the rights of misfortune are always sacred in France,[1] more interest was felt for Maria Louisa when she was known to be forsaken than when she was in the height of her splendor. Francis II. had not seen his daughter since the day when she left Vienna to unite her destiny with that of the master of half of Europe, and I have already stated how he received the mission with which Maria Louisa intrusted the Duc de Cadore.

I was then too intent on what was passing in Paris and at Fontainebleau to observe with equal interest all the circumstances connected with the fate of Maria Louisa, but I will present to the reader all the information I was able to collect respecting that Princess during the period immediately preceding her departure from France. She constantly assured

[1] This is good in the mouth of Napoleon's old friend.

the persons about her that she could rely on her father. The following words, which were faithfully reported to me, were addressed by her to an officer who was at Blois during the mission of M. de Champagny. "Even though it should be the intention of the Allied sovereigns to dethrone the Emperor Napoleon, my father will not suffer it. When he placed me on the throne of France he repeated to me twenty times his determination to uphold me on it; and my father is an honest man." I also know that the Empress, both at Blois and at Orleans, expressed her regret at not having followed the advice of the members of the Regency, who wished her to stay in Paris.

On leaving Orleans Maria Louisa proceeded to Rambouillet; and it was not one of the least extraordinary circumstances of that eventful period to see the sovereigns of Europe, the dethroned sovereigns of France, and those who had come to resume the sceptre, all crowded together within a circle of fifteen leagues round the capital. There was a Bourbon at the Tuileries, Bonaparte at Fontainebleau, his wife and son at Rambouillet, the repudiated Empress at Malmaison three leagues distant, and the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia in Paris.

When all her hopes had vanished Maria Louisa left Rambouillet to return to Austria with her son. She did not obtain permission to see Napoleon before her departure, though she had frequently expressed a wish to that effect. Napoleon himself was aware of the embarrassment which might have attended such a farewell, or otherwise he would no doubt have made a parting interview with Maria Louisa one of the clauses of the treaty of Paris and Fontainebleau, and of his definitive act of abdication. I was informed at the time that the reason which prevented Maria Louisa's wish from being acceded to was the fear that, by one of those sudden impulses common to women, she might have determined to unite herself to Napoleon's fallen fortune, and accompany him to Elba; and the Emperor of Austria wished to have his daughter back again.

Things had arrived at this point, and there was no possibility of retracting from any of the decisions which had been

formed when the Emperor of Austria went to see his daughter at Rambouillet. I recollect it was thought extraordinary at the time that the Emperor Alexander should accompany him on this visit; and, indeed, the sight of the sovereign, who was regarded as the head and arbiter of the coalition, could not be agreeable to the dethroned Empress.[1] The two Emperors set off from Paris shortly after each other. The Emperor of Austria arrived first at Rambouillet, where he was received with respect and affection by his daughter. Maria Louisa was happy to see him, but the many tears she shed were not all tears of joy. After the first effusion of filial affection she complained of the situation to which she was reduced. Her father sympathized with her, but could offer her no consolation, since her misfortunes were irreparable. Alexander was expected to arrive immediately, and the Emperor of Austria therefore informed his daughter that the Russian monarch wished to see her. At first Maria Louisa decidedly refused to receive him, and she persisted for some time in this resolution. She said to her father, "Would he too make me a prisoner before your eyes? If he enters here by force I will retire to my chamber. There, I presume, he will not dare to follow me while you are here." But there was no time to be lost; Francis II. heard the equipage of the Emperor of Russia rolling through the courtyard of Rambouillet, and his entreaties to his daughter became more and more urgent. At length she yielded, and the Emperor of Austria went himself to meet his ally and conduct him to the

[1] Meneval (tome ii. p. 112), then with Maria Louisa as Secretary, who gives some details of her interview with the Emperor Francis on the 16th of April, says nothing about the Czar having been there; a fact he would have been sure to have remarked upon. It was only on the 19th of April that Alexander visited her, the King of Prussia coming in his turn on the 22d; but Bourrienne is right in saying that Maria Louisa complained bitterly of having to receive Alexander, and considered that she was forced by her father to do so. The poor little King of Rome, then only three years old, had also to be seen by the monarchs. He was not taken with his grandfather, remarking that he was not handsome. Maria Louisa seems, according to Meneval, to have been at this time really anxious to join Napoleon (*Meneval*, tome ii. p. 94). She left Rambouillet on the 23d of April, stopped one day at Grosbois, receiving there her father and Berthier, and taking farewell of several persons who came from Paris for that purpose. On the 25th of April she started for Vienna, and later for Parma, which State she received under the treaty of 1814 and 1815. She yielded to the influence brought to bear on her, became estranged from Napoleon, and eventually degraded herself enough to marry her chamberlain, the Comte de Neipperg, an Austrian general.

salon where Maria Louisa remained, in deference to her father. She did not, however, carry her deference so far as to give a favorable reception to him whom she regarded as the author of all her misfortunes. She listened with considerable coldness to the offers and protestations of Alexander, and merely replied that all she wished for was the liberty of returning to her family.[1] A few days after this painful interview Maria Louisa and her son set off for Vienna.

[1] A few days after this visit Alexander paid his respects to Bonaparte's other wife, Josephine. In this great breaking up of empires and kingdoms the unfortunate Josephine, who had been suffering agonies on account of the husband who had abandoned her, was not forgotten. One of the first things the Emperor of Russia did on arriving at Paris was to despatch a guard for the protection of her beautiful little palace at Malmaison. The Allied sovereigns treated her with delicacy and consideration.

"As soon as the Emperor Alexander knew that the Empress Josephine had arrived at Malmaison he hastened to pay her a visit. It is not possible to be more amiable than he was to her. When in the course of conversation he spoke of the occupation of Paris by the Allies, and of the position of the Emperor Napoleon, it was always in perfectly measured language; he never forgot for a single instant that he was speaking before one who had been the wife of his vanquished enemy. On her side the ex-Empress did not conceal the tender sentiments, the lively affection she still entertained for Napoleon. . . . Alexander had certainly something elevated and magnanimous in his character, which would not permit him to say a single word capable of insulting misfortune; the Empress had only one prayer to make to him, and that was for her children."

This visit was soon followed by those of the other Allied Princes.

"The King of Prussia and the Princes, his sons, came rather frequently to pay their court to Josephine; they even dined with her several times at Malmaison; but the Emperor Alexander came much more frequently. The Queen Hortense was always with her mother when she received the sovereigns, and assisted her in doing the honors of the house. The illustrious strangers exceedingly admired Malmaison, which seemed to them a charming residence. They were particularly struck with its fine gardens and conservatories." *

From this moment, however, Josephine's health rapidly declined, and she did not live to see Napoleon's return from Elba. She often said to her attendant, "I do not know what is the matter with me, but at times I have fits of melancholy enough to kill me." But on the very brink of the grave she retained all her amiability, all her love of dress, and the graces and resources of a drawing-room society. The immediate cause of her death was a bad cold she caught in taking a drive in the park of Malmaison on a damp cold day. She expired on the noon of Sunday, the 26th of May, in the fifty-third year of her age. Her body was embalmed, and on the sixth day after her death deposited in a vault in the church of Ruel, close to Malmaison. The funeral ceremonies were magnificent, but a better tribute to the memory of Josephine was to be found in the tears with which her children, her servants, the neighboring poor, and all that knew her followed her to the grave. In 1826 a beautiful monument was erected over her remains by Eugène Beauharnais and his sister, with this simple inscription: —

TO JOSEPHINE.

EUGÈNE. HORTENSE.

* *Memoirs of Mademoiselle d'Avrillion.*

CHAPTER II.

1814.

Italy and Eugène — Siege of Dantzic — Capitulation concluded but not ratified — Rapp made prisoner and sent to Kief — Davoust's refusal to believe the intelligence from Paris — Projected assassination of one of the French Princes — Departure of Davoust and General Hogendorff from Hamburg — The affair of Maubreuil — Arrival of the Commissioners of the Allied powers at Fontainebleau — Preference shown by Napoleon to Colonel Campbell — Bonaparte's address to General Kohler — His farewell to his troops — First day of Napoleon's journey — The Imperial Guard succeeded by the Cossacks — Interview with Augereau — The first white cockades — Napoleon hanged in effigy at Orgon — His escape in the disguise of a courier — Scene in the inn of La Calade — Arrival at Aix — The Princess Pauline — Napoleon embarks for Elba — His life at Elba.

I MUST now direct the attention of the reader to Italy, which was the cradle of Napoleon's glory, and towards which he transported himself in imagination from the Palace of Fontainebleau. Eugène had succeeded in keeping up his means of defence until April, but on the 7th of that month, being positively informed of the overwhelming reverses of France, he found himself constrained to accede to the propositions of the Marshal de Bellegarde to treat for the evacuation of Italy; and on the 10th a convention was concluded, in which it was stipulated that the French troops, under the command of Eugène, should return within the limits of old France. The clauses of this convention were executed on the 19th of April.[1]

Eugène, thinking that the Senate of Milan was favorably disposed towards him, solicited that body to use its influence in obtaining the consent of the Allied powers to his continuance at the head of the Government of Italy;[2] but this

[1] Lord William Bentinck and Sir Edward Pellew had taken Genoa on the 18th of April. Murat was in the field with the Austrians against the French.

[2] The following is a curious circumstance relative to the Senate of Milan. In the height of our disasters that body sent a deputation to congratulate

proposition was rejected by the Senate. A feeling of irritation pervaded the public mind in Italy, and the army had not proceeded three marches beyond Mantua when an insurrection broke out in Milan. The Finance Minister, Prina, was assassinated, and his residence demolished, and nothing would have saved the Viceroy from a similar fate had he been in his capital. Amidst this popular excitement, and the eagerness of the Italians to be released from the dominion of the French, the friends of Eugène thought him fortunate in being able to join his father-in-law at Munich almost incognito.[1] Thus, at the expiration of nine years, fell the iron crown which Napoleon had placed on his head saying, "*Dieu me l'a donné; gare à qui la touche.*"

I will now take a glance at the affairs of Germany. Rapp was not in France at the period of the fall of the Empire. He had, with extraordinary courage and skill, defended himself against a year's siege at Dantzic. At length, being reduced to the last extremity, and constrained to surrender, he opened the gates of the city, which presented nothing but heaps of ruins. Rapp had stipulated that the garrison of Dantzic should return to France, and the Duke of Würtemberg, who commanded the siege, had consented to that condition; but the Emperor of Russia having refused to ratify it, Rapp, having no means of defence, was made prisoner with his troops, and conducted to Kief, whence he afterwards returned to Paris, where I saw him.

Hamburg still held out, but at the beginning of April intelligence was received there of the extraordinary events which had delivered Europe from her oppressor. Davoust refused to believe this news, which at once annihilated all his

Napoleon the Great on the prospect of his triumphing over all his enemies. The deputation on its way received intelligence of the siege of Paris, and had just time to get back to Milan to be appointed to congratulate the Allies on the *downfall of the tyrant.* — *Bourrienne.*

[1] Some time after Eugène visited France and had a long audience of Louis XVIII. He announced himself to that monarch by his father's title of Marquis de Beauharnais. The King immediately saluted him by the title of Monsieur le Maréchal, and proposed that he should reside in France with that rank. But this invitation Eugène declined, because as a French Prince under the fallen Government he had commanded the Marshals, and he therefore could not submit to be the last in rank among those illustrious military chiefs. — *Bourrienne.*

hopes of power and greatness. This blindness was persisted in for some time at Hamburg. Several hawkers, who were marked out by the police as having been the circulators of Paris news, were shot. An agent of the Government publicly announced his design of assassinating one of the French Princes, in whose service he was said to have been as a page. He said he would go to his Royal Highness and solicit to be appointed one of his *aides de camp*, and that, if the application were refused, as it probably would be, the refusal would only confirm him in his purpose.

At length, when the state of things was beyond the possibility of doubt,[1] Davoust assembled the troops, acquainted them with the dethronement of the Emperor, hoisted a flag of truce, and sent his adhesion to the Provisional Government. All then thought of their personal safety, without losing sight of their honestly acquired wealth. Diamonds and other objects of value and small bulk were hastily collected and packed up. The Governor of Hamburg, Count Hogendorff, who, in spite of some signal instances of opposition, had too often co-operated in severe and vexatious measures, was the first to quit the city. He was, indeed, hurried off by Davoust, because he had mounted the Orange cockade and wished to take his Dutch troops away with him. After consigning the command to General Gérard, Davoust quitted Hamburg, and arrived at Paris on the 18th of June.

I have left Napoleon at Fontainebleau. The period of his departure for Elba was near at hand: it was fixed for the 17th of April.

[1] Davoust's long ignorance of the Restoration was not affected. When first he learnt the disasters of the Empire from Puymaigre, who had been sent out from Hamburg on a mission, and that the Allies had crossed the Rhine, he told Puymaigre that, not wishing to be shaken by anything unconnected with the defence of the fortress, he knew nothing of what had happened outside. When he was, later, informed by Puymaigre that the Duc d'Angoulême was at Bordeaux, he angrily reproached his messenger with having been duped by lies and with bringing him false news (*Puymaigre*, pp. 165, 166). The good faith of Davoust at Hamburg, Rapp at Dantzic, and St. Cyr at Dresden contrasts with the hurry of many of the officers near Napoleon to get good terms for themselves by joining the Allies. In both the cases of Dantzic and Dresden the Allies, having got possession of them by a capitulation, broke the terms when the garrisons were fairly in their power, making derisory offers of replacing the garrisons in their former positions.

On that day Maubreuil, a man who has become unfortunately celebrated, presented himself at the Post-office, and asked to speak with me. He showed me some written orders, signed by General Sacken, the Commander of the Russian troops in Paris, and by Baron Brockenhausen, chief of the staff. These orders set forth that Maubreuil was intrusted with an important mission, for the execution of which he was authorized to demand the assistance of the Russian troops; and the commanders of those men were enjoined to place at his disposal as many troops as he might apply for. Maubreuil was also the bearer of similar orders from General Dupont, the War Minister, and from M. Anglès, the Provisional Commissary-General of the Police, who directed all the other commissaries to obey the orders they might receive from Maubreuil. On seeing these documents, of the authenticity of which there was no doubt, I immediately ordered the different postmasters to provide Maubreuil promptly with any number of horses he might require.

Some days after I was informed that the object of Maubreuil's mission was to assassinate Napoleon. It may readily be imagined what was my astonishment on hearing this, after I had seen the signature of the Commander of the Russian forces, and knowing as I did the intentions of the Emperor Alexander. The fact is, I did not, and never can, believe that such was the intention of Maubreuil. This man has been accused of having carried off the jewels of the Queen of Westphalia.[1]

Napoleon having consented to proceed to the island of Elba, conformably with the treaty he had ratified on the 13th,

[1] Maubreuil always protested that he had been employed by Talleyrand and the Provisional Government to assassinate Napoleon. It is certain that he seized on the cash and jewellery of the ex-Queen of Westphalia, the wife of Jérôme Bonaparte, but he did not require for that purpose *carte blanche* for demands of troops and for post-horses: a simple order to the proper authorities would have sufficed, without a highway robbery. The matter is gone into by *Savary*, tome vii. pp. 214-234, where (pp. 215, 216) are given the orders signed by Bourrienne. These orders are so wide, and denote such an important mission for Maubreuil, that it is significant that Bourrienne, well informed as he tells us in all that was done, should neither have known nor inquired what was the object for which he was using his new powers. See also *Beugnot*, vol. ii. p. 125. All points towards there having been a foul plot. Most persons will adopt Sainte-Beuve's belief. "M. de Talleyrand

requested to be accompanied to the place of embarkation by a Commissioner from each of the Allied powers. Count Schouwaloff was appointed by Russia, Colonel Neil Campbell by England, General Kohler by Austria, and Count Waldbourg-Truchess by Prussia. On the 16th the four Commissioners came for the first time to Fontainebleau, where the Emperor, who was still attended by Generals Drouot and Bertrand, gave to each a private audience on the following day.

Though Napoleon received with coldness the Commissioners whom he had himself solicited, yet that coldness was far from being manifested in an equal degree to all. He who experienced the best reception was Colonel Campbell, apparently because his person exhibited traces of wounds. Napoleon asked him in what battles he had received them, and on what occasions he had been invested with the orders he wore. He next questioned him as to the place of his birth, and Colonel Campbell having answered that he was a Scotchman, Napoleon congratulated him on being the countryman of Ossian, his favorite author, with whose poetry, however, he was only acquainted through the medium of wretched translations.[1] On this first audience Napoleon said to the Colonel, "I have cordially hated the English. I have made war against you by every possible means, but I esteem your nation. I am convinced that there is more generosity in your Government than in any other. I should like to be conveyed from Toulon to Elba by an English frigate." [2]

The Austrian and Russian Commissioners were received coolly, but without any marked indications of displeasure. It was not so with the Prussian Commissioner, to whom he

has always denied having seen Maubreuil, but other people saw him, and it is difficult to doubt that there really was a council where was discussed the proposal of M. Maubreuil to get rid of Napoleon. Even the speeches are quoted. . . . As for M. de Talleyrand, he was certainly not a man to command such an act, but no more was he a man to discourage it. If necessary he could ignore it" (Sainte-Beuve, *Talleyrand*, p. 123).

[1] The French translations of Ossian may be wretched enough, but as an Italian Bonaparte was probably well acquainted with the magnificent version of the Abate Cesarotti. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

[2] Colonel Campbell wrote to Lord Castlereagh to acquaint him with Napoleon's wish, to which his lordship acceded (*Campbell*, p. 160).

said dryly, "Are there any Prussians in my escort?" — "No, Sire." — "Then why do you take the trouble to accompany me?" — "Sire, it is not a trouble, but an honor." — "These are mere words; you have nothing to do here." — "Sire, I could not possibly decline the honorable mission with which the King my master has intrusted me." At these words Napoleon turned his back on Count Truchess.

The Commissioners expected that Napoleon would be ready to set out without delay; but they were deceived. He asked for a sight of the itinerary of his route, and wished to make some alterations in it. The Commissioners were reluctant to oppose his wish, for they had been instructed to treat him with all the respect and etiquette due to a sovereign. They therefore suspended the departure, and, as they could not take upon themselves to acquiesce in the changes wished for by the Emperor, they applied for fresh orders. On the night of the 18th of April they received these orders, authorizing them to travel by any road the Emperor might prefer. The departure was then definitively fixed for the 20th.

Accordingly, at ten on the morning of the 20th, the carriages were in readiness, and the Imperial Guard was drawn up in the grand court of the Palace of Fontainebleau, called the Cour du Cheval Blanc. All the population of the town and the neighboring villages thronged round the Palace. Napoleon sent for General Kohler, the Austrian Commissioner, and said to him, "I have reflected on what I ought to do, and I am determined not to depart. The Allies are not faithful to their engagements with me. I can, therefore, revoke my abdication, which was only conditional. More than a thousand addresses were delivered to me last night: I am conjured to resume the reins of government. I renounced my rights to the crown only to avert the horrors of a civil war, having never had any other object in view than the glory and happiness of France. But, seeing as I now do, the dissatisfaction inspired by the measures of the new Government, I can explain to my Guard the reasons which induced me to revoke my abdication. It is true that the number of troops on which I can count will scarcely exceed 30,000 men, but it will be easy

for me to increase their numbers to 130,000. Know, then, that I can also, without injuring my honor, say to my Guard, that having nothing but the repose and happiness of the country at heart, I renounce all my rights, and exhort my troops to follow my example, and yield to the wish of the nation."

I heard these words reported by General Kohler himself, after his return from his mission. He did not disguise the embarrassment which this unexpected address had occasioned; and I recollect having remarked at the time that had Bonaparte, at the commencement of the campaign of Paris, renounced his rights, and returned to the rank of citizen, the immense masses of the Allies must have yielded to the efforts of France. General Kohler also stated that Napoleon complained of Maria Louisa not being allowed to accompany him; but at length, yielding to the reasons urged by those about him, he added, "Well, I prefer remaining faithful to my promise; but, if I have any new ground of complaint, I will free myself from all my engagements."

At eleven o'clock Comte de Bussy, one of the Emperor's *aides de camp*, was sent by the Grand Marshal (General Bertrand) to announce that all was ready for departure. "Am I," said Napoleon, "to regulate my actions by the Grand Marshal's watch? I will go when I please. Perhaps I may not go at all. Leave me!"

All the forms of courtly etiquette which Napoleon loved so much were observed; and when at length he was pleased to leave his cabinet to enter the *salon*, where the Commissioners were waiting, the doors were thrown open as usual, and "The Emperor" was announced; but no sooner was the word uttered than he turned back again. However, he soon reappeared, rapidly crossed the gallery, and descended the staircase, and at twelve o'clock precisely he stood at the head of his Guard, as if at a review in the court of the Tuileries in the brilliant days of the Consulate and the Empire.

Then took place a really moving scene — Napoleon's farewell to his soldiers. Of this I may abstain from entering

into any details,[1] since they are known everywhere, and by everybody, but I may subjoin the Emperor's last address to his old companions-in-arms, because it belongs to history. This address was pronounced in a voice as firm and sonorous as that in which Bonaparte used to harangue his troops in the days of his triumphs. It was as follows: —

"Soldiers of my Old Guard, I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have constantly accompanied you on the road to honor and glory. In these latter times, as in the days of our prosperity, you have invariably been models of courage and fidelity. With men such as you our cause could not be lost, but the war would have been interminable; it would have been civil war, and that would have entailed deeper misfortunes on France. I have sacrificed all my interests to those of the country. I go; but you, my friends, will continue to serve France. Her happiness was my only thought. It will still be the object of my wishes. Do not regret my fate: if I have consented to survive, it is to serve your glory. I intend to write the history of the great achievements we have performed together. Adieu, my friends. Would I could press you all to my heart!"

Napoleon then ordered the eagles to be brought, and having embraced them he added: —

"I embrace you all in the person of your General. Adieu, soldiers! Be always gallant and good!"

Napoleon's parting words to his soldiers were, "Adieu, my friends. My wishes will always accompany you. Do not forget me." He then stepped into his carriage accompanied by Bertrand.

[1] The mutual attachment that existed between Napoleon and the famed Imperial Guard made this parting very painful. Having assembled as many of them as he could, they were drawn out in review order. The Emperor on his arrival walked along in front of their line and took his last farewell. In doing this he betrayed great emotion, but tears like rain poured from the eyes of many of the soldiery who had grown gray under arms. He is reported to have said, "All Europe has armed against me. France herself has deserted me, and chosen other rulers. I might have maintained with you, my brave soldiers, a civil war for years, but that would have made France wretched. Be faithful to the new sovereign whom France has chosen. Do not lament my fate; I shall always be happy while I know you are so. I could have died — nothing was easier — but I will always follow the paths of honor. I will record with my pen the deeds we have done together. I cannot embrace you all, but I embrace your General." (He pressed the General to his heart.) "Bring hither the eagle." He kissed the standard, and concluded by saying, "Dear eagle, may the kisses I give you long resound in the hearts of the brave. Adieu, my children! Adieu, my brave companions! Surround me once more. Adieu!" — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

During the first day cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" resounded along the road, and Napoleon, resorting to his usual dissimulation, censured the disloyalty of the people to their legitimate sovereign, which he did with ill-disguised irony. The Guard accompanied him as far as Briare. At that place Napoleon invited Colonel Campbell to breakfast with him. He conversed on the last war in Spain, and spoke in complimentary terms of the English nation and the military talents of Wellington. Yet by that time he must have heard of the battle of Toulouse.

On the night of the 21st Napoleon slept at Nevers, where he was received by the acclamations of the people, who here, as in several other towns, mingled their cries in favor of their late sovereign with imprecations against the Commissioners of the Allies. He left Nevers at six on the morning of the 22d. Napoleon was now no longer escorted by the Guards, who were succeeded by a corps of Cossacks: the cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" accordingly ceased, and he had the mortification to hear in its stead, "Vivent les Alliés!" However, I have been informed that at Lyons, through which the Emperor passed on the 23d at eleven at night, the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" was still echoed among the groups who assembled before the post-office during the change of horses.

Augereau, who was still a Republican, though he accepted the title of Duke of Castiglione from Napoleon, had always been among the discontented. On the downfall of the Emperor he was one of that considerable number of persons who turned Royalists not out of love for the Bourbons but out of hatred to Bonaparte. He held a command in the south when he heard of the forfeiture of Napoleon pronounced by the Senate, and he was one of the first to send his recognition to the Provisional Government. Augereau, who, like all uneducated men, went to extremes in everything, had published under his name a proclamation extravagantly violent and even insulting to the Emperor. Whether Napoleon was aware of this proclamation I cannot pretend to say, but he affected ignorance of the matter if he was informed of it, for on the 24th, having met Augereau at a little distance from Valence, he stopped his carriage

and immediately alighted. Augereau did the same, and they cordially embraced in the presence of the Commissioners. It was remarked that in saluting Napoleon took off his hat and Augereau kept on his. "Where are you going?" said the Emperor; "to Court?"—"No, I am going to Lyons."—"You have behaved very badly to me." Augereau, finding that the Emperor addressed him in the second person singular, adopted the same familiarity, so they conversed as they were accustomed to do when they were both generals in Italy. "Of what do you complain?" said he. "Has not your insatiable ambition brought us to this? Have you not sacrificed everything to that ambition, even the happiness of France? I care no more for the Bourbons than for you. All I care for is the country." Upon this Napoleon turned sharply away from the Marshal, lifted his hat to him, and then stepped into his carriage. The Commissioners, and all the persons in Napoleon's suite, were indignant at seeing Augereau stand in the road still covered, with his hands behind his back, and instead of bowing, merely making a contemptuous salutation to Napoleon with his hand. It was at the Tuileries that these haughty Republicans should have shown their airs. To have done so on the road to Elba was a mean insult which recoiled upon themselves.[1]

[1] The following letter, taken from Captain Bingham's recently published selections from the Correspondence of the first Napoleon, indicates in emphatic language the Emperor's recent dissatisfaction with Marshal Augereau when in command at Lyons during the "death struggle" of 1814:—

"To Marshal Augereau.

"Nogent, 21*st February*, 1814.

". . . What! six hours after having received the first troops coming from Spain you were not in the field! Six hours' repose was sufficient I won the action of Nangis with a brigade of dragoons coming from Spain which, since it had left Bayonne, had not unbridled its horses. The six battalions of the division of Nimes want clothes, equipment, and drilling, say you? What poor reasons you give me there, Augereau! I have destroyed 80,000 enemies with conscripts having nothing but knapsacks! The National Guards, say you, are pitiable; I have 4000 here in round hats, without knapsacks, in wooden shoes, but with good muskets, and I get a great deal out of them. There is no money, you continue; and where do you hope to draw money from? You want wagons; take them wherever you can. You have no magazines; this is too ridiculous. I order you twelve hours after the reception of this letter to take the field. If you are still Augereau of Castiglione, keep the command, but if your sixty years weigh upon you, hand over the command to your senior general. The country is in danger, and can be saved by boldness and alacrity alone. . . .

"(Signed) Napoleon."

At Valence Napoleon, for the first time, saw French soldiers with the white cockade in their caps. They belonged to Augereau's corps. At Orange the air resounded with cries of "Vive le Roi!" Here the gayety, real or feigned, which Napoleon had hitherto evinced, began to forsake him.

Had the Emperor arrived at Avignon three hours later than he did there is no doubt that he would have been massacred.[1] He did not change horses at Avignon, through which he passed at five in the morning, but at St. Andiol, where he arrived at six. The Emperor, who was fatigued with sitting in the carriage, alighted with Colonel Campbell and General Bertrand, and walked with them up the first hill. His *valet de chambre*, who was also walking a little distance in advance, met one of the mail couriers, who said to him, "Those are the Emperor's carriages coming this way?" — "No, they are the equipages of the Allies." — "I say they are the Emperor's carriages. I am an old soldier. I served in the campaign of Egypt, and I will save the life of my General." — "I tell you again they are not the Emperor's carriages." — "Do not attempt to deceive me; I have just passed through Orgon, where the Emperor has been hanged in effigy. The wretches erected a scaffold and hanged a figure dressed in a French uniform covered with blood. Perhaps I may get myself into a scrape by this confidence, but no matter. Do you profit by it." The courier then set off at full gallop. The *valet de chambre* took General Drouot apart and told him what he had heard. Drouot communicated this circumstance to General Bertrand, who himself related it to the Emperor in the presence of the Commissioners. The latter, justly indignant, held a sort of council on the highway, and it was determined that the Emperor should go forward without his retinue. The *valet de chambre* was asked whether he had any clothes in the carriage. He produced a long blue cloak and a round hat. It was proposed to put a white cockade in the hat, but to this Napoleon would not consent. He went forward in the style of a courier, with Amaudru, one of the two outriders who

[1] The Royalist mob of Avignon massacred Marshal Brune in 1815 after Waterloo.

had escorted his carriage, and dashed through Orgon. When the Allied Commissioners arrived there the assembled population were uttering exclamations of "Down with the Corsican! Down with the brigand!" The mayor of Orgon (the same man whom I had seen almost on his knees to General Bonaparte on his return from Egypt) addressed himself to Pélard, the Emperor's *valet de chambre*, and said, "Do you follow that rascal?" — "No," replied Pélard, "I am attached to the Commissioners of the Allied powers." — "Ah! that is well! I should like to hang the villain with my own hands. Ah! if you knew, sir, how the scoundrel has deceived us! It was I who received him on his return from Egypt. We wished to take his horses out and draw his carriage. I should like to avenge myself now for the honors I rendered him at that time."

The crowd augmented, and continued to vociferate with a degree of fury which may be imagined by those who have heard the inhabitants of the south manifest, by cries, their joy or their hatred. Some more violent than the rest wished to force Napoleon's coachman to cry "Vive le Roi!" He courageously refused, though threatened with the stroke of a sabre, when, fortunately, the carriage being ready to start, he whipped the horses and set off at full gallop. The Commissioners would not breakfast at Orgon; they paid for what had been prepared, and took some refreshments away with them. The carriages did not overtake the Emperor until they came to La Calade, where he had arrived a quarter of an hour before with Amaudru.

They found him standing by the fire in the kitchen of the inn talking with the landlady. She had asked him whether the tyrant was soon to pass that way? "Ah! sir," said she, "it is all nonsense to say we have got rid of him. I always have said, and always will say, that we shall never be sure of being done with him until he be laid at the bottom of a well covered over with stones. I wish we had him safe in the well in our yard. You see, sir, the Directory sent him to Egypt to get rid of him; but he came back again! And he will come back again, you may be sure of that, sir, unless —" Here

the good woman, having finished skimming her pot, looked up and perceived that all the party were standing uncovered except the individual to whom she had been speaking. She was confounded, and the embarrassment she experienced at having spoken so ill of the Emperor to the Emperor himself banished all her anger, and she lavished every mark of attention and respect on Napoleon and his retinue. A messenger was immediately sent to Aix to purchase ribbons for making white cockades. All the carriages were brought into the courtyard of the inn, and the gate was closed; the landlady informed Napoleon that it would not be prudent for him to venture on passing through Aix, where a population of more than 20,000 were waiting to stone him.

Meanwhile dinner was served, and Napoleon sat down to table. He admirably disguised the agitation which he could not fail to experience, and I have been assured, by some of the individuals who were present on that remarkable occasion, that he never made himself more agreeable. His conversation, which was enriched by the resources of his memory and his imagination, charmed every one, and he remarked, with an air of indifference which was perhaps affected, "I believe the new French Government has a design on my life."

The Commissioners, informed of what was going on at Aix, proposed sending to the Mayor an order for closing the gates and adopting measures for securing the public tranquillity. About fifty individuals had assembled round the inn, and one among them offered to carry a letter to the Mayor of Aix. The Commissioners accepted his services, and in their letter informed the Mayor that if the gates of the town were not closed within an hour they would advance with two regiments of uhlans and six pieces of artillery, and would fire upon all who might oppose them. This threat had the desired effect; and the Mayor returned for answer that the gates should be closed, and that he would take upon himself the responsibility of everything which might happen.

The danger which threatened the Emperor at Aix was thus averted; but there was another to be braved. During the seven or eight hours he passed at La Calade a considerable

number of people had gathered round the inn, and manifested every disposition to proceed to some excess. Most of them had in their hands five-franc pieces, in order to recognize the Emperor by his likeness on the coin. Napoleon, who had passed two nights without sleep, was in a little room adjoining the kitchen, where he had fallen into a slumber, reclining on the shoulder of his *valet de chambre*. In a moment of dejection he had said, "I now renounce the political world forever. I shall henceforth feel no interest about anything that may happen. At Porto-Ferrajo I may be happy — more happy than I have ever been! No! — if the crown of Europe were now offered to me I would not accept it. I will devote myself to science. I was right never to esteem mankind! But France and the French people — what ingratitude! I am disgusted with ambition, and I wish to rule no longer!"

When the moment for departure arrived it was proposed that he should put on the great-coat and fur cap of General Kohler, and that he should go into the carriage of the Austrian Commissioner. The Emperor, thus disguised, left the inn of La Calade, passing between two lines of spectators. On turning the walls of Aix Napoleon had again the mortification to hear the cries of "Down with the tyrant! Down with Nicolas!" and these vociferations resounded at the distance of a quarter of a league from the town.

Bonaparte, dispirited by these manifestations of hatred, said, in a tone of mingled grief and contempt, "These Provençals are the same furious brawlers that they used to be. They committed frightful massacres at the commencement of the Revolution. Eighteen years ago I came to this part of the country with some thousand men to deliver two Royalists who were to be hanged. Their crime was having worn the white cockade. I saved them; but it was not without difficulty that I rescued them from the hands of their assailants; and now, you see, they resume the same excesses against those who refuse to wear the white cockade." At about a league from Aix the Emperor and his retinue found horses and an escort of gendarmerie to conduct them to the château of Luc.

The Princess Pauline was at the country residence of M. Charles, member of the Legislative Body, near the castle of Luc. On hearing of the misfortunes of her brother she determined to accompany him to the isle of Elba, and she proceeded to Frejus to embark with him. At Frejus the Emperor rejoined Colonel Campbell, who had quitted the convoy on the road, and had brought into the port the English frigate the *Undaunted* which was appointed to convey the Emperor to the place of his destination. In spite of the wish he had expressed to Colonel Campbell he manifested considerable reluctance to go on board. However, on the 28th of April he sailed for the island of Elba in the English frigate, in which it could not then be said that Cæsar and his fortune were embarked.

[It was on the 3d of May, 1814, that Bonaparte arrived within sight of Porto-Ferrajo, the capital of his miniature empire; but he did not land till the next morning. At first he paid a short visit incognito, being accompanied by a sergeant's party of marines from the *Undaunted*. He then returned on board to breakfast, and at about two o'clock made his public entrance, the *Undaunted* firing a royal salute.

In every particular of his conduct he paid great attention to the maintenance of his Imperial dignity. On landing he received the keys of his city of Porto-Ferrajo, and the devoirs of the Governor, prefect, and other dignitaries, and he proceeded immediately under a canopy of State to the parish church, which served as a cathedral. There he heard *Te Deum*, and it is stated that his countenance was dark and melancholy, and that he even shed tears.[1]

One of Bonaparte's first cares was to select a flag for the Elbese Empire, and after some hesitation he fixed on "Argent, on a bend gules, three bees or," as the armorial ensign of his new dominion. It is strange that neither he nor any of those whom he consulted should have been aware that Elba had an ancient and peculiar ensign, and it is still more remarkable that this ensign should be one singularly adapted to Bona-

[1] *Itinéraire de Bonaparte*, etc. Paris, 1814.

parte's situation; being no more than "a wheel, — the emblem," says M. Bernaud, "of the vicissitudes of human life, which the Elbese had borrowed from the Egyptian mysteries."[1] This is as curious a coincidence as any we ever recollect to have met; as the medals of Elba with the emblem of the wheel are well known, we cannot but suppose that Bonaparte was aware of the circumstance; yet he is represented as having in vain made several anxious inquiries after the ancient arms of the island.

During the first months of his residence there his life was, in general, one of characteristic activity and almost garrulous frankness. He gave dinners, went to balls, rode all day about his island, planned fortifications, aqueducts, lazarettos, harbors, and palaces; and the very second day after he landed fitted out an expedition of a dozen soldiers to take possession of a little uninhabited island called Pianosa, which lies a few leagues from Elba; on this occasion he said good-humoredly, "*Toute l'Europe dira que j'ai déjà fait une conquête*" (All Europe will say I have already made a conquest). The cause of the island of Pianosa being left uninhabited was the marauding of the Corsairs from the coast of Barbary, against whom Bonaparte considered himself fully protected by the 4th Article of the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

The greatest wealth of Elba consists in its iron mines, for which the island was celebrated in the days of Virgil. Soon after his arrival Napoleon visited the mines in company with Colonel Campbell, and being informed that they produced annually about 500,000 francs he exclaimed joyfully, "These, then, are my own!" One of his followers, however, reminded him that he had long since disposed of that revenue, having given it to his order of the Legion of Honor, to furnish pensions, etc. "Where was my head when I made that grant?" said he, "but I have made many foolish decrees of that sort!"

Sir Walter Scott, in telling a curious fact, makes a very curious mistake. "To dignify his capital," he says, "having discovered that the ancient name of Porto-Ferrajo was

[1] *Voyage à l'Ile d'Elbe*, par A. F. de Bernaud. Paris, 1808.

Comopoli (the city of Como), he commanded it to be called Cosmopoli, or the city of all nations." Now the old name of Porto-Ferrajo was in reality not Comopoli, but Cosmopoli, and it obtained that name from the Florentine Cosmo de' Medici, to whose ducal house Elba belonged, as an integral part of Tuscany. The name equally signified the city of Cosmo, or the city of all nations, and the vanity of the Medici had probably been flattered by the double meaning of the appellation. But Bonaparte certainly revived the old name, and did not add a letter to it to dignify his little capital.

The household of Napoleon, though reduced to thirty-five persons, still represented an Imperial Court. The forms and etiquette of the Tuileries and St. Cloud were retained on a diminished scale, but the furniture and internal accommodations of the palace are represented as having been meaner by far than those of an English gentleman of ordinary rank. The Body-guard of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Elba consisted of about 700 infantry and 80 cavalry, and to this handful of troops Napoleon seemed to pay almost as much attention as he had formerly given to his Grande Armée. The men were constantly exercised, particularly in throwing shot and shells, and he soon began to look out for good recruits.

He early announced that he would hold a Court and receive ladies twice a week; the first was on the 7th of May, and a great concourse assembled. Bonaparte at first paid great attention to the women, particularly those who possessed personal attractions, and asked them, in his rapid way, whether they were married? how many children they had, and who their husbands were? To the last question he received one universal answer; it happened that every lady was married to a *merchant*, but when it came to be further explained that they were merchant butchers and merchant bakers, his Imperial Majesty permitted some expression of his dissatisfaction to escape him and hastily retired. On the 4th of June there was a ball on board the British frigate, in honor of the King's birthday; the whole beauty and fashion

of Elba were assembled, and dancing with great glee, when, about midnight, Bonaparte came in his barge, unexpectedly, and masked, to join the festivity. He was very affable, and visited every part of the ship, and all the amusements which had been prepared for the different classes of persons. On his birthday, the 15th of August, he ordered the Mayor to give a ball, and for this purpose a temporary building, capable of holding 300 persons, was to be erected, and the whole entertainment, building and all, were to be at the expense of the inhabitants themselves. These were bad auspices, and accordingly the ball completely failed. Madame Mère, Madame Bertrand, and the two ladies of honor, attended, but not above thirty of the fair islanders, and as the author of the *Itinéraire* remarks, "*Le bal fut triste quoique Bonaparte n'y parut pas.*"

Having in an excursion reached the summit of one of the highest hills on the island, where the sea was visible all round him, he shook his head with affected solemnity, and exclaimed in a bantering tone, "*Eh! il faut avouer que mon île est bien petite.*"

On this mountain one of the party saw a little church in an almost inaccessible situation, and observed that it was a most inconvenient site for a church, for surely no congregation could attend it. "It is on that account the more convenient to the parson," replied Bonaparte, "who may preach what stuff he pleases without fear of contradiction."

As they descended the hill and met some peasants with their goats who asked for charity, Bonaparte told a story which the present circumstances brought to his recollection, that when he was crossing the Great St. Bernard, previously to the battle of Marengo, he had met a goat-herd, and entered into conversation with him. The goat-herd, not knowing to whom he was speaking, lamented his own hard lot, and envied the riches of some persons who actually had cows and corn-fields. Bonaparte inquired if some fairy were to offer to gratify all his wishes what he would ask? The poor peasant expressed, in his own opinion, some very extravagant desires, such as a dozen of cows and a good farmhouse. Bonaparte

afterwards recollected the incident, and astonished the goatherd by the fulfilment of all his wishes.

But all his thoughts and conversations were not as light and pleasant as these. Sometimes he would involve himself in an account of the last campaign, of his own views and hopes, of the defection of his marshals, of the capture of Paris, and finally of his abdication; on these he would talk by the hour with great earnestness and almost fury, exhibiting in very rapid succession traits of eloquence, of military genius, of indignation, of vanity, and of selfishness. With regard to the audience to whom he addressed these tirades he was not very particular.

The chief violence of his rage seemed to be directed against Marshal Marmont, whom, as well as Augereau, he sometimes called by names too gross for repetition, and charged roundly with treachery.[1] Marmont, when he could no longer defend Paris by arms, saved it by an honorable capitulation; he preserved his army for the service of his country, and when everything else was lost stipulated for the safety of Bonaparte. This last stipulation, however, Bonaparte affected to treat with contempt and indignation. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

[1] Marmont's conduct has been dealt with in note, p. 380, vol. iii. Marmont himself acknowledges the general feeling against him; see his *Memoirs*, tome vii. p. 57. He however tries to represent Napoleon as soon pardoning him, or as overlooking his conduct. Thus he says that Napoleon spoke to Drouot and to Clausel as if his abuse of Marmont had only been assumed for a purpose, and that Marmont would rejoin his party, when he would have much pleasure in embracing him. With touching modesty Marmont repeats the following descriptions of him by Napoleon. "'Marmont is a very clever man, with much talent, yes, with much talent.' . . . The Duke of Vicenza has several times told me that Napoleon had said to him that I was the only one of his Marshals who understood him, and with whom he liked to talk of war."

Marmont, indeed, says that even after the desertion of Bourmont Napoleon, speaking of him and Victor, said, "Between the blues and whites there is war to the death. If things go well, all our side will return to us" (*Marmont*, tome vii. pp. 151–154). But this last speech does not seem so complimentary as Marmont believed. It is more like Napoleon's answer when asked by O'Meara if Savary would have been faithful to him, when he said that Savary might have been, and certainly would have been, if he (Napoleon) had been successful.

CHAPTER III.

1814.

Changes produced by time — Correspondence between the Provisional Government and Hartwell — Louis XVIII.'s reception in London — His arrival at Calais — Berthier's address to the King at Compiègne — My presentation to his Majesty at St. Ouen — Louis XVIII.'s entry into Paris — Unexpected dismissal from my post — M. de Talleyrand's departure for the Congress of Vienna — Signs of a commotion — Impossibility of seeing M. de Blacas — The Abbé Fleuriel — Unanswered letters — My letter to M. de Talleyrand at Vienna.

No power is so great as that resulting from the changes produced by time. Wise policy consists in directing that power, but to do so it is requisite to know the wants of the age. For this reason Louis XVIII. appeared, in the eyes of all sensible persons, a monarch expressly formed for the circumstances in which we stood after the fall of Napoleon.[1]

In the winter of 1813-14 some Royalist proclamations had been circulated in Paris, and as they contained the germs of those hopes which the Charter, had it been executed, was calculated to realize, the police opposed their circulation, and I recollect that, in order to multiply the number of copies, my family and I daily devoted some hours to transcribing them. After the definitive declaration of Alexander a very active correspondence ensued between the Provisional Government and Hartwell, and Louis XVIII. was even preparing to embark for Bordeaux when he learned the events of the 31st of March. That news induced the King to alter his determination, and he soon quitted his retirement to proceed

[1] Louis XVIII. was deficient in some qualities which it might have been well for him to have possessed. The Baron de Vitrolles, who was venturing his life for his dream of what the Bourbons must be, gives us an idea of his own disenchantment. "The Comte d'Artois told me that the King often suffered from the gout, sometimes so much as not to be able to walk. My astonishment was such that I could not conceal it. I jumped up and recoiled some paces. 'What,' said I, with too much vivacity, 'the King cannot walk, but at least he can ride!' — 'Not at all,' answered the Prince. 'My God,' cried I, 'what will become of us?'" (*Vitrolles*, p. 202).

to London.[1] Louis XVIII. and the Prince Regent of England exchanged the orders of the Holy Ghost and the Garter, and I believe I may affirm that this was the first occasion on which any but a Catholic Prince was invested with the order of the Holy Ghost.

Louis XVIII. embarked at Dover on board the *Royal Sovereign*, and landed at Calais on the 24th of April. I need not enter into any description of the enthusiasm which his presence excited; that is generally known through the reports of the journals of the time. It is very certain that all rational persons saw with satisfaction the Princes of the House of Bourbon re-ascend the throne of their ancestors, enlightened by experience and misfortune, which, as some ancient philosopher observes, are the best counsellors of kings.[2]

I had received a letter addressed to me from London by the Duc de Duras, pointing out the route which Louis XVIII. was to pursue from Calais to Paris. In this he said, "After the zeal, monsieur, you have shown for the service of the King, I do not doubt your activity to prevent his suffering in any way at a moment so happy and interesting for every Frenchman." The King's wishes on this subject were scrupulously fulfilled, and I recollect with pleasure the zeal with which my directions were executed by all the persons in the service of the Post-office. His Majesty stopped for a short time at Amiens, and then proceeded to Compiègne, where the Ministers and Marshals had previously arrived to present to him their homage and the assurance of their fidelity. Berthier addressed the King in the name of the Marshals, and said, among other things, "that France, groaning for five and

[1] The entrance of Louis XVIII. into London was a triumphal one. The waving of white handkerchiefs, the display of white cockades, were prodigious. We never saw such an exhibition of linen, muslin, and silks — all Bourbonically white. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

[2] The enlightenment of the Royalists is deliciously painted by Puymaigre (p. 173). "I remember that one of my comrades who since the disbandment of the army of Condé had not left his château of Vivarais, said gravely to me one day (1814), '*Parbleu*, the King is very kind to trouble himself about his Charter. To end all our debates, I should only have a law composed of two articles. First, everything in France is re-established as it was on the 13th of July, 1789.' — 'And the second?' — 'The second is even simpler. My Ministers of War, Interior, and of the Finances, etc., are charged with the execution of the present *ordonnance.*' And yet this man was no fool, but his ideas had petrified, and to him nothing had changed."

twenty years under the weight of the misfortunes that oppressed her, had anxiously looked forward to the happy day which she now saw dawning." Berthier might justly have said for "ten years;" but at all events, even had he spoken the truth, it was ill placed in the mouth of a man whom the Emperor had constantly loaded with favors. The Emperor Alexander also went to Compiègne to meet Louis XVIII., and the two monarchs dined together.

I did not go to Compiègne because the business which I had constantly to execute did not permit me to leave Paris for so long an interval as that journey would have required, but I was at St. Ouen when Louis XVIII. arrived on the 2d of May. There I had to congratulate myself on being remembered by a man to whom I was fortunate enough to render some service at Hamburg. As the King entered the *salon* through which he had to pass to go to the dining-room M. Hue recognizing me said to his Majesty, "There is M. de Bourrienne." The King then stepping up to me said, "Ah! M. de Bourrienne, I am very glad to see you. I am aware of the services you have rendered me in Hamburg and Paris, and I shall feel much pleasure in testifying my gratitude."[1]

At St. Ouen Louis XVIII. promulgated the declaration which preceded the Charter, and which repeated the sentiments expressed by the King twenty years before, in the Declaration of Colmar. It was also at St. Ouen that project of a Constitution was presented to him by the Senate in which that body, to justify *in extremis* its title of conservative, stipulated for the preservation of its revenues and endowments.

On the 3d of May Louis XVIII. made his solemn entrance into Paris, the Duchesse d'Angoulême being in the carriage with the King. His Majesty proceeded first to Notre Dame. On arriving at the Pont Neuf he saw the model of the statue of Henri IV. replaced, on the pedestal of which appeared the following words: *Ludovico reduce, Henricus redivivus*, which were suggested by M. de Lally-Tollendal, and were greatly

[1] Bourrienne's enemies naturally seize on this speech to remind us that the services rendered at Hamburg to Louis XVIII. were done at a time when he was in the service of Napoleon.

preferable to the long and prolix inscription composed for the bronze statue.[1]

The King's entrance into Paris did not excite so much enthusiasm as the entrance of Monsieur. In the places through which I passed on the 3d of May astonishment seemed to be the prevailing feeling among the people. The abatement of public enthusiasm was more perceptible a short time after, when Louis XVIII. restored "the red corps" which Louis XVI. had suppressed long before the Revolution.

It was not a little extraordinary to see the direction of the Government consigned to a man who neither had nor could have any knowledge of France. From the commencement M. de Blacas affected ministerial omnipotence.[2] When I went on the 11th of May to the Tuileries to present, as usual, my portfolio to the King, in virtue of my privilege of transacting business with the sovereign, M. de Blacas wished to take the

[1] The inscription in question, a happy one, was really composed by Beugnot, who was much disgusted by Lally's claiming it, and his complaints reached the King. "Louis XVIII., who attached importance to small literary matters, for he thought them some of the riches that existed before 1789, spoke of it to M. Lally, and he eloquently proved to his Majesty that in a kingdom like his, in which there were so many men of genius, it was not surprising that they should sometimes clash" (*Beugnot*, vol. ii. pp. 137–139).

[2] Casimir, Comte, later, 1821, Duc, de Blacas d'Aulps (1770-1839), had succeeded the Comte, later Duc, d'Avaray, as favorite of Louis XVIII., and in 1814 became his factotum. He has been so thoroughly well abused for pride, ignorance, and carelessness that it is impossible not to believe with Marmont that he has suffered for some of the faults of others. Thus it is said that the Abbé de Montesquiou, Minister of the Interior, kept on his table, without opening them, the despatches of M. de Bouthillier, then Préfet of the Var, which told him a fortnight beforehand of the plans of "the man of Elba," and similar neglect was shown to the reports of General Bruslart, commandant of Corsica, on the same subject (*Puymaigre*, p. 182). For some account of Blacas see *Vitrolles*, p. 200; *Marmont*, tome vii. pp. 21 and 112; *Thiers*, tome xviii. p. 92. He was dismissed in 1815, became Ambassador in Rome and Naples with large gifts from his master, followed the exiled family in 1830, and died at Goritz in 1839. Part of Marmont's scheme for defending Louis XVIII. in the Tuileries in 1815 see farther on, on the return of Napoleon from Elba, hinged on the forcible removal of Blacas (*Thiers*, tome xix. p. 211).

How little it was known in France what the Bourbons were is shown by the following speech of Talleyrand when first told of the influence of Blacas while the King was still in England. "Who is this Blacas? I do not know where he comes from, and care little enough to know. We are going to enter on a constitutional government, where influence will be proportioned to capacity. Men will for the future have to take their places by public speaking and business" (*Beugnot*, vol. ii. p. 127). Talleyrand soon knew differently; indeed Louis seems to have wished in 1815 to have got rid of Talleyrand and to have kept Blacas.

portfolio from me, which appeared to me the more surprising as, during the seven days I had the honor of coming in contact with Louis XVIII., his Majesty had been pleased to bestow many compliments upon me. I at first refused to give up the portfolio, but M. de Blacas told me the King had ordered him to receive it; I then, of course, yielded the point.

However, it was not long before I had experience of a courtier's revenge, for two days after this circumstance, that is to say, on the 13th of May, on entering my cabinet at the usual hour, I mechanically took up the *Moniteur*, which I found lying on my desk. On glancing hastily over it what was my astonishment to find that the Comte Ferrand had been appointed Director of the Post-office in my stead. Such was the strange mode in which M. de Blacas made me feel the promised gratitude of the sovereign. Certainly, after my proofs of loyalty, which a year afterwards procured for me the honor of being outlawed in quite a special way, I had reason to complain, and I might have said *Sic vos non vobis* as justly as Virgil when he alluded to the unmerited favors lavished by Augustus on the Mævii and Bavii of his time.

The measures of Government soon excited complaints in every quarter. The usages of the old system were gradually restored, and ridicule being mingled with more serious considerations, Paris was speedily inundated with caricatures and pamphlets.[1] However, tranquillity prevailed until the month of September, when M. de Talleyrand departed for the Congress of Vienna. Then all was disorder at the Tuileries. Every one feeling himself free from restraint, wished to play the statesman, and Heaven knows how many follies were committed in the absence of the schoolmaster.

Under a feeble Government there is but one step from discontent to insurrection, under an imbecile Government like that of France in 1814, after the departure of M. de Talleyrand, conspiracy has free scope.[2] During the summer of 1814 were initiated the events which reached their climax on the

[1] A little political journal, called the *Nain Jaune*, or *Yellow Dwarf*, exercised much influence at this period. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.* See *Metternich*, vol. iii. p. 31.

[2] There is no doubt that Talleyrand's absence at Vienna was disastrous for the Bourbons; see for example the difficulties with the Ministers for want of

20th of March, 1815. I almost fancy I am dreaming when I look back on the miraculous incapacity of the persons who were then at the head of our Government. The emigrants, who, as it has been truly said, had neither learned nor forgotten anything, came back with all the absurd pretensions of Coblentz. Their silly vanity reminded one of a character in one of Voltaire's novels who is continually saying, "*Un homme comme moi!*" These people were so engrossed with their pretended merit that they were blind to everything else. They not only disregarded the wishes and the wants of France, which in overthrowing the Empire hoped to regain liberty, but they disregarded every warning they had received.[1]

I recollect one circumstance which was well calculated to excite suspicion. Prince Eugène proposed going to the waters of Plombières to join his sister Hortense. The horses, the carriages, and one of the Prince's *aides de camp* had already arrived at Plombières, and his residence was prepared; but he did not go. Eugène had, no doubt, received intimation of his sister's intrigues with some of the individuals of the late Court of Napoleon who were then at the waters, and as he had determined to reside quietly at the Court of his father-in-law, without meddling with public

any head, Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. i. pp 189, 190, etc. As the Duke of Wellington said, the thing wanted above all others was a Ministry. "There are Ministers, but no Ministry" (Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 2). See also *Beugnot*, vol. ii. pp. 264, 265, for the position taken up by Talleyrand when he did return "He started as if from a settled point, from the assumption that after his departure for the Congress of Vienna the Government had gone from one folly to another." He even told the Comte d'Artois, in full council, "Since his Royal Highness has placed the discussion on that footing, Monsieur has done a great deal of harm."

[1] One of the ways in which the Bourbons disgusted the army was the manner in which military rank was given to former *émigrés* who had never served, or who had only served in the lower ranks. Both Marmont and Vitrolles put this down to the error of Louis XVIII. in adopting uniform for his own dress instead of the former dress-coat. Every courtier wanted uniform, and as short hair was also adopted, they required epaulets, and handsome epaulets. For the offence thus given to the old officers see *Marmont*, tome vii. p. 46; *Vitrolles*, tome i. p. 203; and *Puymaigre*, p. 172. Another very sore point was changing the number of the regiments, simply for the love of uniformity, because some of the numbers had disappeared by reductions. "After long wars," says Marmont (tome vii. p. 74), "the numbers of regiments have become their names to which remembrances of acquired glory become attached, and to take them away was to gratuitously wound noble and legitimate sentiments. The first act of Napoleon, after his return during the *Cent Jours*, was to restore to every corps its lost former number."

affairs, he remained at Munich. This fact, however, passed off unnoticed.

At the end of 1814 unequivocal indications of a great catastrophe were observable. About that time a man, whom I much esteem, and with whom I have always been on terms of friendship, said to me, "You see how things are going on: they are committing fault upon fault. You must be convinced that such a state of things cannot last long. Between ourselves, I am of opinion that all will be over in the month of March; that month will repair the disgrace of last March. We shall then, once for all, be delivered from fanaticism and the emigrants. You see the intolerable spirit of hypocrisy that prevails, and you know that the influence of the priests is, of all things, the most hateful to the nation. We have gone back a long way within the last eight months. I fear you will repent of having taken too active a part in affairs at the commencement of the present year. You see we have gone a very different way from what you expected. However, as I have often told you before, you had good reason to complain; and after all, you acted to the best of your judgment."

I did not attach much importance to this prediction of a change in the month of March. I deplored, as every one did, the inconceivable errors of "Ferrand and Company,"[1] and I hoped that the Government would gradually return to those principles which were calculated to conciliate the feelings of the people. A few days after another of my friends called on me. He had exercised important functions, and his name had appeared on a proscription list. He had claims upon the Government, which was by no means favorably disposed towards him. I asked him how things were going on, and he replied, "Very well; no opposition is made to my demands. I have no reason to complain." This reminded me of the man in the *Lettres Persanes*, who admired the excellent order of the finances under Colbert because his pension was promptly paid. I congratulated my friend on the justice which the Government rendered him, as well as on the

[1] Ferrand was so incrusted in old prejudices that he said one day, in the presence of several persons, that the Charter would have been a very good thing if it had been duly registered by the Parliament of Paris.—*Bourrienne.*

justice which he rendered to the Government, and I remarked that if the same course were adopted towards every one all parties would speedily be conciliated. "I do not think so," said my friend. "If the Government persist in its present course it cannot possibly stand, and we shall have the Emperor back again." — "That," said I, "would be a very great misfortune; and even if such were the wish of France, it would be opposed by Europe. You who are so devotedly attached to France cannot be indifferent to the danger that would threaten her if the presence of Bonaparte should bring the foreigners back again. Can you endure to think of the dismemberment of our country?" — "That they would never dare to attempt. But you and I can never agree on the question of the Emperor and your Bourbons. We take a totally different view of the matter. You had cause to complain of Bonaparte, but I had only reason to be satisfied with him. But tell me, what would you do if he were to return?" — "Bonaparte return!" — "Yes." — "Upon my word, the best thing I could do would be to set off as speedily as I could, and that is certainly what I should do. I am thoroughly convinced that he would never pardon me for the part I have taken in the Restoration, and I candidly confess that I should not hesitate a moment to save my life by leaving France." — "Well, you are wrong, for I am convinced that if you would range yourself among the number of his friends you might have whatever you wished — titles, honors, riches. Of this I could give you assurance." — "All this, I must tell you, does not tempt me. I love France as dearly as you do, and I am convinced that she can never be happy under Bonaparte. If he should return I will go and live abroad."

This is only part of a conversation which lasted a considerable time, and, as is often the case after a long discussion, my friend retained his opinion, and I mine. However, this second warning, this hypothesis of the return of Bonaparte, made me reflect, and I soon received another hint which gave additional weight to the preceding ones. An individual with whom I was well acquainted, and whom I knew from his principles and connections to be entirely devoted to the royal

cause, communicated to me some extraordinary circumstances which he said alarmed him. Among other things he said, "The day before yesterday I met Charles de Labédoyère, who, you know, is my intimate friend. I remarked that he had an air of agitation and abstraction. I invited him to come and dine with me, but he declined, alleging as an excuse that we should not be alone. He then asked me to go and dine with him yesterday, as he wanted to talk with me. I accepted his invitation, and we conversed a long time on political affairs and the situation of France. You know my sentiments are quite the reverse of his, so we disputed and wrangled, though we are still very good friends. But what alarms me is, that at parting Charles pressed my hand, saying, 'Adieu; to-morrow I set off for Grenoble. In a month you will hear something of Charles de Labédoyère.'"

These three successive communications appeared to me very extraordinary. The two first were made to me by persons interested in the event, and the third by one who dreaded it. They all presented a striking coincidence with the intrigues at Plombières a few months before. In the month of January I determined to mention the business to M. de Blacas, who then engrossed all credit and all power, and through whose medium alone anything could reach the sovereign. I need scarcely add that my intention was merely to mention to him the facts without naming the individuals from whom I obtained them. After all, however, M. de Blacas did not receive me, and I only had the honor of speaking to his secretary, who, if the fact deserve to be recorded, was an abbé named Fleuriel. This personage, who was an extraordinary specimen of impertinence and self-conceit, would have been an admirable study for a comic poet. He had all the dignity belonging to the great secretary of a great Minister, and, with an air of indifference, he told me that the Count was not there; but M. de Blacas *was* there, and I knew it.

Devoted as I was to the cause of the Bourbons, I thought it my duty to write that very day to M. de Blacas to request an interview; I received no answer. Two days after I wrote a second letter, in which I informed M. de Blacas that I had

something of the greatest importance to communicate to him; this letter remained unnoticed like the first. Unable to account for this strange treatment I again repaired to the Pavillon de Flore, and requested the Abbé Fleuriel to explain to me if he could the cause of his master's silence. "Sir," said he, "I received your two letters, and laid them before the Count; I cannot tell why he has not sent you an answer; but *Monsieur le Comte* is so much engaged. . . . *Monsieur le Comte* is so overwhelmed with business that—" —"*Monsieur le Comte* may, perhaps, repent of it. Good-morning, sir!"

I thus had personal experience of the truth of what I had often heard respecting M. de Blacas. That favorite, who succeeded Comte d'Avaray, enjoyed the full confidence of the King, and concentrated the sovereign power in his own cabinet. The only means of transmitting any communication to Louis XVIII. was to get it addressed to M. de Blacas by one of his most intimate friends.

Convinced as I was of the danger that threatened France, and unable to break through the blockade which M. de Blacas had formed round the person of the King, I determined to write to M. de Talleyrand at Vienna,[1] and acquaint him with the communications that had been made to me. M. de Talleyrand corresponded directly with the King, and I doubt not that my information at length reached the ears of his Majesty. But when Louis XVIII. was informed of what was to happen it was too late to avert the danger.

[1] Talleyrand had on this occasion but little of that foresight generally attributed to him, and he seems to have not dreamt of the approaching catastrophe. When informed by Metternich of the departure of Napoleon from Elba the following conversation took place. Talleyrand—"Do you know where Napoleon is going?" Metternich—"The despatch does not say anything about it." Talleyrand—"He will embark (disembark?) somewhere on the coast of Italy, and throw himself into Switzerland." Metternich—"He will go straight to Paris" (*Metternich*, vol. i. p 255). This is not quite in agreement with Talleyrand's own account (Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 71), where he says he learnt the news first from a note of Prince Metternich, "To whom I replied that I saw from the date that Bonaparte's escape was connected with Murat's asking Austria to permit his troops to pass through her provinces." But, in the spirit of the answer attributed to him by Metternich, he informs the King that he "cannot believe that he (Napoleon) would dare to make any attempt upon our southern provinces" (vol. ii. p. 72). At p. 108 of the same volume he tells Jaucourt that "We have no reason to fear; our cause is safe," and, "I think this last dreadful attempt of Bonaparte's will not last long."

CHAPTER IV.[1]

1814–1815.

Napoleon at Elba — His conversations and transactions there — His escape from Elba — His landing near Cannes — March on Paris.

Lord Ebrington visited Napoleon at Elba in the winter of 1814, and the memoranda of his conversations with the ex-Emperor give an interesting picture of Napoleon's feelings at this time and reflections on past events.

"Porto-Ferrajo, *Monday, 6th December*, 1814.

"I went by appointment at eight o'clock in the evening to the palace, and after waiting a few minutes was shown into the room of Napoleon.

"After some questions about myself and my family, he asked eagerly about France, saying, 'Tell me frankly, are they contented?' I said, '*Comme ça.*' He replied, 'They cannot be; they have been too much humbled by the peace — they have had a king imposed upon them, and imposed upon them by England. Lord Wellington's appointment must be very galling to the army, and so must the great attentions shown him by the King, as if opposing his own feelings to those of the country.[2] The Bourbons were not calculated to be popular with a people like the French.' Madame d'Angoulême, he had heard, was plain and awkward. 'For the angel of peace a witty or a pretty woman was required at least.' The King and Monsieur were too much influenced by priests. The Duc d'Angoulême, he had been told, was weak, 'and the Duc de Berry, according to report, has been committing a great many follies of late.' Besides, they had been the instruments of making a peace on terms to which he (Napo-

[1] This chapter first appears in the edition of 1834, and is not by M. de Bourrienne.

[2] As British Ambassador on the conclusion of the campaign of 1814.

leon) never would have consented; giving up Belgium, which the nation had been taught to consider as an integral part of the dominions of France, and of which it would never quietly submit to be stripped. He said he spoke not from what he had heard, 'for I have no news except from the newspapers, or from the reports of travellers; but I know the French character well: it is not proud, like the English, but it is much more vainglorious; vanity is its principal feature, and the vanity of a Frenchman makes him capable of undertaking anything.' The army was naturally attached to him (Napoleon), 'for I had been their comrade. I had had some success with them, and they knew that I recompensed them handsomely: but at present they feel that they are nothing. There are at this moment in France 700,000 men who have borne arms, and the last campaigns have only served to show them how superior they are to their enemies. They render justice to the valor of your British troops; but they despise all the rest.' "[1]

This last assertion was, doubtless, insincere. More than one bloody campaign had taught the French soldiery that the Russians and their iron columns were not to be despised, and in the course of the war in 1813 and 1814 the Austrians and Prussians (particularly the latter) had commanded respect.

Bonaparte then talked about the conscription, and spoke of corps of a higher description for gentlemen to serve in, "For," said he, "I know it is hard for a gentleman to be taken for a common soldier." He said he had always been desirous of bringing forward the nobility, and that he had had in his army many young men of old families who behaved very well.

[1] The Allies most imprudently restored, without any stipulation whatever, all the French prisoners they had taken during the war. In this manner more than 150,000 men, for the most part tried soldiers, were thrown like a lava-stream into France, where they soon openly expressed their old enthusiasm for Napoleon, and their contempt and hatred of the new Government. They toasted the ex-Emperor as "the Little Corporal," or "Corporal Violet," and they confidently repeated wherever they went, "He will come back with the spring." It was impossible to prove to these men that had they been present in France, instead of being, as they were, prisoners to the Russians, the Prussians, and the Austrians, Paris could ever have been taken by the Allies: there was no convincing them that Napoleon had not been betrayed, for when did the French ever acknowledge to have been defeated, except through treachery? — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

"He felt that France wanted an aristocracy: 'but for that it required time. I have made Princes and Dukes, and given them large estates, but I could not make real noblemen of them.' He meant, however, gradually to have intermarried them with the old nobility, as he had done in some instances, 'and if,' said he, 'the twenty years I demanded for the grandeur of France had been granted me, I would have done a good deal: but fate has determined otherwise.' The King, he thought, ought to follow the same plan, instead of advancing those so much who, for the last twenty years, had been 'buried in the garrets of London.'

"He considered the House of Peers as the great bulwark of the English Constitution, 'but in France,' he observed, 'I could make you forty Senates just as good as the one they have got.'

"He had read most of the pamphlets published in France since his abdication. 'Some of them,' said he, 'call me a traitor — a coward; but it is only truth that wounds — the French well know that I am no coward. The wisest plan of the Bourbons would be to follow, with regard to me, the same rule I observed with respect to them, which was not to suffer people to speak either ill or well of them.'

"Speaking of the finances of France, Napoleon said, 'All that I directed to be printed upon this subject is strictly true.' The civil list was 30,000,000 francs, but the expenditure seldom exceeded 18,000,000, and with that he had completed two or three of the palaces. His table cost 1,000,000 francs. His stable and *chasse*, including 700 horses, 2,000,000. Besides this he had the disposal of the '*Domaines extraordinaires*,' a fund of 200,000,000, out of which he made presents, and rewarded those who distinguished themselves. To my question, 'Whence was this fund derived?' he answered, 'Out of the contributions of my enemies. Austria, for two treaties of peace, paid me by secret articles 300,000,000 francs, and Prussia just as enormously.' I inquired if he had received anything from Russia? He said, 'No!' I asked him what he thought of the Emperor Alexander. 'Oh, he is a true Greek! one cannot rely on him. He is, however, intelligent, and has

certain liberal ideas with which he was imbued by one of our French *philosophes* — Laharpe, who brought him up. But he is so fickle that one can never know whether the sentiments he utters proceed from his real conviction or from a species of vanity to put himself in contrast with his real position.'

"In elucidation of this he mentioned an argument they had had upon forms of Government, in which Alexander maintained a preference for elective monarchy. His (Napoleon's) opinion was quite contrary, for 'who is fit to be so elected? A Cæsar or an Alexander, who is not to be found once in a century: so that the election must after all be a matter of chance, and the law of succession is surely better than the dice.' During the fortnight that they were at Tilsit the two Emperors dined together nearly every day, 'but we rose early from table to get rid of the King of Prussia, who bored us. About nine o'clock the Emperor Alexander returned in plain clothes to drink tea with me, and remained conversing very agreeably on different subjects, for the most part philosophical or political, sometimes till two or three o'clock in the morning.' The Emperor Francis, he said, had more honesty but less capacity. 'I would rely upon him sooner than on the other, and if he gave me his word to do such or such a thing, I would be persuaded that at the moment of giving it he meant to keep it; but his mind is very limited — no energy — no character.' The King of Prussia he called '*un caporal*,' without an idea beyond the dress of a soldier, and 'infinitely the greatest fool of the three.' The Archduke Charles was '*un esprit très-médiocre*,' who had, however, on some occasion, shown himself not to be without military talent.

"He spoke lightly of the talents of his Marshals, but having once elevated them it had been his system to maintain them. He had always been indulgent respecting military errors, as he evinced in not removing Marmont from his command after the loss of his artillery at Laon, which he now believed to have been treachery. He said that Augereau was a '*mauvais sujet*,' who, he thought, had made his terms a month before he declared himself. He spoke well of Masséna. 'I

believe he behaved well, as did also Marshals Soult and Davoust.' I asked if he was not surprised at Berthier having been among the first to welcome the King's arrival. He answered with a smile, 'I have been told he has committed some follies of the kind, but his head is not a strong one. I had promoted him more than he deserved because I found his pen useful. Besides, I assure you, he is a good fellow, and if he saw me he would be the first to express regret for what he has done, with tears in his eyes.'

"I asked him what he thought of the King of Spain (Ferdinand)? He said he was not without natural parts, but ignorant and bigoted from the faults of his education, which had been left entirely to priests. 'Moreover, the most dissimulating character I ever knew.' He considered Charles IV. to be honest and well intentioned, but with very little capacity. His Queen, I think, he called '*une méchante femme*,' but I do not recollect his saying much about her.

"Napoleon inquired if I had seen 'the beautiful museum that I have given them at Paris.'[1] He expressed some regret at having taken away so many fine things from Italy. 'I was rather unjust in that, but at that time I thought only of France.' He had meant, however, to acquit his debt one day to Italy by separating it from the French Empire, and by forming it altogether into an independent kingdom for his son. I asked him if the King of Naples (Murat) would not have made an obstacle to this arrangement? He said, 'Yes, for the present, but I should have settled that somehow or other by the time

[1] With a few exceptions on the part of Prussia, the Allies left intact the wonderful Napoleon Museum, enriched with pictures and statues forcibly torn from Italy, Spain, and Germany; which stolen works of art, and the books and rare manuscripts exacted in treaties, signed at the bayonet's point, were all considered by a large portion of the Parisians and military as trophies of victory. The influence exercised on public opinion by this single circumstance was really considerable, and it required the great moral lesson, the restitution of these treasures (which was made in 1815), to bring the French to reason. If at the time of that restitution it had been deemed right (which it *was*) and feasible (which in many cases it was not) to insist on the restoration of the works of art which had been seized by Napoleon's generals, and kept on their own account, how many more pictures would have been sent back to Italy and Spain than actually were sent! The history of Marshal Soult's collection, so rich in the pictures of Murillo, Velasquez, Alonzo Cano, Casa del Campo, Coello, and others of the best Spanish masters, is perfectly well known. Marshal Soult afterwards sold this collection to King Louis Philippe. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

my son came of age.' He had found the Italians lazy and effeminate, 'But I finished by making them as good soldiers as the French.' On my naming the Viceroy he said, 'He is a young man whom I have always treated as my son, and who has always deserved my praise.' I asked if he was not a very good officer? He said, 'Yes, he has always behaved very well; but he is by no means a man of superior talents.' He questioned me a good deal about Milan, the disposition of the people towards him, whether the things he had begun there were going on, etc., and seemed pleased at my admiration of the Simplon, which led him to speak of the roads and other public works he had made, or intended to have made, in different parts of the French dominions. Among them he particularly mentioned the dockyards at Antwerp and Venice.

"He asked me, 'What would they do with me if I were to go to England? Should I be stoned?' I replied that he would be perfectly safe there, as the violent feelings which had been excited against him were daily subsiding now that we were no longer at war. He said smiling, 'I believe, however, that there would always be some risk on the part of your London mob.' I then mentioned to him the odium that some of his acts had produced in England, and instanced the execution of the Duc d'Enghien. He justified it on the score of his being engaged in a treasonable conspiracy, and having made two journeys to Strasburg in disguise, in consequence of which he had been seized and tried by a military commission, which sentenced him to be shot. 'I have been told he desired to speak with me, which affected me, for I knew he was a young man of spirit and talent. I even believed that I would have seen him, but M. de Talleyrand hindered me, saying, "Don't commit yourself with a Bourbon: you know not what may be the consequences of it: the wine is drawn — it must be drunk."'[1] I asked him if it was true that the Duke was

[1] It is due to this extraordinary personage to state our conviction that what Napoleon says here is untrue. Napoleon knew the wonderful talent and address of M. de Talleyrand, as also how largely they had contributed to the first restoration of the Bourbons in 1814. From that moment he entertained a rancorous spite against his ex-Minister, on whose shoulders he tried to throw the weight of many of his politics, mistakes, and crimes. He roundly asserted, on several occasions, that Talleyrand projected and coun-

shot by torchlight. He replied, 'Ah no; that would have been contrary to law. The execution took place at the usual hour, about eight in the morning, and I immediately ordered the official report of it, with the sentence, to be published in every town in France.'

"I mentioned the idea that prevailed in England as to the murder of Captain Wright. He did not recollect the name, but on my saying that he was a companion of Sir Sidney Smith, he said, 'Did he then die in prison? for I have entirely forgotten the circumstance.' He scouted the notion of foul play, adding that he had never put any man to death clandestinely, or without a trial. 'My conscience is without reproach on that point; and had I been less sparing of blood, perhaps I might not have been here now. But your newspapers charged me also with the death of Pichegru, who strangled himself with his neckcloth.'

"He then went into an interesting account of Georges's conspiracy, its discovery by the confession of ——, an apothecary, a *Chouan*, and a curious conversation which was overheard between Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges at a house on the boulevards.

"He spoke with apparent pleasure of Egypt, and described humorously enough his admission and that of his army into Mahometanism, on receiving from the men of the law, after many meetings and grave discussions at Cairo, a dispensation from being circumcised, and a permission to drink wine, under the condition of their doing a good action after each draught. 'You can hardly imagine,' said he, 'the advantages which I gained in the country from this adoption of their religion.' I mentioned Sir Robert Wilson's statement of his having poisoned his sick. He answered, '*Il y a dans cela quelque fondement de vrai* — There is some foundation of

selled the usurpation of the Spanish throne, whereas that Minister strongly dissuaded him from it. It was when madly rushing into this destructive war that M. de Talleyrand (as we believe) first made use of that piquant expression, "This is the beginning of the end." When Bonaparte commenced his Spanish manœuvres M. de Talleyrand was not Minister for Foreign Affairs — in his anger the Emperor had taken the office from him and given it to Champagny, the Duc de Cadore. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

truth in that. Three or four[1] men of the army had the plague: they could not have lived twenty-four hours; I was about to march; I consulted Desgenettes as to the means of removing them. He said that it must be attended with some risk of infection, and would be useless to them as they were past recovery. I then recommended him to give them a dose of opium rather than leave them to the mercy of the Turks. He answered me, like a very honest man, that it was his business to cure and not to kill: so the men were left to their fate. Perhaps he was right, though I asked for them what I should under similar circumstances have wished my best friends to have done for me. I have often thought since on the morality of this, and have conversed on it with others, and I believe that, after all, it is always better to suffer a man to finish his destiny, be it what it may. I judged so afterwards in the case of Duroc, who, when his bowels were falling out before my eyes, repeatedly cried to me to have him put out of his misery. I said to him, "I pity you, my friend, but there is no help for it — you must suffer on to the end."' I then asked him about the massacre of the Turks at Jaffa. He answered, 'It is true: I had about 2000 of them shot — you think that rather strong — but I granted them a capitulation at El-Arish, upon condition that they should return to their homes. They broke the condition and threw themselves into Jaffa, where I took them by assault. I could not carry them off as prisoners, for I was in want of bread, and they were by far too dangerous devils to be let go a second time, so that I had no other means but to kill them.'

"This," says Lord Ebrington, "is all that I accurately recollect of this interesting conversation, which lasted from eight till half-past eleven o'clock, as we walked up and down the room. His manner put me quite at my ease almost from the first, and seemed to invite my questions, which he answered upon all subjects without the slightest hesitation, and with a quickness of comprehension and clearness of expression beyond what I ever saw in any other man; nor

[1] Bourrienne, who was with Bonaparte in Egypt, says there were nearly sixty cases of plague in the military hospital. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 196.

did he, in the whole course of the conversation, betray, either by his countenance or manner, a single emotion of resentment or regret."

About the middle of May, 1814, Baron Kohler, the Austrian Commissioner, took farewell of Napoleon to return to Vienna. The scene of Napoleon's parting with this gentleman is said to have been quite pathetic on the Emperor's side. He wept as he embraced General Kohler, and entreated him to procure, if possible, his re-union with his wife and child, called him the preserver of his life, regretted his poverty, which prevented his bestowing on him some valuable token of remembrance, finally, folding the Austrian General in his arms, he held him there for some time, repeating expressions of warm attachment. This sensibility existed all upon one side, for an English gentleman who witnessed the scene is said to have asked Kohler afterwards what he was thinking of while locked in the Emperor's embraces. "Of Iscariot," answered the Austrian.

After the departure of Baron Kohler Colonel Sir Neil Campbell was the only one of the four Commissioners who remained at Elba by orders of the British Cabinet. It was difficult to say what his office really was, or what were his instructions. He had neither power, right, nor means to interfere with Napoleon's motions. The Emperor had been recognized by a treaty as an independent sovereign. It was therefore only as a nondescript kind of envoy that Sir Neil Campbell was permitted to reside at his Court. In fact, Sir Neil Campbell had no direct or ostensible situation, and of this the French at Elba took advantage. Drouot, the Governor of Porto-Ferrajo, made such particular inquiries into the character assumed by the British envoy, and the length of his stay, as to oblige Campbell to declare that his orders were to remain in Elba till the breaking up of the Congress, which was now settling the affairs of Europe, but if his orders should direct him to continue there after that period he would apply to have his situation placed on a recognized footing.

Napoleon did not oppose the equivocal residence of Sir Neil

Campbell at Elba; he affected, on the contrary, to be pleased with it. For a considerable time he even seemed to seek the society of the British envoy, held frequent intercourse with him, and conversed with apparent confidence on public affairs. It appeared from these conversations that Napoleon's expressions were arranged, generally speaking, on a premeditated plan, yet it is equally evident that his ardent temperament, when once engaged in discourse, led him to discover more of his own private thoughts than he would on cool reflection have suffered to escape him.

In September, for example, Sir Neil Campbell had an audience of three hours, during which Napoleon, with his habitual impatience of a sedentary posture, walked from one end of the room to the other, and talked incessantly. He was happy, he said, that Sir Neil remained in Elba, *pour rompre la chimère* (to destroy the idea that he, Bonaparte, had any further intention of disturbing the peace of Europe). "I think," he continued, "of nothing beyond the verge of my little isles. I could have supported the war for twenty years if I had chosen. I am now a retired person, occupied with nothing but my family, my retreat, my house, my cows, and my poultry." And yet, not unfrequently, the very moment after assertions like these Napoleon's eye would flash, his lips quiver, and on some sudden reference to the Bourbons, or to his army, he would let words escape him that proved ambition was still alive and working within him.

On another occasion he described the ferment in France, which he said he had learned from the correspondence of his Guards with their native country, and went on to say plainly that the present disaffection would break out with all the fury of the former revolution, and require his own resurrection. "For then," he added, "the sovereigns of Europe will soon find it necessary for their own repose to call on me to tranquillize matters."

Sir Neil Campbell conceived some suspicions, but, upon the whole, thought it unlikely that the Emperor meditated an escape, unless a very tempting opening should present itself in France or Italy.

Napoleon frequently talked about his wife and son, whose society at Elba he claimed as a right, and as a thing indispensable to his happiness. On these topics his language was furious. General Kohler, on the other hand, insisted that her remaining apart from her husband was entirely voluntary on the part of Maria Louisa. He also expressed an opinion that Napoleon was actuated by other feelings than those of domestic affection, and this, though we believe he tenderly loved his child and his wife also, we can readily believe.

A curious incident made the simple-minded people of Elba believe for a short time that the Empress and the young Napoleon had really been among them to visit the fallen monarch. In August, 1814, a lady with a fine little boy arrived from Leghorn at Porto-Ferrajo in a very mysterious manner. She was received with distinction, around which, however, Bonaparte threw a certain veil of secrecy. She was lodged in a retired casino, or country-house, in the least frequented part of the island, where she only stopped two days, and then made sail for Naples. Even some of the French soldiery, who had only seen the lady at a distance, or had not seen her at all, wrote to their friends that Maria Louisa had been to visit her husband, and that it was quite certain the Emperor of the French and the Emperor of Austria were on the point of making up matters, and then making common head against the Allies.

The fine little boy was indeed the son of Bonaparte, but an illegitimate son, and the mysterious lady in question was not Maria Louisa, but a Polish Countess with whom Napoleon had intrigued at Warsaw during the winter of 1807.[1]

As the winter approached a change was discernible in Napoleon. The alterations which he had planned in the island ceased to interest him, he rode less frequently on horseback, and sunk occasionally into fits of deep contemplation, mingled with gloomy anxiety. "He became, also," says Sir Walter Scott, "subjected to uneasiness, to which he had hitherto been a stranger, being that arising from pecuniary inconveniences. He had plunged into expenses with imprudent eagerness, and without weighing the amount of his resources

[1] See *ante*, vol. iii. p. 75, the Countess Walewska?

against the cost of the proposed alterations. The ready money which he brought from France seems to have been soon exhausted, and to raise supplies he commanded the inhabitants of his island to pay up, in the month of June, the contributions of the whole year. This produced petitions, personal solicitations, and discontent. It was represented to him that, so poor were the inhabitants of the island, in consequence of want of sale for their wine for months past, that they would be driven to the most extreme difficulties if the requisition should be persisted in. In some of the villages the tax-gatherers of the Emperor were resisted and insulted. Napoleon, on his side, sent part of his troops to quarter upon the insurgent peasantry, and to be supported by them without payment, till the contributions should be paid up."

An exhibition of poverty and destitution could hardly fail of exasperating and preparing for any enterprise, however desperate, his faithful followers and attached troops, who had been accustomed always to be well cared for. We suspect, however, that Bonaparte, who was then actually sending large sums of money to his brother Joseph for political objects, was not so poor as he seemed.

Sir Walter Scott, who believes his poverty to have been real, and who can hardly be suspected of favoring Bonaparte in opposition to the Bourbons, remarks: —

"The French administration were, of all others, most intimately bound in conscience, honor, and policy to see the Treaty of Fontainebleau, as forming the footstool by which Louis XVIII. mounted his restored throne, strictly observed towards Napoleon. The third article of that Treaty provides an annuity or revenue of 2,000,000 francs, to be registered in the Great Book of France, and paid without abatement or deduction to Napoleon Bonaparte. This annual provision was stipulated by the Marshals Macdonald and Ney as the price of Napoleon's abdication, and the French Ministers could not refuse a declaration of payment without gross injustice to Bonaparte, and at the same time a severe insult to the Allied powers. So far from this pension being paid with regularity, we have seen no evidence that Napoleon ever received a single remittance on

account of it. The British resident observing how much the ex-Emperor was harassed by pecuniary straits, gave it, not once but repeatedly, as his opinion, 'that, if these difficulties pressed upon him much longer, so as to prevent him from continuing the external show of a Court, he was perfectly capable of crossing over to Piombino with his troops, or committing any other extravagance.'"

This was Sir Neil Campbell's opinion on the 31st of October, 1814, and Lord Castlereagh made strong remonstrances on the subject, although Great Britain was the only power among the Allies who, being no principal party to the Treaty of Fontainebleau, might safely have left it to those States who were.

Not only were the claims of Napoleon left unsatisfied, but the pensions — 2,500,000 — stipulated for by the sixth article of the Treaty of Fontainebleau for the different members of his family were never paid by the restored Bourbons.[1]

Napoleon's conduct towards those who joined him at Elba was well calculated to make devoted partisans. On the 11th of July Colomboni, commandant of a battalion of the 4th regiment of the line in Italy, was presented to the Emperor as newly arrived. "Well, Colomboni, your business in Elba?" — "First, to pay my duty to your Majesty; secondly, to offer myself to carry a musket among your guards." — "That is too low a situation, you must have something better," said Napoleon; and instantly named him to an appointment of 1200 francs yearly.

About the middle of summer Napoleon was visited by his mother and his sister the Princess Pauline. Both these ladies had very considerable talents for political intrigue, and their natural faculties in this way had not lain dormant or been injured by want of practice. In Pauline this finesse was partially concealed by a languor and indecision of manner and an

[1] Some of this disgrace most undeniably fell upon such of the Allies as guaranteed the execution of the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Baron Fain says: —

"It must be recorded, to the disgrace of European diplomacy, that those generous professions were never carried into execution. The legacies which Napoleon distributed to persons about him, on the faith of the Treaty, have not been paid, and the legatees have not found in the signatures of Princes that security which is furnished by the signature of two attorneys in the most trifling matters of this nature between private individuals."

occasional assumption of *niaiserie*, or almost infantine simplicity; but this only threw people the more off their guard, and made her finesse the more sure in its operation. Pauline was handsome too, uncommonly graceful, and had all that power of fascination which has been attributed to the Bonaparte family. She could gain hearts with ease, and those whom her charms enslaved were generally ready to devote themselves absolutely to her brother. She went and came between Naples and Elba, and kept her brother-in-law, Murat, in mind of the fact that the lion was not yet dead nor so much as sleeping, but merely retiring the better to spring forward on his quarry.

Having taken this resolution and chosen his time, Napoleon kept the secret of his expedition until the last moment; and means were found to privately make the requisite preparations. A portion of the soldiers was embarked in a brig called the *Inconstant* and the remainder in six small craft. It was not till they were all on board that the troops first conceived a suspicion of the Emperor's purpose: 1000 or 1200 men had sailed to regain possession of an Empire containing a population of 30,000,000! He commenced his voyage on Sunday the 26th of February, 1815, and the next morning at ten o'clock was not out of sight of the island, to the great annoyance of the few friends he had left behind. At this time Colonel Sir Neil Campbell was absent on a tour to Leghorn, but being informed by the French Consul and by Spanocchi, the Tuscan Governor of the town, that Napoleon was about to sail for the Continent, he hastened back, and gave chase to the little squadron in the *Partridge* sloop of war, which was cruising in the neighborhood, but, being delayed by communicating with a French frigate, reached Antibes too late.[1]

There were between 400 and 500 men on board the brig

[1] The conduct of Sir Neil Campbell was severely censured at the time in various quarters. The following defence of it was put forward by his friends, and published in a London newspaper. Campbell was a gallant officer, and it is but justice to him to reprint that statement here.

"From this period until the assembling of the Congress at Vienna Bonaparte evinced the greatest predilection for the constant personal presence and society of Sir Neil Campbell; but the discussion of the Allied powers touching his future situation, and the arrangements of the Italian States seemed to awaken his slumbering passions and create rancor in his mind; he evidently alienated himself from the habits he had before cultivated with the

(the *Inconstant*) in which Bonaparte embarked. On the passage they met with a French ship of war, with which they spoke. The Guards were ordered to pull off their caps and lie down on the deck or go below while the captain exchanged some words with the commander of the frigate, whom he afterwards proposed to pursue and capture. Bonaparte rejected the idea as absurd, and asked why he should introduce this new episode into his plan.

As they stood over to the coast of France the Emperor was in the highest spirits. The die was cast, and he seemed to be quite himself again. He sat upon the deck and amused the officers collected around him with a narrative of his campaigns, particularly those of Italy and Egypt. When he had finished he observed the deck to be encumbered with several large chests belonging to him. He asked the *maître d'hôtel* what they contained. Upon being told they were filled with wine he ordered them to be immediately broken open, saying,

British resident. Bonaparte's restlessness and dissatisfaction with his situation at Elba daily increased.

"About this time several of his relations and old friends arrived at Elba from the Continent; a frequent intercourse took place with Italy, and he evidently showed Sir Neil Campbell that his company was not so acceptable as formerly. Under these and other circumstances Colonel Campbell found it expedient occasionally to visit the Continent for the purpose of being the better enabled to watch, ascertain, and communicate to his Government and its functionaries on the Continent such intrigues of Bonaparte as might be carried forward, and which it was impossible to do by a constant residence at Elba; and there is reason to believe that he did not fail to report, from time to time, what appeared to him deserving of notice, as well on the Continent as in Elba. It is therefore to be presumed that even this exposition of the footing on which he was at Elba will evince the injustice of the language in which the public prints have indulged, in attributing to him a situation which he would have scorned to hold, — a power which he did not possess, and a negligence which the whole tenor of his military life most decidedly contradicts: nor will the public ascribe to an isolated individual, so situated, the means of preventing Napoleon's departure from Elba, the signal for which, had Colonel Campbell been on the spot, would have been his imprisonment and consequent deprivation of all means of reporting to his Government." Fuller details will be found in a work since published by Sir Neil Campbell on the subject of his residence in the Mediterranean, when in attendance upon Napoleon Bonaparte.

The allusion in this letter to discussions carried on at Vienna "*touching his* (Napoleon's) *future situation*" merits particular attention. It is confidently asserted by many that *the island of St. Helena was talked of in Congress, and that Napoleon was told it was the intention of the Allies to send him to that island before he made up his mind to quit Elba and again try the fortune of his sword.* Such an announcement was certainly enough to force him again to appeal to the chances of war in his own defence. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

"We will divide the booty." The Emperor superintended the distribution himself, and presented bottle by bottle to his comrades, till tired of this occupation he called out to Bertrand, "Grand Marshal, assist me, if you please. Let us help these gentlemen. They will help *us* some day." It was with this species of *bonhomie* that he captivated when he chose all around him. The following day he was employed in various arrangements, and among others in dictating to Colonel Raoul the proclamations to be issued on his landing. In one of these, after observing, "we must forget that we have given law to the neighboring nations," Napoleon stopped. "What have I said?" Colonel Raoul read the passage. "Stop!" said Napoleon. "Omit the word 'neighboring;' say simply 'to nations.'" It was thus his pride revealed itself, and his ambition seemed to rekindle at the very recollections of his former greatness.

Napoleon landed without any accident on the 1st of March at Cannes, a small seaport in the Gulf of St. Juan, not far from Frejus, where he had disembarked on his return from Egypt sixteen years before, and where he had embarked the preceding year for Elba. A small party of the Guards who presented themselves before the neighboring garrison of Antibes were made prisoners by General Corsin, the Governor of the place. Some one hinted that it was not right to proceed till they had released their comrades, but the Emperor observed that this was poorly to estimate the magnitude of the undertaking; before them were 30,000,000 men *waiting to be set free!* He, however, sent the Commissariat Officer to try what he could do, calling out after him, "Take care you do not get yourself made prisoner too!"

At nightfall the troops bivouacked on the beach. Just before a postilion, in a splendid livery, had been brought to Napoleon. It turned out that this man had formerly been a domestic of the Empress Josephine, and was now in the service of the Prince of Monaco, who himself had been equerry to the Empress. The postilion, after expressing his great astonishment at finding the Emperor there, stated, in answer to the questions that were put to him, that he had just come

from Paris; that all along the road, as far as Avignon, he had heard nothing but regret for the Emperor's absence; that his name was constantly echoed from mouth to mouth; and that, when once fairly through Provence, he would find the whole population ready to rally round him. The man added that his laced livery had frequently rendered him the object of odium and insult on the road. This was the testimony of one of the common class of society: it was very gratifying to the Emperor, as it entirely corresponded with his expectations. The Prince of Monaco himself, on being presented to the Emperor, was less explicit. Napoleon refrained from questioning him on political matters. The conversation therefore assumed a more lively character, and turned altogether on the ladies of the former Imperial Court, concerning whom the Emperor was very particular in his inquiries.

As soon as the moon had risen, which was about one or two in the morning of the 2d, the bivouacs were broken up, and Napoleon gave orders for proceeding to Grasse. There he expected to find a road which he had planned during the Empire, but in this he was disappointed, the Bourbons having given up all such expensive works through want of money. Bonaparte was therefore obliged to pass through narrow defiles filled with snow, and left behind him in the hands of the municipality his carriage and two pieces of cannon, which had been brought ashore. This was termed a capture in the bulletins of the day. The municipality of Grasse was strongly in favor of the Royalist cause, but the sudden appearance of the Emperor afforded but little time for hesitation, and they came to tender their submission to him. Having passed through the town he halted on a little height some way beyond it, where he breakfasted. He was soon surrounded by the whole population of the place; and he heard the same sentiments and the same prayers as before he quitted France. A multitude of petitions had already been drawn up, and were presented to him, just as though he had come from Paris and was making a tour through the departments. One complained that his pension had not been paid, another that his cross of the Legion of Honor had been taken from him. Some of the

more discontented secretly informed Napoleon that the authorities of the town were very hostile to him, but that the mass of the people were devoted to him, and only waited till his back was turned to rid themselves of the miscreants. He replied, "Be not too hasty. Let them have the mortification of seeing our triumph without having anything to reproach us with." The Emperor advanced with all the rapidity in his power. "Victory," he said, "depended on my speed. To me France was in Grenoble. That place was a hundred miles distant, but I and my companions reached it in five days; and with what weather and what roads! I entered the city just as the Comte d'Artois, warned by the telegraph, was quitting the Tuileries."

Napoleon himself was so perfectly convinced of the state of affairs that he knew his success in no way depended on the force he might bring with him. A *piquet* of *gens d'armes*, he said, was all that was necessary. Everything turned out as he foresaw. At first he owned he was not without some degree of uncertainty and apprehension. As he advanced, however, the whole population declared themselves enthusiastically in his favor: but he saw no soldiers. It was not till he arrived between Mure and Vizille, within five or six leagues from Grenoble, and on the fifth day after his landing, that he met a battalion. The commanding officer refused to hold even a parley. The Emperor, without hesitation, advanced alone, and 100 grenadiers marched at some distance behind him, with their arms reversed. The sight of Napoleon, his well-known costume, and his gray military great-coat, had a magical effect on the soldiers, and they stood motionless. Napoleon went straight up to them and baring his breast said, "Let him that has the heart kill his Emperor!" The soldiers threw down their arms, their eyes moistened with tears, and cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" resounded on every side. Napoleon ordered the battalion to wheel round to the right, and all marched on together.

At a short distance from Grenoble Colonel Labédoyère,[1]

[1] Labédoyère was young, nobly born, gallant, handsome, and possessed of many high qualities, but his enthusiasm for Napoleon led him sadly astray. He was connected by his marriage with the loyal family of the Duc de

who had been sent at the head of the 7th regiment to oppose his passage, came to join the Emperor. The impulse thus given in a manner decided the question. Labédoyère's superior officer in vain interfered to restrain his enthusiasm and that of his men. The tri-colored cockades, which had been concealed in the hollow of a drum, were eagerly distributed by Labédoyère among them, and they threw away the white cockade as a badge of their nation's dishonor. The peasantry of Dauphiny, the cradle of the Revolution, lined the roadside: they were transported and mad with joy. The first battalion, which has just been alluded to, had shown some signs of hesitation, but thousands of the country people crowded round it, and by their shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" endeavored to urge the troops to decision, while others who followed in Napoleon's rear encouraged his little troop to advance by assuring them that they would meet with success. Napoleon said he could have taken 2,000,000 of these peasants with him to Paris, but that then he would have been called "the King of the Jacquerie."

Napoleon issued two proclamations on the road. He at first regretted that he had not had them printed before he left Elba; but this could not have been done without some risk of betraying his secret designs. He dictated them on board the vessel, where every man who could write was employed in copying them. These copies soon became very scarce; many of them were illegible; and it was not till he arrived at Gap, on the 5th of March, that he found means to have them printed. They were from that time circulated and read everywhere with the utmost avidity.

The proclamation to the French people was as follows: —

"Frenchmen! — the defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons without defence to our enemies. The army, the command of which I had intrusted to him, was, by the number of its battalions, the courage and patriotism of the troops that composed it, in a condition to beat the Austrian troops

Damas, and it was through that connection he obtained active employment from Louis XVIII. He paid dearly for his disloyalty, for after the second Restoration he was shot, like Ney. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

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opposed to it, and to arrive in time on the rear of the left flank of the army which threatened Paris. The victories of Champ Aubert, of Montmirail, of Château-Thierry, of Vauchamps, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craonne, of Rheims, of Arcis-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier, the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine and Champagne, of Alsace, Franche-Compté and Burgundy, and the position which I had taken in the rear of the hostile army, by cutting it off from its magazines, its parks of reserve, its convoys, and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the élite *of the enemy's army was lost without resource; it would have found a tomb in those vast plains which it had so mercilessly laid waste, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa delivered up the Capital and disorganized the army. The unexpected misconduct of these two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their Prince, and their benefactor, changed the fate of the war; the situation of the enemy was such that at the close of the action which took place before Paris, he was without ammunition, in consequence of his separation from his parks of reserve. In these new and distressing circumstances my heart was torn, but my mind remained immovable; I consulted only the interest of the country; I banished myself to a rock in the middle of the sea; my life was yours, and might still be useful to you. Frenchmen! in my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes; you blamed my long slumber; you reproached me with sacrificing the welfare of the country to my repose. I have traversed seas through perils of every kind; I return among you to reclaim my rights, which are yours."*

The address to the army was considered as being still more masterly and eloquent, and it was certainly well suited to the taste of French soldiers, who, as Bourrienne remarks, are wonderfully pleased with grandiloquence, metaphor, and hyperbole, though they do not always understand what they mean. Even a French author of some distinction praises this address as something sublime. "The proclamation to the army," says he, "is full of energy: it could not fail to make all military imaginations vibrate. That prophetic phrase,

'The eagle, with the national colors, will fly from church steeple to church steeple, till it settles on the towers of Notre Dame,' was happy in the extreme."

The proclamation to the army ran thus: —

"Soldiers! — We have not been conquered: two men, sprung from our ranks, have betrayed our laurels, their country, their benefactor, and their Prince. Those whom we have beheld for twenty-five years traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us, who have spent their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, and in cursing our beautiful France, shall they pretend to command or enchain our Eagles — they who have never been able to look them in the face? Shall we suffer them to inherit the fruit of our glorious toils, to take possession of our honors, of our fortunes; to calumniate and revile our glory? If their reign were to continue all would be lost, even the recollection of those memorable days. With what fury they misrepresent them! They seek to tarnish what the world admires; and if there still remain defenders of our glory they are to be found among those very enemies whom we have confronted in fields of battle. Soldiers! in my exile I have heard your voice; I have come back in spite of all obstacles and all dangers. Your General, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and raised on your shields, is restored to you: come and join him. Mount the tri-colored cockade: you wore it in the days of our greatness. We must forget that we have been the masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs. Who would pretend to be master over us? Who would have the power? Resume those Eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Wagram, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmühl, at Essling, at Smolensko, at the Moskwa, at Lutzen, at Wurtzen, at Montmirail. The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the Grand Army, are humiliated: their honorable scars are despised; their successes would be crimes, the brave would be rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies. Honors, recompenses, favors, are alone reserved for those who have served with them

against the country and against us. Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the banners of your Chief: his existence is only made up of yours; his rights are only those of the people and yours; his interest, his honor, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honor, and your glory. Victory shall march at a charging step; the Eagle, with the national colors, shall fly from steeple to steeple, till it reaches the towers of Notre Dame! Then you will be able to show your scars with honor; then you will be able to boast of what you have done; you will be the liberators of the country! In your old age, surrounded and looked up to by your fellow-citizens, they will listen to you with respect as you recount your high deeds; you will each of you be able to say with pride, 'And I also made part of that Grand Army which entered twice within the walls of Vienna, within those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow, and which delivered Paris from the stain which treason and the presence of the enemy had imprinted on it.' Honor to those brave Soldiers, the glory of their country!"

These words certainly produced an immense effect on the French soldiery, who everywhere shouted, "Vive l'Empereur! Vive le petit Caporal!" "We will die for our old comrade!" with the most genuine enthusiasm.

It was some distance in advance of Grenoble that Labédoyère joined, but he could not make quite sure of the garrison of that city, which was commanded by General Marchand, a man resolved to be faithful to his latest master. The shades of night had fallen when Bonaparte arrived in front of the fortress of Grenoble, where he stood for some minutes in a painful state of suspense and indecision.

It was on the 7th of March, at nightfall, that Bonaparte thus stood before the walls of Grenoble. He found the gates closed, and the commanding officer refused to open them. The garrison assembled on the ramparts shouted "Vive l'Empereur!" and shook hands with Napoleon's followers through the wickets, but they could not be prevailed on to do more. It was necessary to force the gates, and this was done under the mouths of ten pieces of artillery, loaded with grapeshot. In none of his battles did Napoleon ever imagine himself to

be in so much danger as at the entrance into Grenoble. The soldiers seemed to turn upon him with furious gestures: for a moment it might be supposed that they were going to tear him to pieces. But these were the suppressed transports of love and joy. The Emperor and his horse were both borne along by the multitude, and he had scarcely time to breathe in the inn where he alighted when an increased tumult was heard without; the inhabitants of Grenoble came to offer him the broken gates of the city, since they could not present him with the keys.

From Grenoble to Paris Napoleon found no further opposition. During the four days of his stay at Lyons, where he had arrived on the 10th, there were continually upwards of 20,000 people assembled before his windows, whose acclamations were unceasing. It would never have been supposed that the Emperor had even for a moment been absent from the country. He issued orders, signed decrees, reviewed the troops, as if nothing had happened. The military corps, the public bodies, and all classes of citizens, eagerly came forward to tender their homage and their services. The Comte d'Artois, who had hastened to Lyons, as the Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême had done to Bordeaux, like them in vain attempted to make a stand. The Mounted National Guard (who were known Royalists) deserted him at this crisis, and in his flight only one of them chose to follow him. Bonaparte refused their services when offered to him, and with a chivalrous feeling worthy of being recorded sent the decoration of the Legion of Honor to the single volunteer who had thus shown his fidelity by following the Duke.

As soon as the Emperor quitted Lyons he wrote to Ney, who with his army was at Lons-le-Saulnier, to come and join him. Ney had set off from the Court with a promise to bring Napoleon, "like a wild beast in a cage, to Paris." Scott excuses Ney's heart at the expense of his head, and fancies that the Marshal was rather carried away by circumstances, by vanity, and by fickleness, than actuated by premeditated treachery, and it is quite possible that these protestations were sincerely uttered when Ney left Paris, but,

infected by the ardor of his troops, he was unable to resist a contagion so much in harmony with all his antecedents, and to attack not only his leader in many a time of peril, but also the sovereign who had forwarded his career through every grade of the army.

The facts of the case were these: —

On the 11th of March Ney, being at Besançon, learned that Napoleon was at Lyons. To those who doubted whether his troops would fight against their old comrades he said, "They *shall* fight! I will take a musket from a grenadier and begin the action myself! I will run my sword to the hilt in the body of the first man who hesitates to fire!" At the same time he wrote to the Minister of War at Paris that he hoped "to see a fortunate close to this mad enterprise."

He then advanced to Lons-le-Saulnier, where, on the night between the 13th and 14th of March, not quite three days after his vehement protestations of fidelity, he received, without hesitation, a letter from Bonaparte, inviting him, by his old appellation of the "Bravest of the Brave," to join his standard. With this invitation Ney complied, and published an order of the day that declared the cause of the Bourbons, which he had sworn to defend, lost forever.

It is pleaded in extenuation of Ney's defection that both his officers and men were beyond his control, and determined to join their old Master; but in that case he might have given up his command, and retired in the same honorable way that Marshals Macdonald and Marmont and several other generals did.[1] But even among his own officers Ney had an example set him, for many of them, after remonstrating in vain, threw up their commands. One of them broke his sword in two and threw the pieces at Ney's feet, saying, "It is easier for a man of honor to break iron than to break his word."

Napoleon, when at St. Helena, gave a very different reading to these incidents. On this subject he was heard

[1] Marshal Augereau kept himself aloof. He could not be much flattered by the mention made of him in Bonaparte's proclamation to the troops!

to say, "If I except Labédoyère, who flew to me with enthusiasm and affection, and another individual, who, of his own accord, rendered me important services, nearly all the other generals whom I met on my route evinced hesitation and uncertainty; they yielded only to the impulse about them, if indeed they did not manifest a hostile feeling towards me. This was the case with Ney, with Masséna, St. Cyr, Soult, as well as with Macdonald and the Duke of Belluno, so that if the Bourbons had reason to complain of the complete desertion of the soldiers and the people, they had no right to reproach the chiefs of the army with conspiring against them, who had shown themselves mere children in politics, and would be looked upon as neither emigrants nor patriots."

Between Lyons and Fontainebleau Napoleon often travelled several miles ahead of his army with no other escort than a few Polish lancers. His advanced guard now generally consisted of the troops (miscalled *Royal*) who happened to be before him on the road whither they had been sent to oppose him, and to whom couriers were sent forward to give notice of the Emperor's approach, in order that they might be quite ready to join him with the due military ceremonies. White flags and cockades everywhere disappeared; the tri-color resumed its pride of place. It was spring, and true to its season the violet had re-appeared! The joy of the soldiers and the lower orders was almost frantic, but even among the industrious poor there were not wanting many who regretted this precipitate return to the old order of things — to conscription, war, and bloodshed, while in the superior classes of society there was a pretty general consternation. The vain, volatile soldiery, however, thought of nothing but their Emperor, saw nothing before them but the restoration of all their laurels, the humiliation of England, and the utter defeat of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians.

On the night between the 19th and 20th of March Napoleon reached Fontainebleau, and again paced, as had formerly been his custom, with short, quick steps through the antiquated

but splendid galleries of that old palace. What must have been his feelings on revisiting the chamber in which, the year before, it is said he had attempted suicide ![1]

Louis XVIII. left the Palace of the Tuileries at nearly the same hour that Bonaparte entered that of Fontainebleau.

The most forlorn hope of the Bourbons was now in a considerable army posted between Fontainebleau and Paris. Meantime the two armies approached each other at Melun; that of the King was commanded by Marshal Macdonald. On the 20th his troops were drawn up in three lines to receive the invaders, who were said to be advancing from Fontainebleau. There was a long pause of suspense, of a nature which seldom fails to render men more accessible to strong

[1] Baron Fain thus relates this report: —

"On the night of the 12th the silence which reigned in the long corridors of the palace was suddenly interrupted by the sound of hurried footsteps. The servants of the palace were heard running to and fro, candles were lighted in the inner apartment, and the *valets de chambre* were called up. Doctor Yvan and the Grand Marshal Betrand were also summoned. The Duke of Vicenza was sent for, and a message was despatched to the Duke of Bassano, who resided at the Chancellerie. All these individuals arrived, and were successively introduced into the Emperor's bedchamber. Curiosity in vain lent an anxious ear; nothing was heard but groans and sobs escaping from the antechamber and resounding through the gallery. At length Yvan came out of the chamber; he hastily descended into the courtyard, where, finding a horse fastened to the railing, he mounted him and galloped off. The secret of this night has always been involved in profound obscurity. The following story has, however, been related: —

"During the retreat from Moscow Napoleon had, in case of accident, taken means to prevent his falling alive into the hands of the enemy. He procured from his surgeon Yvan a bag of opium,* which he wore hung about his neck as long as danger was to be apprehended. He afterwards carefully deposited this bag in a secret drawer of his cabinet. On the night of the 12th he thought the moment had arrived for availing himself of this last expedient. The *valet de chambre*, who slept in the adjoining room, the door of which was half open, heard Napoleon empty something into a glass of water, which he drank, and then returned to bed. Pain soon extorted from him an acknowledgment of his approaching end. He then sent for the most confidential persons in his service. Yvan was sent for also; but learning what had occurred, and hearing Napoleon complain that the poison was not sufficiently quick in its effect, he lost all self-possession, and hastily fled from Fontainebleau. It is added that Napoleon fell into a long sleep, and that after copious perspiration every alarming symptom disappeared. The dose was either insufficient in quantity, or time had mitigated the power of the poison. It is said that Napoleon, astonished at the failure of his attempt, after some moments of reflection said, 'God has ordained that I shall live!' and yielding to the will of Providence, which had preserved his existence, he resigned himself to a new destiny. The whole affair was hushed in secrecy."

* It was not opium alone, but a preparation described by Cabanis, and the same which Condorcet made use of to destroy himself.

and sudden emotion. The glades of the forest, and the acclivity which leads to it, were full in view of the Royal army, but presented the appearance of a deep solitude. All was silence, except when the regimental bands of music, at the command of the officers, who remained generally faithful, played the airs of "*Vive Henri Quatre*," "*O Richard*," "*La Belle Gabrielle*," and other tunes connected with the cause and family of the Bourbons. The sounds excited no corresponding sentiments among the soldiers.

At length, about noon, a galloping of horse was heard. An open carriage appeared, surrounded by a few hussars, and drawn by four horses. It came on at full speed, and Napoleon, jumping from the vehicle, was in the midst of the ranks which had been formed to oppose him. His escort threw themselves from their horses, mingled with their ancient comrades, and the effect of their exhortations was instantaneous on men whose minds were already half made up to the purpose which they now accomplished. There was a general shout of "Vive Napoleon!" The last army of the Bourbons passed from their side, and no further obstruction existed betwixt Napoleon and the capital, which he was once more — but for a brief space — to inhabit as a sovereign.[1]

Louis, accompanied only by a few household troops, had scarcely turned his back on the capital of his ancestors when Lavalette hastened from a place of concealment and seized on the Post-office in the name of Napoleon. By this measure all the King's proclamations[2] were intercepted, and the restoration of the Emperor was announced to all the departments. General Excelmans, who had just renewed his oath to Louis, pulled down with his own hands the white flag that was floating over the Tuileries, and hoisted the three-colored banner.

It was late in the evening of the 20th that Bonaparte entered Paris in an open carriage, which was driven straight to the gilded gates of the Tuileries. He received the acclamations of the military and of the lower classes of the suburbs,

[1] Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. viii. p. 385.

[2] On the 12th of April Louis XVIII. issued a Declaration to the French people at Ghent, but even that paper could not be circulated in France until after the battle of Waterloo.

but most of the respectable citizens looked on in silent wonderment. It was quite evident then that he was recalled by a party — a party, in truth, numerous and powerful, but not by the unanimous voice of the nation. The enthusiasm of his immediate adherents, however, made up for the silence and lukewarmness of others. They filled and crammed the square of the Carrousel, and the courts and avenues of the Tuileries; they pressed so closely upon him that he was obliged to cry out, "My friends, you stifle me!" and his *aides de camp* were compelled to carry him in their arms up the grand staircase, and thence into the royal apartments. It was observed, however, that amongst these *ardent friends* were many men who had been the first to desert him in 1814, and that these individuals were the most enthusiastic in their demonstrations, the loudest in their shouts!

And thus was Napoleon again at the Tuileries, where, even more than at Fontainebleau, his mind was flooded by the deep and painful recollections of the past! A few nights after his return thither he sent for M. Horan, one of the physicians who had attended Josephine during her last illness. "So, Monsieur Horan," said he, "you did not leave the Empress during her malady?" — "No, Sire." — "What was the cause of that malady?" — "Uneasiness of mind . . . grief." — "You believe that?" (and Napoleon laid a strong emphasis on the word *believe*, looking steadfastly in the doctor's face). He then asked, "Was she long ill? Did she suffer much?" — "She was ill a week, Sire; her Majesty suffered little bodily pain." — "Did she see that she was dying? Did she show courage?" — "A sign her Majesty made when she could no longer express herself leaves me no doubt that she felt her end approaching; she seemed to contemplate it without fear." — "Well! . . . well!" and then Napoleon much affected drew close to M. Horan, and added, "You say that she was in grief; from what did that arise?" — "From passing events, Sire; from your Majesty's position last year." — "Ah! she used to speak of me then?" — "Very often." Here Napoleon drew his hand across his eyes, which seemed filled with tears. He then went on. "Good woman! — Excellent Josephine! She

loved me truly — she — did she not? . . . Ah! She was a Frenchwoman!" — "Yes, Sire, she loved you, and she would have proved it had it not been for dread of displeasing you: she had conceived an idea. . . ." — "How? . . . What would she have done?" — "She one day said that as Empress of the French she would drive through Paris with eight horses to her coach, and all her household in gala livery, to go and rejoin you at Fontainebleau, and never quit you more." — "She would have done it — she was capable of doing it!"

Napoleon again betrayed deep emotion, on recovering from which he asked the physician the most minute questions about the nature of Josephine's disease, the friends and attendants who were around her at the hour of her death, and the conduct of her two children, Eugène and Hortense.

CHAPTER V.

1815.

Message from the Tuileries — My interview with the King — My appointment to the office of Prefect of the Police — Council at the Tuileries — Order for arrests — Fouché's escape — Davoust unmolested — Conversation with M. de Blacas — The intercepted letter, and time lost — Evident understanding between Murat and Napoleon — Plans laid at Elba — My departure from Paris — The post-master of Fins — My arrival at Lille — Louis XVIII. detained an hour at the gates — His Majesty obliged to leave France — My departure for Hamburg — The Duc de Berri at Brussels.

Those who opposed the execution of the treaty concluded with Napoleon at the time of his abdication were guilty of a great error, for they afforded him a fair pretext for leaving the island of Elba.[1] The details of that extraordinary enterprise are known to every one, and I shall not repeat what has been told over and over again.[2] For my own part,

[1] The island of Elba appears to have been (at least publicly) suggested by Marshal Ney. It is said that Bonaparte originally demanded Corfu, which was refused as too valuable a possession, under the ludicrous pretext that his residence there *might disturb the tranquillity of Turkey!* The island to which he was sent united every property which Bonaparte could have desired for new plans of ambition. Its small size and population disarmed jealousy, and gave it the appearance of a mere retreat. It contained an impregnable fortress, capable of being defended by a handful of faithful soldiers. It was within a few hours' sail of the coast of Italy, even then dreading the yoke of her old masters. Through Italy and Switzerland communications with the French army might be opened through unexpected channels, and in the long line of the Alps and the Jura, it was scarcely possible to intercept them. The distance from the coast of France somewhat diminished the facility of watching the port, and he was near enough to Provence for such a sudden enterprise as his situation allowed. If the globe had been searched for that residence in which Napoleon was most dangerous to France all sagacious searchers must have pointed to Elba. — *Editor of 1836 edition.*

[2] In 1815 it was customary and convenient to treat Napoleon's return from Elba as a breach of faith justifying his eventual removal to St. Helena and making him an outlaw. All the petty but rankling annoyances inflicted on him, such as denying to the man who had made kings any higher title than that of General, were supposed to be justified by this act of his. It is now certain that when Napoleon left Elba he knew that his removal to St. Helena or some similar and detestable residence was practically determined on. Further, the Bourbons, by withholding the pensions due to him and his family, not only had broken the treaty with him, but had made it difficult for him to maintain himself in his little State. The determination not to pay

as soon as I saw with what rapidity Bonaparte was marching upon Lyons, and the enthusiasm with which he was received by the troops and the people, I prepared to retire to Belgium, there to await the *dénouement* of this new drama.

Every preparation for my departure was completed on the evening of the 13th of March, and I was ready to depart,

the pensions and to remove him from Elba can be seen in the *Correspondence* of Talleyrand during the Congress of Vienna (London, Bentley), especially vol. ii. p. 27, where the Czar says to Talleyrand at Vienna, "Why do you not execute the treaty of 11th of April (giving the pensions)? . . . The treaty has not been executed, we ought to insist on its execution; our honor is at stake, we cannot possibly draw back: the Emperor of Austria insists on it as much as I do." Talleyrand goes on to tell the King (vol. ii. p. 28), "Lord Castlereagh also spoke to me warmly about the treaty of the 11th of April, and I have no doubt he will mention it to your Majesty. This subject has been revived lately, and is now in every one's mouth. I ought to tell your Majesty that it is constantly recurring, and in a disagreeable way." Talleyrand's only hope of getting the treaty performed by his master seems to have been to make a disgraceful bargain by which France should abandon the slave trade, in return for which piece of humanity his neighbors, the eccentric islanders, were to undertake the performance of the contract by which Louis held his throne. As for the removal, see the same *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 48, where Talleyrand writes to the King on 13th October, 1815, "A very decided intention of removing Bonaparte from the island of Elba is manifesting itself. I have proposed one of the Azores, it is 500 leagues from any coast." This the King considers an excellent idea. It was not unnatural for Napoleon to suspect some worse motive for this step than the wish to place him at a distance, and the knowledge of this plot may have had some weight with him when he surrendered himself to a Government which at least would not go farther than imprisoning him. See a curious but probably unintentionally sinister allusion by Alexander to the King of Saxony, another monarch held in disgrace by the Allies. "If the King of Saxony does not abdicate he shall be taken to Russia: he will die there" (Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 87). The treaty is plan enough. "The island of Elba adopted by his Majesty Napoleon I. as his place of residence shall form during his life a separate principality which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property" (Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 37; *Thiers*, tome xvii. p. 790; *Martens*, tome vi. p. 696.

It must be remembered that this treaty was not a mere favor granted to Napoleon when helpless. It was a contract for which the Allies and certainly the Bourbons had received full value. So well was this understood at the time that it was only when the Allies had actually signed the treaty that Caulaincourt handed to Talleyrand the formal abdication of Napoleon; see *Thiers*, tome xvii. p. 792. The cession of Elba was a bargain, not a gift. Napoleon was far from helpless. It was the extraordinary step taken later by Talleyrand in surrendering the fortresses held by French troops which placed France at the feet of the Allies. Napoleon could have protracted the war: the bond which held the Allies was not one to stand much strain, and a petty island left to Napoleon was a small price to pay for the cessation of a struggle in which they had little more to gain and everything to lose. The Emperor of Austria had given Napoleon his daughter, the Czar had treated him as a brother, Bavaria and Würtemberg were Kings by his grace; not a sovereign on the Continent had scrupled to accept any gift from him in his days of power; witness the acceptance of Hanover by Prussia. Even England had recognized him as Consul. Why no faith was to be kept with him in his fall is difficult to explain. As for there being ground for surprise at his return, see the same Talleyrand *Correspondence*. D'Hauterive writes to

to avoid the persecutions of which I expected I should be the object, when I received a message from the Tuileries stating that the King desired to see me. I of course lost no time in proceeding to the Palace, and went straight to M. Hue to inquire of him why I had been sent for. He occupied the apartments in which I passed the three most laborious and anxious years of my life. M. Hue, perceiving that I felt a certain degree of uneasiness at being summoned to the Tuileries at that hour of the night, hastened to inform me that the King wished to appoint me Prefect of the Police. He conducted me to the King's chamber, where his Majesty thus addressed me kindly, but in an impressive manner, "M. de Bourrienne, can we rely upon you? I expect much from your zeal and fidelity." —"Your Majesty," replied I, "shall have no reason to complain of my betraying your confidence." —"Well, I re-establish the Prefecture of the Police, and I appoint you Prefect. Do your best, M. de Bourrienne, in the discharge of your duties; I count upon you."

By a singular coincidence, on the very day (the 13th of March) when I received this appointment Napoleon, who was at Lyons, signed the decree which excluded from the amnesty he had granted thirteen individuals, among whose names mine was inscribed.[1] This decree confirmed me in the presenti-

Talleyrand then at Vienna, on the 14th of February, 1815, "Savary said to me with an air of extraordinary conviction, 'We shall see Bonaparte again, and it will be entirely their (the Bourbons') fault.' I feel that Daru and Maret agree with him" (vol. ii. pp. 9, 10). Daru, it should be remarked, was very far from an enthusiastic partisan of Napoleon, and indeed had a personal distrust of him. Jaucourt himself, then in temporary charge of the French Foreign Office, if he did not believe in the return could not have been surprised at the catastrophe of the Bourbons, for he writes on 25th January, 1815 (vol. ii. p. 12), "We are really going on very badly, and we (the Government) must do better if we do not wish to perish utterly;" and after the return he writes on 10th April, 1815 (vol. ii. p. 143), "To express it in one word,—the road led straight to the island of Elba." There can be no doubt that the whole conduct of the Allied sovereigns at this period towards Napoleon, France, and the nations of Europe dealt a blow to the so-called principle of legitimacy at the very time it seemed triumphant in Talleyrand's mouth, which it never recovered from. The number of independent monarchs has rapidly lessened since 1815, and a strange sacrosanctity has become attached to the act of conquest. Napoleon was not far wrong when he said that if he fell the whole system would fall with him.

[1] This was Napoleon's list of proscription:—"The Prince of Benevento (Talleyrand), the Duc de Raguse (Marmont), the Duc d'Alberg, the Abbé de Montesquiou, the Comte de Jaucourt, the Comte de Beurnonville, Lynch, Vitrolles, Alexis de Noailles, Bourrienne, Bellard, Larochejacquelin, and

ments I had conceived as soon as I heard of the landing of Bonaparte. On returning home from the Tuileries after receiving my appointment a multitude of ideas crowded on my mind. At the first moment I had been prompted only by the wish to serve the cause of the King, but I was alarmed when I came to examine the extent of the responsibility I had taken upon myself. However, I determined to meet with courage the difficulties that presented themselves, and I must say that I had every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which I was seconded by M. Foudras, the Inspector-General of the Police.

Even now I am filled with astonishment when I think of the Council that was held at the Tuileries on the evening of the 13th of March in M. de Blacas's apartments.[1] The ignorance of the members of that Council respecting our situation, and their confidence in the useless measures they had adopted against Napoleon, exceed all conception. Will it be believed that those great statesmen, who had the control of the telegraph, the post-office, the police and its agents, money — in short, everything which constitutes power — asked me to give them information respecting the advance of Bonaparte? What could I say to them? I could only repeat the reports which were circulated on the Exchange, and those which I had collected here and there during the last twenty-four hours. I did not conceal that the danger was imminent, and that all their precautions would be of no avail. The question then arose as to what course should be adopted by the King. It was impossible that the monarch could remain in the Capital, and yet, where was he to go?

Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld." — *Bourrienne*. According to Fouché the name of Augereau originally stood in this black list, but it was erased at the entreaties of his wife, and in consequence of his proclamation of 23d March. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition*.

[1] "When I went out I left my vote in writing for M. de Bourrienne, whom it is proposed to make Prefect of Police" (Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 95, Jaucourt to Talleyrand, 14th March, 1815). Bourrienne's surprise was shared by others more accustomed to the Bourbons, and who now at last saw with astonishment the true character of the sovereign for whom they had forced France to make such enormous sacrifices. "The tears came into my eyes at the Council yesterday when I saw the King, his brother, his nephew, and all his ministers deliberate for three hours on the arrests to be made" (Jaucourt to Talleyrand, 14th March, 1815, Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 94).

One proposed that he should go to Bordeaux, another to La Vendée, and a third to Normandy, and a fourth member of the Council was of opinion that the King should be conducted to Melun. I conceived that if a battle should take place anywhere it would probably be in the neighborhood of that town, but the councillor who made this last suggestion assured us that the presence of the King in an open carriage and eight horses would produce a wonderful effect on the minds of the troops. This project was merely ridiculous; the others appeared to be dangerous and impracticable. I declared to the Council that, considering the situation of things, it was necessary to renounce all idea of resistance by force of arms; that no soldier would fire a musket, and that it was madness to attempt to take any other view of things. "Defection," said I, "is inevitable. The soldiers are drinking in their barracks the money which you have been giving them for some days past to purchase their fidelity. They say Louis XVIII. is a very decent sort of man, but *Vive le petit Caporal!*"

Immediately on the landing of Napoleon the King sent an extraordinary courier to Marmont, who was at Châtillon, whither he had gone to take a last leave of his dying mother. I saw him one day after he had had an interview with the King; I think it was on the 6th or 7th of March. After some conversation on the landing of Napoleon, and the means of preventing him from reaching Paris, Marmont said to me, "This is what I dwelt most strongly upon in the interview I have just had with the King. 'Sire,' said I, 'I doubt not Bonaparte's intention of coming to Paris, and the best way to prevent him doing so would be for your Majesty to remain here. It is necessary to secure the Palace of the Tuileries against a surprise, and to prepare it for resisting a siege, in which it would be indispensable to use cannon. You must shut yourself up in your palace, with the individuals of your household and the principal public functionaries, while the Duc d'Angoulême should go to Bordeaux, the Duc de Berri to La Vendée, and Monsieur[1] to the Franche-Comté; but they must set off in open day, and announce that they are going to

[1] Monsieur, the brother of the King, the Comte d'Artois, later Charles X.

collect defenders for your Majesty.' . . . This is what I said to the King this morning, and I added that I would answer for everything if my advice were followed. I am now going to direct my *aide de camp*, Colonel Fabvier, to draw up the plan of defence." I did not concur in Marmont's opinion. It is certainly probable that had Louis XVIII. remained in his palace the numerous defections which took place before the 20th of March would have been checked and some persons would not have found so ready an excuse for breaking their oaths of allegiance. There can be little doubt, too, but Bonaparte would have reflected well before he attempted the siege of the Tuileries.[1]

Marmont supported his opinion by observing that the admiration and astonishment excited by the extraordinary enterprise of Napoleon and his rapid march to Paris would be counterbalanced by the interest inspired by a venerable monarch defying his bold rival and courageously defending his throne. While I rendered full justice to the good intentions of the Duke of Ragusa, yet I did not think that his advice could be adopted. I opposed it as I opposed all the propositions that were made in the Council relative to the different places to which the King should retire. I myself suggested Lille as being the nearest, and as presenting the greatest degree of safety, especially in the first instance.

It was after midnight when I left the Council of the Tuileries. The discussion had terminated, and without coming to any precise resolution it was agreed that the different opinions which had been expressed should be submitted to Louis XVIII. in order that his Majesty might adopt that which should appear to him the best. The King adopted my opinion, but it was not acted upon until five days after.

[1] Marmont (tome vii. p. 87) gives the full details of his scheme for provisioning and garrisoning the Tuileries which the King was to hold while his family spread themselves throughout the provinces. The idea had nothing strange in it, for the same advice was given by General Mathieu Dumas (*Souvenirs*, tome iii. p. 564), a man not likely to suggest any rash schemes. Jaucourt, writing to Talleyrand, obviously believed in the wisdom of the King's remaining, as did the Czar: see Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 94, 122, 129. Napoleon would certainly have been placed in a strange difficulty, but a king capable of adopting such a resolution would never have been required to consider it.

My appointment to the Prefecture of the Police was, as will be seen, a late thought of measure, almost as late indeed as Napoleon's proposition to send me as his Minister Plenipotentiary to Switzerland. In now accepting office I was well convinced of the inutility of any effort that might be made to arrest the progress of the fast approaching and menacing events. Being introduced into the King's cabinet his Majesty asked me what I thought of the situation of affairs. "I think, Sire, that Bonaparte will be here in five or six days." — "What, sir?" — "Yes, Sire." — "But proper measures are taken, the necessary orders given, and the Marshals are faithful to me." — "Sire, I suspect no man's fidelity; but I can assure your Majesty that, as Bonaparte has landed, he will be here within a week. I know him, and your Majesty cannot know him as well as I do; but I can venture to assure your Majesty with the same confidence that he will not be here six months hence. He will be hurried into acts of folly which will ruin him." — "M. de Bourrienne, I hope the best from events, but if misfortune again compel me to leave France, and your second prediction be fulfilled, you may rely on me." During this short conversation the King appeared perfectly tranquil and resigned.

The next day I again visited the Tuileries, whither I had at those perilous times frequent occasion to repair. On that day I received a list of twenty-five persons whom I was ordered to arrest. I took the liberty to observe that such a proceeding was not only useless but likely to produce a very injurious effect at that critical moment. The reasons I urged had not all the effect I expected. However, some relaxation as to twenty-three of the twenty-five was conceded, but it was insisted that Fouché and Davoust should be arrested without delay. The King repeatedly said, "I wish you to arrest Fouché." — "Sire, I beseech your Majesty to consider the inutility of such a measure." — "I am resolved upon Fouché's arrest. But I am sure you will miss him, for André could not catch him."

After this formal order from the King I left the Tuileries, carrying with me the following list. I have preserved the

autograph in the handwriting of M. de Blacas, and I here insert a faithful copy without even correcting the erroneous orthography of some of the names: —

Fouché; Davoust; Le Comte, Rue du Bac, corner of the Rue de l'Université — he holds funds belonging to Fouché; M. Gaillard, Councillor, of the Royal Court; Hinguerlot; Le Maire; Gérard; Mejean; Le Grand; Etienne; Rovigo; Réal; Mounier; Arnauld; Norwins; Bouvier-Dumolard; Maret; Duviquet; Patris; Lavalette; Syèyes; Pierre Pierre; Flao; Excellmonce; Jos. Thurot.

My nocturnal installation as Prefect of the Police took place some time after midnight. I had great repugnance to the arrest of Fouché, but the order having been given, there was no alternative but to obey it. I communicated the order to M. Foudras, who very coolly observed, "Since we are to arrest him you need not be afraid, we shall have him fast to-morrow."

The next day my agents repaired to the Duke of Otranto's hôtel, in the Rue d'Artois. On showing their warrant Fouché said, "What does this mean? Your warrant is of no force; it is mere waste paper. It purports to come from the Prefect of the Police, but there is no such Prefect." In my opinion Fouché was right, for my appointment, which took place during the night, had not been legally announced. Be that as it may, on his refusal to surrender, one of my agents applied to the staff of the National Guard, requesting the support, in case of need, of an armed force. General Dessolles repaired to the Tuileries to take the King's orders on the subject. Meanwhile Fouché, who never lost his self-possession, after talking to the police officers who remained with him, pretended to step aside for some indispensable purpose, but the door which he opened led into a dark passage through which he slipped, leaving my unfortunate agents groping about in the obscurity.[1] As for himself he speedily gained the Rue Taitbout, where he stepped into a coach and drove off. This is the whole history of the notable arrest of Fouché.

[1] The following is the account in the spurious Memoirs of Fouché, which are probably pretty accurate on this particular incident: —

"I was sitting without any mistrust in my hôtel, when some agents of the Parisian police, at the head of which Bourrienne had just been placed, suddenly made their appearance accompanied by *gendarmes*, to arrest me.

As for Davoust, I felt my hands tied with respect to him. I do not mean to affect generosity, for I acknowledge the enmity I bore him; but I did not wish it to be supposed that I was acting towards him from a spirit of personal vengeance. I therefore merely ordered him to be watched. The other twenty-three were to me in this matter as if they had never existed; and some of them, perhaps, will only learn in reading my Memoirs what dangerous characters they were thought to be.

On the 15th of March, after the conversation which, as I have already related, I had with Louis XVIII., I went to M. de Blacas and repeated to him what I had stated to the King on the certainty of Bonaparte's speedy arrival in Paris. I told him that I found it necessary to devote the short time still in our power to prevent a re-action against the Royalists

Having timely intelligence I hastily took measures for my escape. The agents of police had already proceeded to active search in my apartments, when the *gendarmes* commissioned to execute the order of the new prefect presented themselves before me. These men, who had so long obeyed my orders, not daring to lay their hands on my person, contented themselves with giving me their written authority. I took the paper, opened it and confidently said, 'This order is not regular: stay where you are while I go and protest it.' I entered my closet, seated myself at my desk and began to write. I then rose with a paper in my hand, and making a sudden turn, I precipitately descended into my garden by a secret door: there I found a ladder attached to a wall contiguous to the hôtel of Queen Hortense. I nimbly climbed it; one of my people raised the ladder, which I took and let it fall on its feet on the other side of the wall; this I quickly adjusted, and descended with still more promptitude. I arrived, in the character of a fugitive, at the house of Hortense, who extended her hospitality to me; and, as if by some sudden transition of an Eastern tale, I suddenly found myself in the midst of the *élite* of the Bonapartists, in the headquarters of the party, whom I found in excellent spirits, and where my presence added to the rejoicing" (Fouché's *Memoirs*, tome ii.).

Fouché after making his escape went straight to the hôtel of Hortense, Duchesse de St. Leu, ex-Queen of Holland, where he was welcomed by the Bonapartists, who had made that their headquarters. He himself made little secret that it was not Napoleon that he and his friends had hoped to set at the head of the Government instead of the elder Bourbons. He acknowledged this openly, saying, for example, to Meneval, long secretary of Napoleon, and who remained faithful to the Emperor, "So he is here. He is not the man wished for, but he cannot be taken away like a chess pawn. We will see what we can do to keep him."—"I," says Meneval (tome ii. p. 339), "told the Emperor of this. He doubtless knew what to expect from Fouché, for he only shrugged his shoulders as a sign of contempt." See also Thiers (tome xix. p. 213) for a curious conversation of Fouché's with a messenger from the King, before Napoleon arrived, when he intimated that he would probably soon be a Minister of Napoleon, but only to betray him. Lucien Bonaparte, however, avowing his dislike for Fouché, declares that "it is not true that Fouché betrayed the Emperor during the *Cent Jours*" (Iung's *Lucien*, tome iii. p. 294).

and to preserve public tranquillity until the departure of the Royal family, and that I would protect the departure of all persons who had reasons for withdrawing themselves from the scene of the great and perhaps disastrous events that might ensue. "You may readily believe, Count," added I, "that considering the great interests with which I am intrusted, I am not inclined to lose valuable time in arresting the persons of whose names I have received a list. The execution of such a measure would be useless; it would lead to nothing, or rather it would serve to irritate public feeling. My conviction of this fact has banished from me all idea of keeping under restraint for four or five days persons whose influence, whether real or supposed, is nil, since Bonaparte is at Auxerre. Mere supervision appears to me sufficient, and to that I propose confining myself." — "The King," replied M. de Blacas, "relies on you. He knows that though only forty-eight hours have elapsed since you entered upon your functions, you have already rendered greater services than you are perhaps aware of." I then asked M. de Blacas whether he had not received any intimation of Bonaparte's intended departure from the island of Elba by letters or by secret agents. "The only positive information we received," answered the Minister, "was an intercepted letter, dated Elba, 6th February. It was addressed to M. ——, near Grenoble. I will show it you." M. de Blacas opened a drawer of his writing-table and took out the letter, which he gave to me. The writer thanked his correspondent for the information he had transmitted to "the inhabitant of Elba." He was informed that everything was ready for departure, and that the first favorable opportunity would be seized, but that it would be desirable first to receive answers to some questions contained in the letter.[1]

[1] In the villages around Paris as well as on the banks of the Lake of Geneva the violet was the secret symbol by which the Napoleonists denoted their Chief and recognized each other. They wore rings of a violet color, with the device, "*Elle reparaitra au printems*," "It will re-appear in the spring." When they asked, "*Aimez vous la violette*," "Do you love the violet?" if the answer was "*Oui*," "Yes," they inferred that the answerer was not a confederate. But if the answer was "*Eh bien*," "Well then," they recognized a brother initiated in the secrets of the conspiracy, and they completed his sentence, "*Elle reparaitra au printems*." These secret symbols, less important for their professed purposes of secrecy than as a romantic

These questions related to the regiments which had been sent into the south, and the places of their cantonment. It was inquired whether the choice of the commanders was conformable to what had been agreed on in Paris, and whether Labédoyère was at his post. The letter was rather long and it impressed me by the way in which the plan of a landing on the coast of Provence was discussed. Precise answers were requested on all these points. On returning the letter to M. de Blacas I remarked that the contents of the letter called for the adoption of some decided measures, and I asked him what had been done. He answered, "I immediately sent a copy of the letter to M. d'André, that he might give orders for arresting the individual to whom it was addressed."

Having had the opportunity of closely observing the machinery of a vigilant and active Government, I was, I must confess, not a little amazed at the insufficiency of the measures adopted to defeat this well-planned conspiracy. When M. de Blacas informed me of all that had been done, I could not repress an exclamation of surprise. "Well," said he, "and what would *you* have done?" — "In the first place I would not have lost twenty-four hours, which were an age in such a crisis." I then explained the plan I would have adopted. A quarter of an hour after the receipt of the letter I would have sent trustworthy men to Grenoble, and above all things I would have taken care not to let the matter fall into the hands of the police. Having obtained all information from the correspondent at Grenoble, I would have made him write a letter to his correspondent at Elba to quiet the eagerness of Napoleon, telling him that the movement of troops he spoke of had not been made, that it would take a week to carry it out, and that it was necessary to the success of the enterprise to delay the embarkation for some days. While Bonaparte was thus delayed I would have sent to the coast of Provence a

garniture of conspiracy, calculated to excite the imagination, and peculiarly adapted in that respect to the character of Frenchmen, had been employed a twelvemonth before by the partisans of the House of Bourbon. A Royalist then sounded any man of whom he entertained hopes by saying "*Deli.*" If the answer was "*rrance*" the recognition of principle was reciprocal and satisfactory. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

sufficient body of men devoted to the Royal cause, sending off in another direction the regiments whose chiefs were gained over by Napoleon, as the correspondence should reveal their names.[1] "You are perhaps right, sir," said M. de Blacas, "but what could I do? I am new here. I had not the control of the police, and I trusted to M. d'André." —"Well," said I, "Bonaparte will be here on the 20th of March." With these words I parted from M. de Blacas. I remarked a great change in him. He had already lost a vast deal of that hauteur of favoritism which made him so much disliked.

When I entered upon my duties in the Prefecture of Police the evil was already past remedy. The incorrigible *émigrés* required another lesson, and the temporary resurrection of the Empire was inevitable. But, if Bonaparte was recalled, it was not owing to any attachment to him personally; it was not from any fidelity to the recollections of the Empire. It was resolved at any price to get rid of those imbecile councillors, who thought they might treat France like a country conquered by the emigrants. The people determined to free themselves from a Government which seemed resolved to trample on all that was dear to France. In this state of things some looked upon Bonaparte as a liberator, but the greater number regarded him as an instrument. In this last character he was viewed by the old Republicans, and by a new generation, who thought they caught a glimpse of liberty in promises, and who were blind enough to believe that the idol of France would be restored by Napoleon.[2]

[1] The plan of Bourrienne would have been wrecked by the impossibility of getting men who were, at one and the same time, devoted to the Bourbons and of capacity to save them. If the statesmen in power under Louis XVIII. had been capable of forming any good plan of meeting the expedition of Napoleon the enterprise would not have been dreamt of.

[2] Napoleon's return in 1815 has much resemblance to that in 1799 from Egypt. In both cases, whether he had come or not, it was certain that the Government would have been overthrown: in neither case was he himself the person first intended by the conspirators to be made their instrument. In 1799 Hoche, and then Joubert, had been first chosen as the man to strike the blow. In 1815 it was the Duke of Orleans, later Louis Philippe, that the discontented party had chosen to replace Louis XVIII. and to give France a Government at once liberal and strong. In both cases the sudden arrival of Napoleon forced the hand of the conspirators. As he himself said in 1815, "It is not Louis XVIII. but the Duke of Orleans that I have dethroned."

In February, 1815, while everything was preparing at Elba for the approaching departure of Napoleon, Murat applied to the Court of Vienna for leave to march through the Austrian Provinces of Upper Italy an army directed on France. It was on the 26th of the same month that Bonaparte escaped from Elba. These two facts were necessarily connected together, for, in spite of Murat's extravagant ideas, he never could have entertained the expectation of obliging the King of France, by the mere force of arms, to acknowledge his continued possession of the throne of Naples. Since the return of Louis XVIII. the Cabinet of the Tuileries had never regarded Murat in any other light than as a usurper, and I know from good authority that the French Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Vienna were especially instructed to insist that the restoration of the throne of Naples in favor of the Bourbons of the Two Sicilies should be a consequence of the restoration of the throne of France. I also know that the proposition was firmly opposed on the part of Austria, who had always viewed with jealousy the occupation of three thrones of Europe by the single House of Bourbon.

According to information, for the authenticity of which I can vouch, the following were the plans which Napoleon conceived at Elba. Almost immediately after his arrival in France he was to order the Marshals on whom he could best rely to defend to the utmost the entrances to the French territory and the approaches to Paris, by pivoting on the triple line of fortresses which gird the north and east of France. Davoust was *in petto* singled out for the defence of Paris. He was to arm the inhabitants of the suburbs, and to have, besides, 20,000 men of the National Guard at his disposal. Napoleon, not being aware of the situation of the Allies, never supposed that they could concentrate their forces and march against him so speedily as they did. He hoped to take them by surprise, and defeat their projects, by making Murat march upon Milan, and by stirring up insurrections in Italy. The Po being once crossed, and Murat approaching the capital of Lombardy, Napoleon with the corps of Suchet, Brune, Grouchy, and Masséna, augmented by troops sent, by forced marches, to Lyons, was

to cross the Alps and revolutionize Piedmont. There, having recruited his army and joined the Neapolitans in Milan, he was to proclaim the independence of Italy, unite the whole country under a single chief, and then march at the head of 100,000 men on Vienna, by the Julian Alps, across which victory had conducted him in 1797. This was not all: numerous emissaries scattered through Poland and Hungary were to foment discord and raise the cry of liberty and independence, to alarm Russia and Austria. It must be confessed it would have been an extraordinary spectacle to see Napoleon giving liberty to Europe in revenge for not having succeeded in enslaving her.

By means of these bold manœuvres and vast combinations Napoleon calculated that he would have the advantage of the initiative in military operations. Perhaps his genius was never more fully developed than in this vast conception. According to this plan he was to extend his operations over a line of 500 leagues, from Ostend to Vienna, by the Alps and Italy, to provide himself with immense resources of every kind, to prevent the Emperor of Austria from marching his troops against France, and probably force him to terminate a war from which the hereditary provinces would have exclusively suffered. Such was the bright prospect which presented itself to Napoleon when he stepped on board the vessel which was to convey him from Elba to France. But the mad precipitation of Murat put Europe on the alert, and the brilliant illusion vanished like a dream.[1]

[1] "The festivals and entertainments at the Court of Naples at the beginning of 1815 were more splendid than ever, but much less gay, for the apparent security and confidence of Murat did not sufficiently conceal his real uneasiness, nor did the show of respect on the part of the foreign ambassadors prevent people from seeing that they felt an aversion to his continuing on the throne. To the surprise of everybody not in the secret Joachim continued his warlike preparations. The activity in the interior of the palace increased every day; couriers were continually despatched, and the arrival and departure of foreigners was more and more frequent. After some days of extraordinary agitation at Court the news arrived that the Emperor Napoleon, having embarked on the 26th of February at Porto-Ferrajo with 1000 soldiers, was sailing for France. The messenger who brought this news to Murat, to whom the whole plot was well known previously, arrived in Naples on the evening of the 4th of March, while the King was amusing himself in the private apartments of his wife, where only a few courtiers, ministers, and foreign ambassadors, were present. The King and Queen instantly retired alone to another room, whence in a few minutes they returned and joyfully announced the news so welcome to them.

"On the following day Murat despatched extraordinary couriers to the

After being assured that all was tranquil, and that the Royal family was secure against every danger, I myself set out at four o'clock on the morning of the 20th of March, taking the road to Lille. Nothing extraordinary occurred until I arrived at the post-office of Fins, in front of which were drawn up a great number of carriages, which had arrived before mine, and the owners of which, like myself, were impatiently waiting for horses. I soon observed that some one called the postmaster aside in a way which did not appear entirely devoid of mystery, and I acknowledge I felt some degree of alarm. I was in the room in which the travellers were waiting, and my attention was attracted by a large bill fixed against the wall. It was printed in French and Russian, and it proved to be the order of the day which I had been fortunate enough to obtain from the Emperor Alexander to exempt post-horses, etc., from the requisitions of the Allied troops.

I was standing looking at the bill when the postmaster came into the room and advanced towards me. "Sir," said he, "that

Courts of Austria and England, with letters declaring that, whether Napoleon succeeded or failed in his enterprise, he (Joachim), firm in his policy, would not fail in faithfully maintaining the anti-Bonaparte alliances he had formed. These declarations were frauds and deceptions, for the King nourished in his heart designs perfectly contrary to them. He doubted the good faith of Austria and the Congress assembled at Vienna: he remembered all the faults and acts of injustice committed there, as also the threats he had received. He again relied upon the good fortune of Napoleon, whom he already fancied reseated on his throne, the most powerful — the first monarch in Europe! His heart grieved at the recollection of the evil he had recently done the French in Upper Italy, and he now hoped to make amends for it by deeds which should aid and assist the bold enterprise of his brother-in-law. And mixed up with all these thoughts was the ambitious desire of making himself master of all Italy; to hold it, and then after the event to treat diplomatically with Austria or with France, according as victory should declare herself for Napoleon or for the Allies. He knew he should surprise the Austrians; he did not fear the English, because he had concluded an armistice with them; nor did the Allies cause him uneasiness, as they would be fully occupied with the war on the French frontiers."

Murat's ministers, his friends, nay, even his wife, the very sister of Bonaparte, endeavored to dissuade him from this rash undertaking, or to induce him at least to delay its execution and quietly wait events. But he would not listen to reason. He would not be bound by the engagements he had entered into with Napoleon, who was to give him the *mot-d'ordre*, when he was to throw off the mask, and on the 15th of March, just eleven days after his receiving the news of his brother-in-law's escape from Elba, he openly declared war. On the 22d of March the Neapolitan army advanced upon Upper Italy, and Murat rushed blindly and precipitately to his ruin (*Storia del Reame di Napoli, del Generale Pietro Colletta*, vol. ii. p. 205, English edition).

is an order of the day which saved me from ruin." — "Then surely you would not harm the man by whom it is signed?" — "I know you, sir, I recognized you immediately. I saw you in Paris when you were Director of the Post-office, and you granted a just claim which I had upon you. I have now come to tell you that they are harnessing two horses to your calash, and you may set off at full speed." The worthy man had assigned to my use the only two horses at his disposal; his son performed the office of postilion, and I set off, to the no small dissatisfaction of some of the travellers who had arrived before me, and who, perhaps, had as good reasons as I to avoid the presence of Napoleon.

We arrived at Lille at eleven o'clock on the night of the 21st. Here I encountered another vexation, though not of an alarming kind. The gates of the town were closed, and I was obliged to content myself with a miserable night's lodging in the suburb.

I entered Lille on the 22d, and Louis XVIII. arrived on the 23d. His Majesty also found the gates closed, and more than an hour elapsed before an order could be obtained for opening them, for the Duke of Orleans, who commanded the town, was inspecting the troops when his Majesty arrived. The King was perfectly well received at Lille. There indeed appeared some symptoms of defection, but it must be acknowledged that the officers of the old army had been so singularly sacrificed to the promotion of the returned emigrants that it was very natural the former should hail the return of the man who had so often led them to victory. I put up at the Hôtel de Gand, certainly without forming any prognostic respecting the future residence of the King. When I saw his Majesty's retinue I went down and stood at the door of the hôtel, where as soon as Louis XVIII. perceived me he distinguished me from among all the persons who were awaiting his arrival, and holding out his hand for me to kiss he said, "Follow me, M. de Bourrienne."

On entering the apartments prepared for him the King expressed to me his approval of my conduct since the Restoration, and especially during the short interval in which I

had discharged the functions of Prefect of the Police. He did me the honor to invite me to breakfast with him. The conversation naturally turned on the events of the day, of which every one present spoke according to his hopes or fears. Observing that Louis XVIII. concurred in Berthier's discouraging view of affairs, I ventured to repeat what I had already said at the Tuileries, that, judging from the disposition of the sovereigns of Europe and the information which I had received, it appeared very probable that his Majesty would be again seated on his throne in three months. Berthier bit his nails as he did when he wanted to leave the army of Egypt and return to Paris to the object of his adoration. Berthier was not hopeful; he was always one of those men who have the least confidence and the most depression. I could perceive that the King regarded my observation as one of those compliments which he was accustomed to receive, and that he had no great confidence in the fulfilment of my prediction. However, wishing to seem to believe it, he said, what he had more than hinted before, "M. de Bourrienne, as long as I am King you shall be my Prefect of the Police."

It was the decided intention of Louis XVIII. to remain in France as long as he could, but the Napoleonic fever, which spread like an epidemic among the troops, had infected the garrison of Lille. Marshal Mortier, who commanded at Lille, and the Duke of Orleans, expressed to me their well-founded fears, and repeatedly recommended me to urge the King to quit Lille speedily, in order to avoid any fatal occurrence. During the two days I passed with his Majesty I entreated him to yield to the imperious circumstances in which he was placed. At length the King, with deep regret, consented to go, and I left Lille the day before that fixed for his Majesty's departure.

In September, 1814, the King had appointed me *chargé d'affaires* from France to Hamburg, but not having received orders to repair to my post I have not hitherto mentioned this nomination. However, when Louis XVIII. was on the point of leaving France he thought that my presence in Hamburg might be useful for the purpose of making him acquainted

with all that might interest him in the north of Germany. But it was not there that danger was to be apprehended. There were two points to be watched — the headquarters of Napoleon and the King's Council at Ghent. I, however, lost no time in repairing to a city where I was sure of finding a great many friends. On passing through Brussels I alighted at the Hôtel de Bellevue, where the Duc de Berri arrived shortly after me. His Royal Highness then invited me to breakfast with him, and conversed with me very confidentially. I afterwards continued my journey.

CHAPTER VI.

1815.

Message to Madame de Bourrienne on the 20th of March — Napoleon's nocturnal entrance into Paris — General Berton sent to my family by Caulaincourt — Recollection of old persecutions — General Driesen — Solution of an enigma — Seals placed on my effects — Useless searches — Persecution of women — Madame de Staël and Madame de Récamier — Paris during the Hundred Days — The federates and patriotic songs — Declaration of the Plenipotentiaries at Vienna — ANNEX.

AT Lille, and again at Hamburg, I received letters from my family, which I had looked for with great impatience. They contained particulars of what had occurred relative to me since Bonaparte's return to Paris. Two hours after my departure Madame de Bourrienne also left Paris, accompanied by her children, and proceeded to an asylum which had been offered her seven leagues from the capital. She left at my house in Paris her sister, two of her brothers, and her friend the Comtesse de Neuilly, who had resided with us since her return from the emigration.

On the very morning of my wife's departure (namely, the 20th of March) a person, with whom I had always been on terms of friendship, and who was entirely devoted to Bonaparte, sent to request that Madame de Bourrienne would call on him, as he wished to speak to her on most important and urgent business. My sister-in-law informed the messenger that my wife had left Paris, but, begging a friend to accompany her, she went herself to the individual, whose name will be probably guessed, though I do not mention it. The person who came with the message to my house put many questions to Madame de Bourrienne's sister respecting my absence, and advised her, above all things, to conjure me not to follow the King, observing that the cause of Louis XVIII. was utterly lost, and that I should do well to retire quietly to Burgundy, as there was no doubt of my obtaining the Emperor's pardon.

Nothing could be more gloomy than Bonaparte's entrance into Paris. He arrived at night in the midst of a thick fog. The streets were almost deserted, and a vague feeling of terror prevailed almost generally in the capital.

At nine o'clock on the same evening, the very hour of Bonaparte's arrival at the Tuileries, a lady, a friend of my family, and whose son served in the Young Guard, called and requested to see Madame de Bourrienne. She refused to enter the house lest she should be seen, and my sister-in-law went down to the garden to speak to her without a light. This lady's brother had been on the preceding night to Fontainebleau to see Bonaparte, and he had directed his sister to desire me to remain in Paris, and to retain my post in the Prefecture of the Police, as I was sure of a full and complete pardon.

On the morning of the 21st General Berton, who has since been the victim of his mad enterprises, called at my house and requested to speak with me and Madame de Bourrienne. He was received by my wife's sister and brothers, and stated that he came from M. de Caulaincourt to renew the assurances of safety which had already been given to me. I was, I confess, very sensible of these proofs of friendship when they came to my knowledge, but I did not for a single moment repent the course I adopted. I could not forget the intrigues of which I had been the object since 1811, nor the continual threats of arrest which, during that year, had not left me a moment's quiet; and since I now revert to that time, I may take the opportunity of explaining how in 1814 I was made acquainted with the real causes of the persecution to which I had been a prey. A person, whose name prudence forbids me mentioning, communicated to me the following letter, the original copy of which is in my possession: —

Monsieur le Duc de Bassano — I send you some very important documents respecting the Sieur Bourrienne, and beg you will make me a *confidential* report on this affair. Keep these documents for yourself alone. This business demands the utmost secrecy. Everything induces me to believe that Bourrienne has carried on a series of intrigues with London. Bring me the report on Thursday. I pray God, etc.

(Signed) Napoleon.

Paris, 25th *December*, 1811.

I could now clearly perceive what to me had hitherto been enveloped in obscurity; but I was not, as yet, made acquainted with the documents mentioned in Napoleon's epistle. Still, however, the cause of his animosity was an enigma which I was unable to guess, but I obtained its solution some time afterwards.

General Driesen, who was the Governor of Mittau while Louis XVIII. resided in that town, came to Paris in 1814. I had been well acquainted with him in 1810 at Hamburg, where he lived for a considerable time. While at Mittau he conceived a chivalrous and enthusiastic friendship for the King of France. We were at first distrustful of each other, but afterwards the most intimate confidence arose between us. General Driesen looked forward with certainty to the return of the Bourbons to France, and in the course of our frequent conversations on his favorite theme he gradually threw off all reserve, and at length disclosed to me that he was maintaining a correspondence with the King.

He told me that he had sent to Hartwell several drafts of proclamations, with none of which, he said, the King was satisfied. On showing me the copy of the last of these drafts I frankly told him that I was quite of the King's opinion as to its unfitness. I observed that if the King should one day return to France and act as the general advised he would not keep possession of his throne six months. Driesen then requested me to dictate a draft of a proclamation conformably with my ideas. This I consented to do on one condition, viz. that he would never mention my name in connection with the business, either in writing or conversation. General Driesen promised this, and I then dictated to him a draft which I would now candidly lay before the reader if I had a copy of it. I may add that in the different proclamations of Louis XVIII. I remarked several passages precisely corresponding with the draft I had dictated at Hamburg.

During the four years which intervened between my return to Paris and the downfall of the Empire it several times occurred to me that General Driesen had betrayed my secret, and on his very first visit to me after the Restoration, our

conversation happening to turn on Hamburg, I asked him whether he had not disclosed what I wished him to conceal? "Well," said he, "there is no harm in telling the truth now. After you had left Hamburg the King wrote to me inquiring the name of the author of the last draft I had sent him, which was very different from all that had preceded it. I did not answer this question, but the King having repeated it in a second letter, and having demanded an answer, I was compelled to break my promise to you, and I put into the post-office of Gothenberg in Sweden a letter for the King, in which I mentioned your name."

The mystery was now revealed to me. I clearly saw what had excited in Napoleon's mind the suspicion that I was carrying on intrigues with England. I have no doubt as to the way in which the affair came to his knowledge. The King must have disclosed my name to one of those persons whose situations placed them above the suspicion of any betrayal of confidence, and thus the circumstance must have reached the ear of Bonaparte. This is not a mere hypothesis, for I well know how promptly and faithfully Napoleon was informed of all that was said and done at Hartwell.

Having shown General Driesen Napoleon's accusatory letter, he begged that I would intrust him with it for a day or two, saying he would show it to the King at a private audience. His object was to serve me, and to excite Louis XVIII.'s interest in my behalf, by briefly relating to him the whole affair. The general came to me on leaving the Tuileries, and assured me that the King, after perusing the letter, had the great kindness to observe that I might think myself very happy in not having been shot. I know not whether Napoleon was afterwards informed of the details of this affair, which certainly had no connection with any intrigues with England, and which, after all, would have been a mere peccadillo in comparison with the conduct I thought it my duty to adopt at the time of the Restoration.

Meanwhile Madame de Bourrienne informed me by an express that seals were to be placed on the effects of all the persons included in the decree of Lyons, and consequently

upon mine. As soon as my wife received information of this she quitted her retreat and repaired to Paris to face the storm. On the 29th of March, at nine in the evening, the police agents presented themselves at my house. Madame de Bourrienne remonstrated against the measure and the inconvenient hour that was chosen for its execution; but all was in vain, and there was no alternative but to submit.

But the matter did not end with the first formalities performed by Fouché's alguazils. During the month of May seven persons were appointed to examine my papers, and among the inquisitorial septemvirate were two men well known and filling high situations. One of these executed his commission, but the other, sensible of the odium attached to it, wrote to say he was unwell, and never came. The number of my inquisitors, *in domo*, was thus reduced to six. They behaved with great rudeness, and executed their mission with a rigor and severity exceedingly painful to my family. They carried their search so far as to rummage the pockets of my old clothes, and even to unrip the linings. All this was done in the hope of finding something that would commit me in the eyes of the new master of France. But I was not to be caught in that way, and before leaving home I had taken such precautions as to set my mind perfectly at ease.

However, those who had declared themselves strongly against Napoleon were not the only persons who had reason to be alarmed at his return. Women even, by a system of inquisition unworthy of the Emperor, but unfortunately quite in unison with his hatred of all liberty, were condemned to exile, and had cause to apprehend further severity. It is for the exclusive admirers of the Chief of the Empire to approve of everything which proceeded from him, even his rigor against a defenceless sex; it is for them to laugh at the misery of a woman, and a writer of genius, condemned without any form of trial to the most severe punishment short of death. For my part, I saw neither justice nor pleasantry in the exile of Madame de Chevreuse for having had the courage (and courage was not common then even among men) to say that she was not made to be the jailer of the Queen of

Spain.[1] On Napoleon's return from the isle of Elba Madame de Staël was in a state of weakness, which rendered her unable to bear any sudden and violent emotion. This debilitated state of health had been produced by her flight from Coppet to Russia immediately after the birth of the son who was the fruit of her marriage with M. Rocca. In spite of the danger of a journey in such circumstances she saw greater danger in staying where she was, and she set out on her new exile. That exile was not of long duration, but Madame de Staël never recovered from the effect of the alarm and fatigue it occasioned her.

The name of the authoress of *Corinne,* naturally calls to mind that of the friend who was most faithful to her in misfortune, and who was not herself screened from the severity of Napoleon by the just and universal admiration of which she was the object. In 1815 Madame Récamier did not leave Paris, to which she had returned in 1814, though her exile was not revoked. I know positively that Hortense assured her of the pleasure she would feel in receiving her, and that Madame Récamier, as an excuse for declining the perilous honor, observed that she had determined never again to appear in the world as long as her friends should be persecuted. The *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène,* referring to the origin of the ill will of the Chief of the Empire towards the society of Madame de Staël and Madame Récamier, etc., seems to reproach Madame Récamier, "accustomed," says the *Mémorial,* "to ask for everything and to obtain everything," for having claimed nothing less than the complete re-instatement of her father. Whatever may have been the pretensions of Madame Récamier, Bonaparte, not a little addicted to the custom he complains of in her, could not have, with a good grace, made a crime of her ingratitude if he on his side had not claimed a very different sentiment from gratitude. I was with the First Consul at the time M. Bernard, the father of Madame Récamier, was accused, and I have not forgotten

[1] Napoleon, on being informed of this remark, said, "She would like to act the part of the Duchesse de Chevreuse of the Fronde; but I will let her see that she has not to deal with a minor king." Madame de Chevreuse died of a broken heart, caused by her exile. — *Bourrienne.*

on what conditions the re-establishment would have been granted.[1]

The frequent interviews between Madame Récamier and Madame de Staël were not calculated to bring Napoleon to sentiments and measures of moderation. He became more and more irritated at this friendship between two women formed for each other's society; and, on the occasion of one of Madame Récamier's journeys to Coppet he informed her, through the medium of Fouché, that she was perfectly at liberty to go to Switzerland, but not to return to Paris. "Ah, Monseigneur! a great man may be pardoned for the weakness of loving women, but not for fearing them." This was the only reply of Madame Récamier to Fouché when she set out for Coppet.[2] I may here observe that the personal

[1] Madame de Chevreuse had accepted the place of Dame du Palais to the Empress. When nominated to the same place with the Queen of Spain on the arrival in France of the Spanish Royal family, a family to which her Royalist leanings could not have indisposed her, she refused to go, saying she was not made of the stuff for a jailer. The *cruel* treatment of Napoleon consisted in exiling her forty leagues from Paris. Madame Récamier had not much to complain of. Her father, M. Bernard, one of the administrators of the posts, used his privilege of franking letters to regularly circulate a Royalist journal attacking Napoleon and his family. Instead of being tried he was simply dismissed, and it is his proposed re-instalment that is here alluded to. Forced to leave Paris by the failure of her husband's bank, Madame Récamier gave out that her absence was due to the Emperor, thus drawing down on her the order not to return. Absence from Paris would of course seem harsh to a Parisian, but English readers are often deluded by the use in such a case of the word "exile." See on the subject of these two ladies *Savary*, tome v. pp. 3–10, and *Menerval*, tome iii. pp. 146–152. The claims of Madame Récamier to distinction seem to have been her great beauty, and her skill in keeping her host of admirers, Benjamin Constant, etc., round her without granting them any substantial reward. Her *Souvenirs*, etc., are published; Paris, Levy, 1859.

[2] The beautiful Madame Récamier whose reputation stood unassailed during these stormy times in which few escaped censure, was residing with Madame de Staël, to whom she had heroically devoted herself, when one of the Prussian Princes, Prince Augustus, who had been made prisoner at Eylau, and who was proceeding to Italy by Napoleon's permission, alighted at the castle of Coppet, with the intention of resting only for a few hours. Here, however, he was detained during the whole of the summer by the charms of Madame Récamier, who was voluntarily sharing the exile of her friend. This lady and the young Prince both considered themselves as the victims of Napoleon, and their common hatred of him whom they looked upon as their oppressor probably engendered the interest which they mutually conceived for each other. Inspired with an ardent passion the Prince, in spite of the difficulties which his exalted rank naturally suggested, conceived the idea of marrying Madame Récamier. He communicated his designs to Madame de Staël, whose poetic imagination prompted her to favor a scheme that was calculated to diffuse a sort of romantic interest over Coppet. The Prince was recalled to Berlin, but absence produced no change

prejudices of the Emperor would not have been of a persevering and violent character if some of the people who surrounded him had not sought to foment them. I myself fell a victim to this. Napoleon's affection for me would perhaps have got the upper hand if his relenting towards me had not been incessantly combated by my enemies around him.

I had no opportunity of observing the aspect of Paris during that memorable period recorded in history by the name of the Hundred Days, but the letters which I received at the time, together with all that I afterwards heard, concurred in assuring me that the capital never presented so melancholy a picture as during those three months. No one felt any confidence in Napoleon's second reign, and it was said, without any sort of reserve, that Fouché, while serving the cause of usurpation, would secretly betray it. The future was viewed with alarm, and the present with dissatisfaction. The sight of the federates who paraded the faubourgs and the boulevards, vociferating, "The Republic forever!" and "Death to the Royalists!" their sanguinary songs, the revolutionary airs played in our theatres, all tended to produce a fearful torpor in the public mind, and the issue of the impending events was anxiously awaited.

One of the circumstances which, at the commencement of the Hundred Days, most contributed to open the eyes of those who were yet dazzled by the past glory of Napoleon, was the assurance with which he declared that the Empress and his son would be restored to him, though nothing warranted that announcement.[1] It was evident that he could not

in his sentiments. He still ardently prosecuted his suit, but Madame Récamier constantly declined this unexpected elevation, either from natural generosity of feeling or from her Catholic prejudices against divorce.

"To this circumstance we are indebted for the picture of Corinne, which is accounted one of the most original creations of Gérard's pencil. The Prince ordered the picture as a compliment to Madame Récamier" (*Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*, tome vii. p. 231).

[1] Although Napoleon constantly tried to make it be believed during the *Cent Jours* that Maria Louisa would return, she herself seems not to have wished it. Meneval, who had accompanied her to Austria in 1814 as her secretary, says that when, in 1815, he gave her a letter from Napoleon which had reached him, she would not take it except she could show it to her father, according to the oath she had taken. "Some words were exchanged between us on the painful subject of her refusal to rejoin the Emperor. She answered with some animation, but still with her usual gentleness, that

count on any ally, and in spite of the prodigious activity with which a new army was raised those persons must have been blind indeed who could imagine the possibility of his triumphing over Europe, again armed to oppose him. I deplored the inevitable disasters which Bonaparte's bold enterprise would entail, but I had such certain information respecting the intentions of the Allied powers, and the spirit which animated the Plenipotentiaries at Vienna, that I could not for a moment doubt the issue of the conflict. Thus I was not at all surprised when I received at Hamburg the minutes of the conferences at Vienna in May, 1815.

When the first intelligence of Bonaparte's landing was received at Vienna it must be confessed that very little had been done at the Congress,[1] for measures calculated to reconstruct a solid and durable order of things could only be framed and adopted deliberately, and upon mature reflection. Louis XVIII. had instructed his Plenipotentiaries to defend and support the principles of justice and the law of nations, so as to secure the rights of all parties and avert the chances of a new war. The Congress was occupied with these important

on that matter her resolution was irrevocable. When I objected that there was no irrevocable engagement, and that events might occur to render her return to France obligatory, she hastened to reply that her father himself had not the right to force her to that. . . . Her decision appeared to me to be taken so obstinately that I judged it useless to recur to the subject" (*Méneval*, tome ii. pp. 314, 315). She even seems to have dreaded any attempt on the part of her husband to seize her in 1814. "At the very first word the Archduchess Maria Louisa showed her indisposition to content herself with Lucca, or even to care at all about that principality, where, she said, it would not be agreeable for her to reside as long as Napoleon was at Elba" (Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 19). The affectionate wife showed no dislike to retain the title of Empress given to her by her parvenu husband, it was only his misfortunes she was unwilling to share.

[1] The Congress of Vienna, if Napoleon had not landed, might have ended in a regular struggle of the Allies over the booty. Russia had demanded all the former Duchy of Westphalia, and thus practically all Poland, while Prussia had seized and claimed all Saxony. Napoleon was dethroned in April, 1814, and it is strange and instructive for us, who in our day have been led to expect peace from the downfall of France, to find Austria, England, and France making an offensive treaty on the 3d of January, 1815, each to find 150,000 men, against Russia and Prussia. Bavaria, Hanover, and Holland acceded to this treaty in February. If Napoleon could have postponed his return from Elba a few months later he might have found Europe divided and helpless! For the feeling among the Allies see Talleyrand as late as 3d March, 1815. "I exhorted the two negotiators (Austria and Bavaria) severally to try to come to an understanding in order to give Russia and Prussia no loophole for intervention, which would be inevitable if they could not come to an agreement" (Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 60).

objects when intelligence was received of Napoleon's departure from Elba and his landing at the Gulf of Juan. The Plenipotentiaries then signed the protocol of the conferences to which I have above alluded.

[*ANNEX TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.*]

The following despatch of Napoleon's to Marshal Davoust (given in Captain Bingham's Translation, vol. iii. p. 121), though not strictly bearing upon the subject of the Duke of Bassano's inquiry (p. 256), may perhaps find a place here, as indicative of the private feeling of the Emperor towards Bourrienne. As the reader will remember, it has already been alluded to earlier in the work: —

To Marshal Davoust.

Compiègne, 3*d September*, 1811.

I have received your letter concerning the cheating of Bourrienne at Hamburg. It will be important to throw light upon what he has done. Have the Jew, Gumprecht Mares, arrested, seize his papers, and place him in solitary confinement. Have some of the other principal agents of Bourrienne arrested, so as to discover his doings at Hamburg, and the embezzlements he has committed there.

Signed Napoleon.

CHAPTER VII.[1]

1815.

Napoleon at Paris — Political manœuvres — The meeting of the Champ-de-Mai — Napoleon, the Liberals, and the moderate Constitutionalists — His love of arbitrary power as strong as ever — Paris during the Cent Jours — Preparations for his last campaign — The Emperor leaves Paris to join the army — State of Brussels — Proclamation of Napoleon to the Belgians — Effective strength of the French and Allied armies — The Emperor's proclamation to the French army — ANNEX.

NAPOLEON was scarcely reseated on his throne when he found he could not resume that absolute power he had possessed before his abdication at Fontainebleau. He was obliged to submit to the curb of a representative government, but we may well believe that he only yielded, with a mental reservation that as soon as victory should return to his standards and his army be re-organized he would send the representatives of the people back to their departments, and make himself as absolute as he had ever been. His temporary submission was indeed obligatory.

The Republicans and Constitutionalists who had assisted, or not opposed his return, with Carnot, Fouché, Benjamin Constant, and his own brother Lucien (a lover of constitutional liberty) at their head, would support him only on condition of his reigning as a constitutional sovereign; he therefore proclaimed a constitution under the title of "*Acte additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire*," which greatly resembled the charter granted by Louis XVIII. the year before. An hereditary Chamber of Peers was to be appointed by the Emperor, a Chamber of Representatives chosen by the Electoral Colleges, to be renewed every five years, by which all taxes were to be voted, ministers were to be responsible, judges irremovable,

[1] *By the Editor of the* 1836 *edition*, but newly collated with any works of authority which have since appeared, and with some alterations made in dates or figures in consequence.

the right of petition was acknowledged, and property was declared inviolable. Lastly, the French nation was made to declare that they would never recall the Bourbons.

Even before reaching Paris, and while resting on his journey from Elba at Lyons, the second city in France, and the ancient capital of the Franks, Napoleon arranged his ministry, and issued sundry decrees, which showed how little his mind was prepared for proceeding according to the majority of votes in representative assemblies.

Cambacérès was named Minister of Justice, Fouché Minister of Police (a boon to the Revolutionists), Davoust appointed Minister of War. Decrees upon decrees were issued with a rapidity which showed how laboriously Bonaparte had employed those studious hours at Elba which he was supposed to have dedicated to the composition of his Memoirs. They were couched in the name of "Napoleon, by the grace of God, Emperor of France," and were dated on the 13th of March, although not promulgated until the 21st of that month. The first of these decrees abrogated all changes in the courts of justice and tribunals which had taken place during the absence of Napoleon. The second banished anew all emigrants who had returned to France before 1814 without proper authority, and displaced all officers belonging to the class of emigrants introduced into the army by the King. The third suppressed the Order of St. Louis, the white flag, cockade, and other Royal emblems, and restored the tri-colored banner and the Imperial symbols of Bonaparte's authority. The same decree abolished the Swiss Guard and the Household troops of the King.[1] The fourth sequestered the effects of the Bourbons. A similar Ordinance sequestered the restored property of emigrant families.

The fifth decree of Lyons suppressed the ancient nobility and feudal titles, and formally confirmed proprietors of national domains in their possessions. (This decree was very acceptable to the majority of Frenchmen.) The sixth declared sentence of exile against all emigrants not erased by Napoleon

[1] For information concerning the Household troops of the Bourbons consult a recently published work, *Les Regiments sous Louis XV.*

from the list previously to the accession of the Bourbons, to which was added confiscation of their property. The seventh restored the Legion of Honor in every respect as it had existed under the Emperor, uniting to its funds the confiscated revenues of the Bourbon order of St. Louis. The eighth and last decree was the most important of all. Under pretence that emigrants who had borne arms against France had been introduced into the Chamber of Peers, and that the Chamber of Deputies had already sat for the legal time, it dissolved both Chambers, and convoked the Electoral Colleges of the Empire, in order that they might hold, in the ensuing month of May, an extraordinary assembly — the Champ-de-Mai.

This National Convocation, for which Napoleon claimed a precedent in the history of the ancient Franks, was to have two objects: first, to make such alterations and reforms in the Constitution of the Empire as circumstances should render advisable; secondly, *to assist at the coronation of the Empress Maria Louisa.* Her presence, and that of her son, was spoken of as something that admitted of no doubt, though Bonaparte knew there was little hope of their return from Vienna. These various enactments were well calculated to serve Napoleon's cause. They flattered the army, and at the same time stimulated their resentment against the emigrants, by insinuating that they had been sacrificed by Louis to the interest of his followers. They held out to the Republicans a prospect of confiscation, proscription, and revolution of government, while the Imperialists were gratified with a view of ample funds for pensions, offices, and honorary decorations. To proprietors of the national domains security was promised, to the Parisians the grand spectacle of the Champ-de-Mai, and to France peace and tranquillity, since the arrival of the Empress and her son, confidently asserted to be at hand, was taken as a pledge of the friendship of Austria.

Napoleon at the same time endeavored to make himself popular with the common people — the mob of the Faubourg St. Antoine and other obscure quarters of Paris. On the first evening of his return, as he walked round the glittering

circle met to welcome him in the State apartments of the Tuileries, he kept repeating, "Gentlemen, it is to the poor and disinterested mass of the people that I owe everything; it is they who have brought me back to the capital. It is the poor subaltern officers and common soldiers that have done all this. I owe everything to the common people and the ranks of the army. Remember that! I owe everything to the *army* and the *people!*" Some time after he took occasional rides through the Faubourg St. Antoine, but the demonstrations of the mob gave him little pleasure, and it was easy to detect a sneer in his addresses to them. He had some slight intercourse with the men of the Revolution — the fierce, bloodthirsty Jacobins — but even now he could not conceal his abhorrence of them, and, be it said to his honor, he had as little to do with them as possible.

When Napoleon departed for the summer campaign he took care beforehand to leave large sums of money for the *fédérés*, in the hands of the devoted Réal, under whose management the mob was placed. These sums were to be distributed at appropriate seasons, to make the people cry in the streets of Paris, "Napoleon or death."[1] He also left in the hands of Davoust a written authority for the publication of his bulletins, many clauses of which were written long before the battles were fought that they were to describe. He gave to the same Marshal a plan of his campaign, which he had arranged for the defensive. This was not confided to him without an injunction of the strictest secrecy, but

[1] The market-women (*dames de la halle*), the fishwomen (*poissardes*), those valuable allies of the *sans culottes* revolutionists, and formerly of Napoleon, had partaken of the national fickleness and changed sides. They were all for Louis XVIII.; and went about Paris singing a song that had not only the merit of loyalty, but that of a pun, or *calembourg*, which is always so acceptable to the Parisians. The burden of the song was, "*Donnez nous nôtre paire de gants*," which is in pronunciation just the same as "*Donnez nous nôtre père de gand.*" Asking one of the fishwomen, in 1819, why she and her sisterhood were so fond of Louis XVIII.? her answer was, "*Mais mon enfant, il aimait tant les huitres.*" (The joke on that monarch's name is well known: they converted *Louis Dix-huit* into *Louis des huitres.*) The Parisians are profuse of this kind of small wit. When Louis was called to his fathers, and his brother, Charles X., was about to ascend the throne, they said, "*Louis Dix-huit a disparu et Charles Dix paraitra.*" but without the slightest change in pronunciation these words sound as, "*Louis Dix-huit a disparu, et Charles disparaitra.*" The effect that jokes of this sort have upon so volatile a people is well known. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

it is said that Davoust communicated the plan to Fouché. Considering Davoust's character this is very unlikely, but if so, it is far from improbable that Fouché communicated the plan to the Allies, with whom, and more particularly with Prince Metternich, he is well known to have been corresponding at the time.

Shortly after the Emperor's arrival in Paris Benjamin Constant, a moderate and candid man, was deputed by the constitutional party to ascertain Napoleon's sentiments and intentions.[1] Constant was a lover of constitutional liberty, and an old opponent of Napoleon, whose headlong career of despotism, cut out by the sword, he had vainly endeavored to check by the eloquence of his pen.

The interview took place at the Tuileries. The Emperor, as was his wont, began the conversation, and kept it nearly all to himself during the rest of the audience. He did not affect to disguise either his past actions or present dispositions.

"The nation," he said, "has had a respite of twelve years from every kind of political agitation, and for one year has enjoyed a respite from war. This double repose has created

[1] The feelings which drew such men as Carnot and Benjamin Constant to the side of Napoleon on his return from Elba were very mixed. If liberty seemed safer from the flight of the Bourbons, it was alike menaced by the return of the man who had crushed the Revolution and by the arming of the Allies. As Madame de Staël exclaimed, "Liberty is lost if Bonaparte triumphs, and the national independence if he be defeated." Carnot, the former "Organizer of Victory" under the Republic, forgiving Napoleon's former dismissal of him from the War Ministry, now came forward to serve the man who had ruined the Republican dreams of freedom but whose cause he now regarded as bound up with that of France, and he stood by Napoleon to the end. Benjamin Constant perhaps hoped that if a free constitution could be established it might save France from the attacks of the sovereigns who professed to war only against the tyranny of Napoleon, or that, if the Emperor fell, the constitution might for very shame's sake be preserved by the Allies or by the Bourbons: he therefore undertook the task of trying to get Napoleon to consent to doctrines which had always been abhorrent to him. As for Napoleon himself, one cannot help sympathizing in the exclamation wrung from him, "Peace obtained on the single base of our independence, when there is no longer any question except that of administering our beautiful Empire of France, I shall not really be humiliated by hearing her representatives oppose me with objections and even with refusals. After having dominated and conquered the world there is nothing so very disagreeable in being contradicted that I cannot submit to it. In any case my son shall do so, and I will seek to prepare him for it by my lessons and by my example. All that I ask from God and the nation is to let me conquer, but once more conquer, these monarchs formerly so humble and now so arrogant" (*Thiers*, tome xix. livre lviii. p. 412).

a craving after activity. It requires, or fancies it requires, a Tribune and popular assemblies. It did not always require them. The people threw themselves at my feet when I took the reins of government. You ought to recollect this, who made a trial of opposition. Where was your support — your strength? Nowhere. I assumed less authority than I was invited to assume. Now all is changed. A feeble government, opposed to the national interests, has given to these interests the habit of standing on the defensive and evading authority. The taste for constitutions, for debates, for harangues, appears to have revived. Nevertheless it is but the minority that wishes all this, be assured. The people, or if you like the phrase better, the multitude, wish only for me. You would say so if you had only seen this multitude pressing eagerly on my steps, rushing down from the tops of the mountains, calling on me, seeking me out, saluting me. On my way from Cannes hither I have not conquered — I have administered. I am not only (as has been pretended) the Emperor of the soldiers; I am that of the peasants — of the plebeians of France. Accordingly, in spite of all that has happened, you see the people come back to me. There is sympathy between us. It is not as with the privileged classes. The *noblesse* have been in my service; they thronged in crowds into my antechambers. There is no place that they have not accepted or solicited. I have had the Montmorencys, the Noailles, the Rohans, the Beauveaus, the Montemarts, in my train. But there never was any cordiality between us. The steed made his curvets — he was well broken in, but I felt him quiver under me. With the people it is another thing. The popular fibre responds to mine. I have risen from the ranks of the people: my voice acts mechanically upon them. Look at those conscripts, the sons of peasants: I never flattered them; I treated them roughly. They did not crowd round me the less; they did not on that account cease to cry, 'Vive l'Empereur!' It is that between them and me there is one and the same nature. They look to me as their support, their safeguard against the nobles. I have but to make a sign, or even to look another

way, and the nobles would be massacred in every province. So well have they managed matters in the last ten months! but I do not desire to be the King of a mob. If there are the means to govern by a constitution, well and good. I wished for the empire of the world, and to insure it complete liberty of action was necessary to me. To govern France merely it is possible that a constitution may be better. I wished for the empire of the world, as who would not have done in my place? The world invited me to rule over it. Sovereigns and subjects alike emulously bowed the neck under my sceptre. I have seldom met with opposition in France, but still I have encountered more of it from some obscure and unarmed Frenchman than from all these kings so resolute, just now, no longer to have a man of the people for their equal! See then what appears to you possible; let me know your ideas. Public discussion, free elections, responsible ministers, the liberty of the press, I have no objection to all that, the liberty of the press especially; to stifle it is absurd. I am convinced on this point. I am the man of the people: if the people really wish for liberty let them have it. I have acknowledged their sovereignty. It is just that I should lend an ear to their will, nay, even to their caprices. I have never been disposed to oppress them for my pleasure. I conceived great designs; but fate has been against me; I am no longer a conqueror, nor can I be one. I know what is possible and what is not. I have no further object than to raise up France and bestow on her a government suitable to her. I have no hatred to liberty, I have set it aside when it obstructed my path, but I understand what it means; I was brought up in its school: besides, the work of fifteen years is overturned, and it is not possible to recommence it. It would take twenty years, and the lives of 2,000,000 of men to be sacrificed to it. As for the rest, I desire peace, but I can only obtain it by means of victory. I would not inspire you with false expectations. I permit it to be said that negotiations are going on; there are none. I foresee a hard struggle, a long war. To support it I must be seconded by the nation, but in return I believe they will expect liberty. They shall have it: the circumstances are new. All I desire is to be in-

formed of the truth. I am getting old. A man is no longer at forty-five what he was at thirty. The repose enjoyed by a constitutional king may suit me: it will still more certainly be the best thing for my son."

From this remarkable address Benjamin Constant concluded that no change had taken place in Bonaparte's views or feelings in matters of government, but, being convinced that circumstances had changed, he had made up his mind to conform to them. He says, and we cannot doubt it, that he listened to Napoleon with the deepest interest, — that there was a breadth and grandeur of manner as he spoke, and a calm serenity seated on a brow "covered with immortal laurels."

Whilst believing the utter incompatibility of Napoleon and constitutional government we cannot in fairness omit mentioning that the causes which repelled him from the altar and sanctuary of freedom were strong: the real lovers of a rational and feasible liberty — the constitutional monarchy men were few — the mad ultra-Liberals, the Jacobins, the refuse of one revolution and the provokers of another, were numerous, active, loud, and in pursuing different ends these two parties, the respectable and the disreputable, the good and the bad, got mixed and confused with one another.

On the 14th of May, when the *fédérés* were marshalled in processional order and treated with what was called a solemn festival, as they moved along the boulevards to the Court of the Tuileries, they coupled the name of Napoleon with Jacobin curses and revolutionary songs. The airs and the words that had made Paris tremble to her very centre during the Reign of Terror — the "Marseillaise," the "Carmagnole," the "Jour du départ," the execrable ditty, the burden of which is, "And with the entrails of the last of the priests let us strangle the last of the kings," were all roared out in fearful chorus by a drunken, filthy, and furious mob. Many a day had elapsed since they had dared to sing these blasphemous and anti-social songs in public. Napoleon himself as soon as he had power enough suppressed them, and he was as proud of this feat and his triumph over the dregs of the Jacobins as he was of any of his victories; and in this he was right, in this he proved

himself the friend of humanity. As the tumultuous mass approached the triumphal arch and the grand entrance to the Palace he could not conceal his abhorrence. His Guards were drawn up under arms, and numerous pieces of artillery, already loaded, were turned out on the Place du Carrousel. He hastily dismissed these dangerous partisans with some praise, some money, and some drink. On coming into *close* contact with such a mob he did not feel his fibre respond to that of the populace! Like Frankenstein, he loathed and was afraid of the mighty *monster* he had put together.

But it was not merely the mob that checked the liberalism or constitution of Napoleon, a delicate and doubtful plant in itself, that required the most cautious treatment to make it really take root and grow up in such a soil. Some of his councillors, who called themselves "philosophical statesmen," advised him to lay aside the style of Emperor, and assume that of *High President or Lord General of the Republic!* Annoyed with such puerilities while the enemy was every day drawing nearer the frontiers he withdrew from the Tuileries to the comparatively small and retired palace of the Elysée, where he escaped these talking-dreamers, and felt himself again a sovereign. Shut up with Benjamin Constant and a few other reasonable politicians, he drew up the sketch of a new constitution, which was neither much better nor much worse than the royal charter of Louis XVIII. We give an epitome of its main features.

The Emperor was to have executive power, and to exercise legislative power in concurrence with the two Chambers. The Chamber of Peers was to be hereditary, and nominated by the Emperor, and its number was unlimited. The Second Chamber was to be elected by the people, and to consist of 629 members; none to be under the age of twenty-five. The President was to be appointed by the members, but approved of by the Emperor. Members were to be paid at the rate settled by the Constituent Assembly, which was to be renewed every five years. The Emperor might prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the House of Representatives, whose sittings were to be public. The Electoral Colleges were main-

tained. Land tax and direct taxes were to be voted only for a year, indirect taxes might be imposed for several years. No levy of men for the army nor any exchange of territory was to be made but by a law. Taxes were to be proposed by the Chamber of Representatives. Ministers to be responsible. Judges to be irremovable. Juries to be established. Right of petition, freedom of worship, inviolability of property, were recognized. Liberty of the press was given under legal responsibility, and press offences were to be judged with a jury. No place or part of the territory could be placed in a state of siege except in case of foreign invasion or civil troubles. Finally, the French people declared that in the delegation it thus made of its powers it was not to be taken as giving the right to propose the re-establishment of the Bourbons, or of any Prince of that family on the throne, even in case of the extinction of the imperial dynasty. Any such proposal was formally interdicted to the Chambers or to the citizens, as well as any of the following measures, viz. the re-establishment of the former feudal nobility, of the feudal and seignorial rights, of tithes, of any privileged and dominant religion, as well as of the power of making any attack on the irrevocability of the sale of the national goods.[1]

[1] Napoleon's own ideas of a constitution were confided to Metternich (vol. i. p. 151) in 1810. "France lends itself less to representative forms than many other countries. In France talent is common enough, but it is only talent; there is nothing beneath it which resembles character, and still less principle. Every one runs after applause — whether it comes from above or below, no matter: they want to be noticed and applauded. . . . I do not, however, desire absolute power, I wish for more than mere forms. I wish for one thing entirely for the public — order and utility. I would give a new organization to the Senate and to the Conseil d'Etat. The first will replace the upper Chamber, the second that of the Deputies. I shall continue to appoint Senators to all the places. I shall have one-third of the Conseil d'Etat elected by triple lists, the rest I shall nominate. In this way I shall have a real representation, for it will be entirely composed of men well accustomed to business. No mere tattlers, no *idéologues*, no false tinsel. Then France will be a well-governed country, even under a *fainéant* prince." This plan Napoleon said he was waiting until peace to carry out. We, who have seen our own House of Commons rapidly sink from an honored and influential chamber of Representatives to a talkative assemblage of delegates, unable to transact business, and only able to legislate under the pressure of outside agitation, may look on Napoleon's ideas with more favorable eyes than our fathers did. Lucien Bonaparte, who, having materially assisted his brother's accession to power, now tried to avert the fall of the dynasty, proposed that Napoleon should abdicate in

Shortly after the return of Napoleon from Elba, believing it to be impossible to make the Emperor of Austria consent to his wife's rejoining him (and Maria Louisa had no inclination to a renewal of conjugal intercourse), Napoleon had not been many days in Paris when he concocted a plan for carrying off from Vienna both his wife and his son.[1] In this project force was no less necessary than stratagem. A number of French of both sexes much devoted to the Emperor, who had given them rank and fortune, had accompanied Maria Louisa in 1814 from Paris to Blois and thence to Vienna. A correspondence was opened with these persons, who embarked heart and soul in the plot; they forged passports, procured relays of horses, and altogether arranged matters so well that but for a single individual — one who revealed the whole project a few days previously to that fixed upon for carrying it

the name of his son. This would have placed the Allies in an awkward situation, but it would have been disregarded. Napoleon seems to have sometimes thought of taking the step, but finally dismissed the idea (Iung's *Lucien*, tome iii. p. 264).

[1] Meneval, who as the secretary of Maria Louisa ought to have been well acquainted with the facts, says (tome ii. p. 264) that before the return from Elba there had been an attempt to carry off the Prince Imperial. He attributes this plot to Fouché, the arch-fiend of the Imperialists, but says that want of money, unforeseen difficulties (probably the feelings of the Empress), and the return from Elba, made the plan fail. This had put the Austrians on the alert, and "on the 19th of March the Empress, arriving from Vienna, went to the apartment of her son and communicated to Madame de Montesquiou (the *gouvernante*) the wish expressed by the Emperor of Austria. She desired her to be ready to start at eight o'clock in the evening, without letting her know the reasons which made this hurried departure necessary. At the hour named she got into a carriage with Madame de Montesquiou and her son and took them to the Imperial Palace, where she left them." There is something revolting in the Empress making herself the instrument to prevent her son obtaining the brilliant inheritance which might have been his. However little she might have considered herself bound to her parvenu husband in his days of misfortune, still her son might have had enough claims on her to make her at least remain passive. The presence of his mother perhaps prevented the poor little Prince from trying to resist as, with a strange presentiment, he did when forced to take the fatal step of leaving Paris for Blois in 1814. On the 20th March, the same day on which Napoleon entered the Tuileries, Madame de Montesquiou was compelled to resign her charge, and the separation of the Prince from his French attendants was completed. This last measure was taken from the belief that the Comte Anatole de Montesquiou, who had left Paris on the 20th of March, nominally to communicate with the Empress, was really intrusted with a plan for carrying off the Prince. The Allies professed to be aghast at the wickedness of Napoleon. It had never occurred to Napoleon to make political capital out of the capture of the wife and child of a foe. The lesson here taught by the Austrians was not forgotten by Louis Philippe when he seized the Duchesse de Berri in 1832.

into effect — there is little room to doubt that the plan would have succeeded, and that the daughter of Austria and the titular King of Rome would have given such *prestige* as their presence could give at the Tuileries and the Champ-de-Mai. No sooner had the Emperor of Austria discovered this plot, which, had it been successful, would have placed him in a very awkward predicament, than he dismissed all the French people about his daughter, compelled her to lay aside the armorial bearings and liveries of Napoleon, and even to relinquish the title of Empress of the French. No force, no art, no police could conceal these things from the people of Paris, who, moreover, and at nearly the same time, were made very uneasy by the failure of Murat's attempt in Italy, which greatly increased the power and political influence of Austria. Murat being disposed of, the Emperor Francis was enabled to concentrate all his forces in Italy, and to hold them in readiness for the re-invasion of France.

"Napoleon," says Lavallette, "had undoubtedly expected that the Empress and his son would be restored to him; he had published his wishes as a certainty, and to prevent it was, in fact, the worst injury the Emperor of Austria could have done him. His hope was, however, soon destroyed.

"One evening I was summoned to the palace. I found the Emperor in a dimly lighted closet, warming himself in a corner of the fireplace, and appearing to suffer already from the complaint which never afterwards left him. 'Here is a letter,' he said, 'which the courier from Vienna says is meant for you — read it.' On first casting my eyes on the letter I thought I knew the handwriting, but as it was long I read it slowly, and came at last to the principal object. The writer said that we ought not to reckon upon the Empress, as she did not even attempt to conceal her dislike of the Emperor, and was disposed to approve all the measures that could be taken against him; that her return was not to be thought of, as she herself would raise the greatest obstacles in the way of it, in case it should be proposed; finally, that it was not possible for him to dissemble his indignation that the Empress, wholly enamoured of ——, did not even take

pains to hide her ridiculous partiality for him.[1] The handwriting of the letter was disguised, yet not so much but that I was able to discover whose it was. I found, however, in the manner in which the secret was expressed a warmth of zeal and a picturesque style that did not belong to the author of the letter. While reading it, I all of a sudden suspected it was a counterfeit, and intended to mislead the Emperor. I communicated my idea to him, and the danger I perceived in this fraud. As I grew more and more animated I found plausible reasons enough to throw the Emperor himself into some uncertainty. 'How is it possible,' I said, 'that —— should have been imprudent enough to write such things to me, who am not his friend, and who have had so little connection with him? How can one suppose that the Empress should forget herself, in such circumstances, so far as to manifest aversion to you, and, still more, to cast herself away upon a man who undoubtedly still possesses some power to please, but who is no longer young, whose face is disfigured, and whose person, altogether, has nothing agreeable in it?' — 'But,' answered the Emperor, '—— is attached to me; and though he is not your friend, the postscript sufficiently explains the motive of the confidence he places in you.' The following words were, in fact, written at the bottom of the

[1] The part taken by Maria Louisa at this period should be studied in the Memoirs of Meneval, for long secretary to Napoleon from the disgrace of Bourrienne until after the retreat from Moscow, when, having fallen into bad health, he was placed by Napoleon with Maria Louisa as chief secretary. He himself was naturally looked on with great suspicion by the Austrians, who called him "the man of the Emperor," and he was prevented from having much to do with the Empress; but he attempted to work on the feelings of Maria Louisa to get her to try to proceed to France, where, as he truly said, she would have been looked on as an angel of peace. Meneval does not go so far as the letter here quoted on the infatuation of his mistress for the one-eyed Count Neipperg, but he refers to the influence her chamberlain was obtaining over her. It is curious that the Austrians allowed Meneval to proceed to France to join Napoleon, and his account leaves an impression as if the Austrians, though anxious to retain Maria Louisa and her son, were not quite so determined on their line of action as Metternich would make us believe. Thus Meneval (tome ii. p. 249) says that on the receipt of the news of the landing of Napoleon, "the Emperor Francis, reassured about Italy, then said to his daughter that if the Emperor Napoleon, contrary to all probability, succeeded, he would not allow her to go to France till experience had shown that the pacific disposition of Napoleon could be trusted. The first thoughts of this Prince were good, but his good sense and his natural honesty always yielded to the requirements of his policy."

letter: 'I do not think you ought to mention the truth to the Emperor, but make whatever use of it you think proper.' I persisted, however, in maintaining that the letter was a counterfeit; and the Emperor then said to me, 'Go to Caulaincourt. He possesses a great many others in the same handwriting. Let the comparison decide between your opinion and mine.'

"I went to Caulaincourt, who said eagerly to me, 'I am sure the letter is from ——, and I have not the least doubt of the truth of the particulars it contains. The best thing the Emperor can do is to be comforted; there is no help to be expected from that side.'

"So sad a discovery was very painful to the Emperor, for he was sincerely attached to the Empress, and still hoped again to see his son, whom he loved most tenderly.[1]

"Fouché had been far from wishing the return of the Emperor. He was long tired of obeying, and had, besides, undertaken another plan, which Napoleon's arrival had broken off. The Emperor, however, put him again at the head of the police, because Savary was worn out in that employment, and a skilful man was wanted there. Fouché accepted the office, but without giving up his plan of deposing the Emperor, to put in his place either his son or a Republic under a President. He had never ceased to correspond with Prince Metternich, and, if he is to be believed, he tried to persuade the Emperor to abdicate in favor of his son. That was also my opinion; but, coming from such a quarter, the advice was not without danger for the person to whom it was given. Besides, that advice having been rejected, it was the duty of the Minister either to think no more of his plan or to resign his office. Fouché, however, remained in the Cabinet, and continued his correspondence. The Emperor, who placed but little confidence in him, kept a careful eye upon him. One evening the Emperor had a great deal of company at the Elysée; he told me not to go home, because he wished to speak to me. When everybody was gone the Emperor stopped with Fouché in the apartment next to the one I was in. The door remained half

[1] See, however, the mention of the Empress in Napoleon's Will.

open. They walked up and down together talking very calmly. I was therefore greatly astonished when, after a quarter of an hour, I heard the Emperor say to him gravely, 'You are a traitor! Why do you remain Minister of the Police if you wish to betray me? It rests with me to have you hanged, and everybody would rejoice at your death!' I did not hear Fouché's reply, but the conversation lasted above half an hour longer, the parties all the time walking up and down. When Fouché went away he bade me cheerfully good-night, and said that the Emperor had gone back to his apartments.

"The next day the Emperor spoke to me of the previous night's conversation. 'I suspected,' he said, 'that the wretch was in correspondence with Vienna. I have had a banker's clerk arrested on his return from that city. He has acknowledged that he brought a letter for Fouché from Metternich, and that the answer was to be sent at a fixed time to Bâle, where a man was to wait for the bearer on the bridge. I sent for Fouché a few days ago, and kept him three hours long in my garden, hoping that in the course of a friendly conversation he would mention that letter to me, but he said nothing. At last, yesterday evening, I myself opened the subject.' (Here the Emperor repeated to me the words I had heard the night before, 'You are a traitor,' etc.) 'He acknowledged, in fact,' continued the Emperor, 'that he had received such a letter, but that it was not signed, and that he had looked upon it as a mystification. He showed it me. Now that letter was evidently an answer, in which the writer again declared that he would listen to nothing more concerning the Emperor, but that, his person excepted, it would be easy to agree to all the rest.' I expected that the Emperor would conclude his narrative by expressing his anger against Fouché, but our conversation turned on some other subject, and he talked no more of him.

"Two days afterwards I went to Fouché to solicit the return to Paris of an officer of musketeers who had been banished far from his family. I found him at breakfast, and sat down next to him. Facing him sat a stranger. 'Do you

see this man?' he said to me, pointing with his spoon to the stranger; 'he is an aristocrat, a Bourbonist, a Chouan; it is the Abbé ——, one of the editors of the *Journal des Débats* — a sworn enemy to Napoleon, a fanatic partisan of the Bourbons; he is one of our men.' I looked at him. At every fresh epithet of the Minister the Abbé bowed his head down to his plate with a smile of cheerfulness and self-complacency, and with a sort of leer. I never saw a more ignoble countenance. Fouché explained to me, on leaving the breakfast-table, in what manner all these valets of literature were men of his, and while I acknowledged to myself that the system might be necessary, I scarcely knew who were really more despicable — the wretches who thus sold themselves to the highest bidder, or the minister who boasted of having bought them, as if their acquisition were a glorious conquest. Judging that the Emperor had spoken to me of the scene I have described above, Fouché said to me, 'The Emperor's temper is soured by the resistance he finds, and he thinks it is my fault. He does not know that I have no power but by public opinion. To-morrow I might hang before my door twenty persons obnoxious to public opinion, though I should not be able to imprison for four and twenty hours any individual favored by it.' As I am never in a hurry to speak I remained silent, but reflecting on what the Emperor had said concerning Fouché I found the comparison of their two speeches remarkable. The master could have his minister hanged with public applause, and the minister could hang — whom? Perhaps the master himself, and with the same approbation. What a singular situation! — and I believe they were both in the right; so far public opinion, equitable in regard to Fouché, had swerved concerning the Emperor."

Let us now turn to Napoleon in his novel character of constitutional monarch. One of his first professions in that capacity was his granting full liberty to the press. "The press," said he, "that mighty engine of enlightenment, shall be infinitely more free in France than in England!" To carry this into execution he established *inspectors of the booksellers!* "The Minister of Police (Fouché), a friend of liberty, but,"

as Lecompte, the editor of *Le Censeur*, observed, "only of liberty after the fashion of Monsieur Fouché, used every art in his power to prevent the contagion of freedom from spreading too widely." This Lecompte had thought he was aiding the cause of liberty in contributing, as he had done, to the return of Napoleon; but soon "seeing the prevailing influence of the military, he published some severe remarks on the undue weight the army assumed in public affairs, which, he hesitated not to say, was bringing France to the condition of Rome, when the Empire was disposed of by the pretorian guards." This gave great offence: the journal was seized by the police, and the Minister (Fouché) endeavored to palliate the fact in the *Moniteur* (*the government paper and the paper of all governments*) by saying that although seized it had been instantly restored. But Lecompte was not a man to be so silenced; he published a contradiction of the official statements, and declared that his journal had not been restored. He was summoned the next day before the Prefect, alternately threatened and wheedled, upbraided at one moment with ungrateful resistance to the cause of the Emperor, and requested at the next to think of something in which Government might serve him. "Steeled against every proffer and entreaty, Lecompte only required to be permitted *to profit by the restored liberty of the press;* nor could the worthy magistrate make him rightly understand that when the Emperor gave all men liberty to publish what pleased themselves it was under the tacit condition that it should also please the Prefect and Minister of Police."[1]

We now come to the famous Champ-de-Mai, and the results that arose from it.

A concise account of this imposing ceremony was given by an eminent English writer,[2] who says: —

The new constitution, with the *Acte Additionnel*, was offered to the suffrages of the French people at large, and accepted by them by a majority of above a million and a half of votes to about four thousand against it. Louis did not put himself to this kind of probation: it would have been inconsistent with his dignity and pretensions to do so, since his

[1] Sir Walter Scott. [2] Hazlitt.

rights were deemed superior to and independent of the choice of the people, which was merely a vulgar appendage to them. That of itself, with me, is decisive of the whole question. This event was celebrated in the Champ-de-Mai, held on the 1st of June in the open space facing the Military School, where the electors of the departments, the representatives of the people, and the deputations from the army, met in an immense concourse. The Imperial and National Guard and the troops of the line were drawn up in squares in the Champ-de-Mars. Napoleon appeared in the midst of them like a new Charlemagne, surrounded by his brothers, his Court, and the members of his Government, on a magnificent throne. An altar was raised in the centre, and the ceremony began by invoking the God of battles. After the religious solemnity a deputation of 500 electors advanced to the foot of the throne, and pronounced an eloquent and patriotic address.[1] The result and number of the votes were then proclaimed, and Napoleon, turning towards the side where the electors were, said aloud, "Emperor, Consul, Soldier, I hold all from the people: in prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole object of all my thoughts and actions." Having ended his discourse the Emperor proceeded to the altar with his escort, swearing to observe and maintain the constitutions of the State; the oath was repeated by the ministers and the electoral deputations. The eagles were then distributed among the troops; cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" resounded on all sides, and the crowd (whether of men or women), as they looked on, were filled with admiration and delight, and seemed to think that the enemy could never again pierce through those numerous and dense phalanxes winding slowly along as if incapable of flight!

The great meeting of the Champ-de-Mai was less favorably described by many writers who were eye-witnesses to it. Napoleon and his brothers, who had again collected around him, were dressed in antique and somewhat fantastic robes; he, as Emperor, was so arrayed as to resemble Charlemagne,

[1] After the celebration of mass, *to which, by the by, every one turned his back*, the Emperor went down and took his place on an amphitheatre in the middle of the Champ-de-Mars, from whence he was to distribute the eagles to all the cohorts of the departments. This was a beautiful scene, for it was a national one. The Emperor took care to address a word to each of the corps that received these colors, and that word was flattering and calculated to inspire enthusiasm. To the department of the Vosges he said, "You are my old companions." To those of the Rhine, "You have been the first, the most courageous, and the most unfortunate in our disasters." To the departments of the Rhone, "I have been bred among you." To others, "Your bands were at Rivoli, at Arcole, at Marengo, at Tilsit, at Austerlitz, at the Pyramids." These magic names filled the hearts of those old warriors, the melancholy wreck of so many victories, with a very profound emotion. But, as I have already said, all France was not present at that ceremony, and the enthusiasm of the spectators was not communicated to the people in the departments (*Lavallette*, vol. ii. p. 190).

and his relatives were royally attired.[1] The Republicans were much annoyed by this display. The report of the votes was read, the electors, with their usual promptitude, swore to the Additional Act, the hollow trumpets brayed after them, and the cannon thundered. The popular acclamations, however, were few and cold. Napoleon felt he was acting as in a melodrama on the stage, and he showed little interest — no enthusiasm, until he came to that part of the ceremonies in which he had to distribute the eagles to the newly raised troops. Then his brow expanded, his eye beamed gloriously, and his voice became firm and sonorous. On the whole, the Parisians considered the field of May *une pièce tombée* (an unsuccessful play). Some few thought it an imposing spectacle, but many more considered it a ridiculous exhibition. Opera-dancers and fencing-masters figured in the procession.

On the following day (the 2d of June) Napoleon gave a second *fête* to the deputies of the army and the electors of the departments, who met in the spacious galleries of the Louvre. More eagles were distributed, and those who received them from the hands of the Emperor swore, as a matter of course, to defend them and him to the death. The quantity of oath-taking, and of tricking and turning of all kinds, that took place at Paris between Bonaparte's return in March and the return of the Bourbons in July, was prodigious almost beyond example. The journalists (as became their calling) particularly distinguished themselves. The following fact, though well known, merits repeating. One of the gentlemen of the press, in announcing the escape from Elba, said, "A report is circulated that the brigand of Corsica has landed at Cannes." A few days after the same man wrote, "Do you

[1] The question of the dress of the Emperor's brothers had given some trouble. Lucien (tome iii. p. 265) says, "The dresses for the ceremony of the Champ-de-Mai were settled. I did not wish to appear in white, but in the dress of the National Guard. The Emperor answered me with a sneer, 'Yes, so that you, as a National Guard, may make more effect than I as Emperor.' I decided to be dressed in white." This decision was unlucky. "The white dresses worn by the three brothers of the Emperor, denoted a prerogative not sanctioned by the nation, because, except Prince Joseph, whose right of succession was recognized, the other Princes (Lucien and Jérôme) had not been chosen for the hereditary line. These Imperial candidates produced a particularly bad effect, and offended the eye" (*Miot*, tome iii. p. 432).

know what news is circulated? They say the rash usurper has been received at Grenoble." Then it was, "I have it from a good source that General Bonaparte has entered Lyons." But a few days after, again changing his tone, he reported, "It appears certain that Napoleon is at Fontainebleau." And, finally, on the 20th of March, he respectfully announced that "His Majesty the Emperor and King alighted this evening at his Palace of the Tuileries." [1]

The Legislative Body met on the 3d of June, and the deputies or Commons, among whom were many Constitutionalists and not a few Jacobins, showed from the first a spirit of opposition and a firm determination to obtain guaranties for their newly acquired liberties. Their first quarrel with the Emperor was on the very first day of their sitting, and arose out of mere points of etiquette. The good humor of the deputies was not increased when Napoleon, on being waited upon for his confirmation of their election of their President, contemptuously referred the deputation to one of his chamberlains, who, he said, would deliver his (the Emperor's) answer the next day through the Court page in waiting. This certainly showed very little constitutional feeling, and a majority in the house began to murmur and whisper that Napoleon was unchanged, and he and freedom as incompatible as fire and water.

A deputy named Sibuet, in a very violent speech, made a motion against the use of such titles as Duke, Count, Baron, etc., in the Chamber of Representatives, and was very nigh carrying his point. On the same day another very stormy debate arose out of the demand made by a member of the Lower House for a list of the personages raised to the new House of Peers. Carnot, in his capacity of Minister, declined giving the list until the session should actually begin real business. On his refusal the uproar was tremendous, and the President's bell was for a long time rung in vain. They then proceeded to scrutinize the form and substance of the

[1] The following extract from the *Moniteur* contains probably the strangest piece of news ever inserted in a journal: "*The King and the Princes left in the night. His Majesty the Emperor arrived this evening at eight o'clock at his Palace of the Tuileries.*"

oath to be taken by the deputies, and it was with great difficulty the Bonapartists carried their point, that the oaths should go in the name of "Napoleon and the Constitution," without mentioning the nation or the people. On the 7th of June the whole house was in fire and fury. Félix Lepelletière, a zealous partisan of the Emperor, proposed that the Chamber should vote to Napoleon the title of "Saviour of his country." "This is absurd: we will not have it so," shouted a hundred deputies at once; "the country is not yet saved!" and they passed to the order of the day by acclamation. In most of these petty proceedings the French showed little political wisdom, and did not take the course proper to conciliate and constitutionalize the fierce Napoleon, who was heard frequently to say in private, "The empty fools, the babblers, they are talking when we ought to be fighting! They want to fetter my strong arm; will their weak one save the nation? One thing is clear, France does not possess the elements of a representative government; she wants a dictator like me." In his answer to the address of the two Chambers he did not conceal his dissatisfaction. He said —

"The struggle in which we are engaged is serious. The seductions of prosperity are not the danger which menaces us at present. It is under the Caudine Forks that foreigners wish to make us pass. The justice of our cause, the public spirit of the nation, and the courage of the army are strong grounds to hope for success; but should we encounter reverses, it is then that I should trust to see displayed all the energy of a great people. It is then that I should find in the Chambers proofs of their attachment to the country and to me. It is in times of difficulty that great nations, like great men, unfold all the energy of their character, and become objects of admiration to posterity. I will set out to-night and proceed to join the army. The movements of the different corps of our enemies render my presence indispensable. The Constitution is our rallying-point: it should be our pole-star in these stormy times. Every public discussion tending directly or indirectly to diminish the confidence which should be placed in its arrangements would be a misfortune to the State: we should

then find ourselves in the midst of rocks without compass or pilot. The crisis in which we are involved is arduous. Let us not imitate the example of the Lower Empire, which, pressed on all sides by the barbarians, rendered itself a scoff to posterity by entering into abstract discussions at the very moment when the battering-ram was at the gates of the city. In all circumstances my conduct will be direct and firm. Aid me to save the country. First Representative of the People, I have contracted the obligation which I now renew to employ in more tranquil times all the prerogatives of the Crown and the little experience which I have acquired to ameliorate our institutions."

The wrath of Napoleon was confined to the Lower House, the Peers, from the nature of their composition, being complacent and passive enough. The vast majority of them were in fact mere shadows gathered round the solid persons of Joseph, Lucien, Louis, and Jérôme Bonaparte, and Siéyès, Carnot, and the military men of the Revolution.[1] As a political body Napoleon despised them himself, and yet he wanted the nation to respect them. But respect was impossible, and the volatile Parisians made the Peers a constant object of their witticisms. The punsters of Paris made the following somewhat ingenious play upon words. Lallemand, Labédoyère, Drouot, and Ney they called *Les Quatre Pairs fides* (*perfides*), which in pronunciation may equally mean the four faithful peers or the four perfidious men. The infamous Vandamme and another were called *Pair-sifflés*, the hissed peers, or the hissed pair, or (*persifflés*) men made objects of derision. It was thus the lower orders behaved while the existence of France was at stake.

By this time the thunder-cloud of war had gathered and was ready to burst. Short as the time at his disposal was Napoleon prepared to meet it with his accustomed energy. Firearms formed one of the most important objects of attention. There were sufficient sabres, but muskets were wanting. The

[1] The brothers of the Emperor gave much trouble about their places in the Chamber of Peers. Joseph was deeply hurt by being nominated by his brother, saying that his place was due to him by birth, not nomination. All three, Joseph, Lucien, and Jérôme, next claimed to have special seats in the Chamber by the side of the President, a ridiculous pretension which they had to renounce (*Thiers*, tome xix. livre lix. p. 606).

Imperial factories could, in ordinary times, furnish monthly 20,000 stands of new arms; by the extraordinary activity and inducements offered this number was doubled. Workmen were also employed in repairing the old muskets. There was displayed at this momentous period the same activity in the capital as in 1793, and better directed, though without the same ultimate success. The clothing of the army was another difficulty, and this was got over by advancing large sums of money to the cloth manufacturers beforehand. The contractors delivered 20,000 cavalry horses before the 1st of June, 10,000 trained horses had been furnished by the dismounted gendarmerie. Twelve thousand artillery horses were also delivered by the 1st of June, in addition to 6000 which the army already had.

The facility with which the Ministers of Finance and of the Treasury provided for all these expenses astonished everybody, as it was necessary to pay for everything in ready money. The system of public works was at the same time resumed throughout France. "It is easy to see," said the workmen, "that 'the great contractor' is returned: all was dead, now everything revives." To account for all this lavish expenditure an opinion prevailed that the Emperor on his return had found 100,000,000 livres in gold at the Tuileries. The King had, indeed, quitted Paris with such precipitation that he had not been able to carry away the crown-plate, valued at 6,000,000, nor the treasury-chests of the departments, containing 50,000,000 more. But the chief resource which Napoleon found on his return was in the good will of the people, and in the confidence of the great French and Dutch capitalists arising out of it. Voluntary donations were also numerous, and in some departments exceeded 1,000,000. At the military parades he was often presented with bundles of bank-bills, and on his return to the palace had to give the Minister of the Treasury 80,000 or 100,000 francs which he had received in this manner.

It was soon evident that the scene of the grand conflict would be on the Flemish border — the old battle-field of Europe. The whole of the fortified line of the Low Coun-

tries towards France was occupied by strong garrisons, chiefly in English pay. From the time of the alarm excited by Bonaparte's success re-enforcements had arrived from England without intermission, and the Duke of Wellington was on the spot to take the supreme command of the troops, native and foreign, in Belgium. In the latter end of May the headquarters of the French Army of the North were established at Avesnes, in Eastern Flanders, and in the apprehension of an invasion by the Allied armies on that part Laon and the castle of Guise were put in a defensible state. Field-Marshal Prince Blucher about this time arrived with the Prussian army in the neighborhood of Namur, and held frequent conferences with the Duke of Wellington.

Napoleon left Paris on the 12th of June, accompanied by Marshal Bertrand and General Drouot, and proceeded to Laon. Lavallette, who was with Napoleon till midnight on the 11th of June, informs us that the Emperor was unwell when he set off to open the campaign, that he suffered a great deal from a pain in the breast,[1] but that notwithstand-

[1] Certain departures from Napoleon's usual style of warfare, and especially from his ordinary rapid manner of following up a retreating enemy, which are to be noticed in the Waterloo campaign, have called attention to the question whether he was then in possession of his full powers of mind and body. The whole subject will be found dealt with in Dorsey Gardner's *Quatre Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo* (Kegan Paul, 1882), pp. 31–37, where extracts are given from the conflicting authorities. To these passages may be added references to the following works. *Lavalette*, vol. ii. pp. 179 and 191, and Iung's *Lucien Bonaparte*, tome iii. pp. 263 and 285, noting in this last especially p. 263, where is mentioned Napoleon's then great propensity to sleep, and his own astonishment that he should have had the energy to leave Elba in such a state. There can be no doubt that Napoleon was then suffering to an extent which enfeebled him, and to this cause we may put down the failure to attack earlier at Waterloo, etc. His refusal to support Ney and Murat at Borodino, and his strange neglect to push other divisions to the assistance of Vandamme on his perilous march to Culm to cut off the retreating Allies after Dresden, are previous instances of the effect of disease on his actions and on his fortunes. Something may be put down to his own consciousness of loss of prestige, perhaps also of hope. Years before he had told Metternich of the crushing effect of failure (*Metternich*, vol. iii. p. 512). "Ah, vous ne savez pas quelle puissance est le bonheur! Lui seul donne du courage. Ne pas oser, c'est ne rien faire qui vaille, et on n'ose jamais qu'à la suite du bonheur! Le malheur affaisse et flétrit l'ame, et dès lors on ne fait rien de bon" — "You do not know what strength is given by good luck! It alone gives one courage. It is only by daring that one does anything worth doing, and it is only from the feeling of good luck that one ever dares anything. Misfortune crushes and blasts one's mind; thenceforward one does nothing well." He rode to his last battle conscious of loss of prestige and failing powers. The General who flew from field to field in Italy, who the

ing this he stepped into his carriage with a cheerfulness that seemed to show he was confident of victory.

It is important to arrive at the respective forces of the Allied sovereigns, and of the Emperor Napoleon. It was calculated that by the end of May nearly 500,000 troops of the Allies would be assembled to oppose the operations of Napoleon, comprising 160,000 Russians, 80,000 Austrians, 120,000 Prussians, 75,000 of the Anglo-Belgian army, and 65,000 of the Bavarian and other German troops. In the beginning of June the Allied armies occupied the following positions: The 1st corps of infantry of the Duke of Wellington's army, under the command of the Prince of Orange, occupied Enghien, Braine le Comte, Nivelles, and Soignies. The 2d corps, commanded by Lieutenant-General Lord Hill, was stationed at Ath, Lens, Oudenarde, Grammont, and the places adjacent, and the reserve occupied Ghent, Brussels, and the neighborhood. The cavalry attached to this army, under the command of Lieutenant-General the Earl of Uxbridge, were chiefly posted about Grammont and Ninove. The English forces with their Allies (excluding the Prussians) amounted to 106,000 men with nearly 200 guns.

The Prussian army consisted of four corps, and were thus stationed: The 1st, commanded by General Zieten, occupied Fontaine l'Evesque, Fleurus, and Charleroi. The 2d, under General Pirch, was distributed in the neighborhood of Namur. The 3d corps, under the command of General Thielmann, was posted in the vicinity of Ciney. The 4th corps, commanded by General Bulow, was collected about Liège. These, with corps of cavalry and artillery in proportion, constituted a force of 117,000 men, with upwards of 300 guns.

Having described the number and positions of the English and Prussian armies in Flanders, it now remains to detail the force and composition of Napoleon's invading army, which was styled the Army of Flanders. General Comte d'Erlon commanded the 1st corps, consisting of four divisions of

night before Jena would not rest till he had himself seen the artillery in position, and who multiplied himself in 1814, is not to be recognized in the Waterloo campaign. Wellington triumphed over a great general, but it was not the Napoleon of Rivoli and Austerlitz whom he faced.

infantry, one division of light cavalry, and six batteries of artillery, the total strength of which amounted to about 20,000 men. This corps was posted at Lille. The 2d corps, under General Count Reille, was assembled about Valenciennes, and was similarly constituted to the first corps, but exceeded it in numbers by about 3000 men. The 3d corps, commanded by Count Vandamme, had one division of infantry less than the other two corps, and mustered only 19,000 men. The 4th corps, under Count Gérard, formed the basis of the Army of the Moselle, and was so placed that it might easily form a junction with the Army of Flanders or with the Army of the Rhine; it consisted of about 16,000 men. Count Rapp commanded the 5th corps collected at Strasburg, denominated the Army of the Rhine; it was composed like the 3d and 4th corps, and amounted to 17,000 men. The 6th corps, under Count Lobau, which was stationed at Laon, formed the reserve of the Army of Flanders; its force may be reckoned at 11,000 men. The 7th corps, commanded by Marshal Suchet, was collected about Chambéry, and amounted to 21,000 men. The cavalry of the Army of Flanders consisted of four corps, under the command of Marshal Grouchy: the 1st, under Pajol, amounting to about 2500 men, was assembled between the Aisne and the northern frontier; the 2d, commanded by Excelmans, was of about the same strength; the third corps of cavalry, under the orders of Kellermann, was 3500 strong; the 4th corps, commanded by Milhaud, consisted of 3500 cuirassiers. Besides these seven corps of infantry, and the four corps of cavalry, various other corps of National Guards, mixed with troops of the line, were stationed as Armies of Observation on the most important parts of the frontier, exhibiting a total of about 100,000 men.[1] The Imperial Guard, the flower of the French army, was assembled in the neighborhood of Paris, and consisted of

[1] Thiers (tome xx. livre lx. pp. 5-10) goes in detail into the question of the number of soldiers available. He states that Napoleon only found an effective force of 180,000 men, of which only 148,000 were available. He says that on the 12th of June Napoleon had on the northern frontier 124,000 men, and each month would have brought an addition of at least 100,000. Chesney puts Napoleon's strength at the beginning of the campaign at 198,000; the armies of Rapp, Suchet, and Lecourbe have of course to be deducted from this.

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close upon 20,000 men. Paris and Lyons were strongly fortified, and it was supposed by many that Napoleon, contrary to his usual tactics, would remain on the defensive, but he adopted the bolder alternative of attacking the Allies before they should become too formidable by combination. On the 7th of June the French army began to move at Valenciennes. At four o'clock in the morning of the 12th Napoleon left Paris to join the army. On arriving at Laon the same evening he inspected the city and ramparts. The next day he proceeded to Avesnes, and on the 14th rode to Beaumont, whence, on the same day, being the anniversary of the battles of Marengo and Friedland, he addressed the following energetic proclamation to his army: —

Soldiers! — This day is the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after the battles of Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We believed in the protestations and oaths of Princes, to whom we left their thrones. Now, however, leagued together, they strike at the independence and sacred rights of France. They have committed unjust aggressions. Let us march forward and meet them. Are we not still the same men? Soldiers! at Jéna these Prussians, now so arrogant, were three to one; at Montmirail six to one. Let those who have been captives to the English describe the nature of their prison ships, and the sufferings they endured. The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are obliged to use their arms in the cause of Princes who are the enemies of justice and destroyers of the rights of nations. They well know the coalition to be insatiable. After having swallowed up 12,000,000 Poles, 12,000,000 Italians, 1,000,000 Saxons, and 6,000,000 Belgians, they now wish to devour the States of the second order among the Germans. Madmen! one moment of prosperity has bewildered them. To oppress and humble the people of France is out of their power: once entering our territory, there they will find their doom. Soldiers! we have forced marches before us, battles to fight, and dangers to encounter; but, firm in resolution, victory must be ours. The honor and happiness of our country are at stake! and, in short, Frenchmen, the moment is arrived when we must conquer or die!

The positions of the French army at this time were as follows: — The headquarters were at Beaumont, the first corps at Loire-sur-Sambre, second at Ham-sur-Heure, third in front of Beaumont, fourth in front of Philippeville, sixth in front

of Beaumont, the Imperial Guard around Beaumont, the four corps of cavalry, under Marshal Grouchy, between Beaumont and Walcourt.

An English writer who was at Brussels during the gathering and the bursting of the war-cloud gives some graphic details.

"The town," he says, "was crowded to excess. The bright and varied uniforms of so many different nations, mingled with the gay dresses of females in the park, and the *Allée Verte* thronged with superb horses and brilliant equipages, gave to the city unusual animation. The *tables d'hôte* resounded with a confusion of tongues which might have rivalled the tower of Babel. Balls and plays, routs and dinners, were the only topics of conversation, and though some occasional rumors were spread that the French had made an incursion within our lines and carried off a few head of cattle, the tales were too vague to excite the least alarm. On the 3d of June I went to see 10,000 troops reviewed by the Dukes of Wellington and Brunswick. The splendid uniforms of the English, Scotch, and Hanoverians formed a strong contrast with the gloomy black of the Brunswick hussars, whose veneration for the memory of their old Duke could be only equalled by their devotion to his son. I was particularly struck with the handsome features of the Duke of Brunswick, whose fine manly figure, as he galloped across the field, realized my *beau idéal* of a warrior."

As soon as it was whispered in Brussels that Napoleon was positively approaching that city,[1] the most absurd and

[1] It was on the 12th instant that the news of Napoleon having set out from Paris to join the army of Flanders was known at Brussels. The following morning, when the Duke of Richmond and some officers were at a cricket-match, the Duke of Wellington arrived, and shortly after the Prince of Orange, which put a stop to the game. Though the hero of the Peninsula was not apt to let his movements be known, on this occasion he made no secret, "that if he was attacked from the south Halle would be his position, and if on the Namur side, Waterloo." The army being ordered to be ready to march on the shortest notice, his Grace returned to Brussels. A few days after my arrival it was publicly known that a movement would soon take place on the frontier; but as it extended from Ostend to Charleroi, no conjecture could be made on what point the French would make their attack, yet the Duke has been abused for not having had the second sight of a Highlander to know this, and it was insisted that he was taken by surprise! There was also a great clamor among the *quidnuncs* that he with his staff

contradictory reports were circulated, and strong proofs were given that small reliance could be placed on the Belgians,[1] who seemed resolved to side with whichever party might prove victorious. As early as the night of the 15th of June, when Bonaparte's advance was first heard of, they reported that the French were actually at the gates of Brussels, lying in ambush to surprise the city, while others said that the apparent confidence and security of the Duke of Wellington arose from his having bought over the French, whom he dared not fight *armes à la main*, with British gold. The gossips and quidnuncs of the town were dreadfully embarrassed by these contradictory stories, and according as one or other prevailed they were all for Bonaparte or all for

and a great many officers were dancing at a ball instead of being at their posts; but the fact is that Wellington had previously issued the necessary orders for the march of the troops quartered in the city as well as in the cantonments, which was very properly kept a profound secret. About midnight the drums, bugles, and bagpipes sounded the signal of march. I was stepping into bed when the well-known *pibroch*, so familiar to my ear (the Camerons' Gathering) sounded under my windows. On opening my casement I beheld my countrymen assembling like bees from all quarters; and never was there a more prompt turn-out; within half an hour every officer and soldier was at his post. The 42d, 92d, and 79th paraded in our street. The division of Brussels and its neighborhood amounted to 9000; about noon it reached Quatre Bras, a march of eighteen miles, in a very hot day, and through a country that afforded but little water, so that between fatigue and thirst they were much exhausted before they were attacked, and they hardly had time to settle their knapsacks when the French, concealed in the field of long rye, and suddenly debouching from a neighboring wood, commenced a vigorous fire, which was repelled with the utmost bravery, and though the British were but ill-supported by artillery or cavalry, they succeeded in driving the French from their positions, and became masters of the field, but with an immense loss, particularly in the ranks of the Highlanders (Pryce Gordon's *Memoirs*).

[1] The following proclamation was issued by Napoleon on entering Belgium, and was dated *prematurely* from the palace of Laeken: —

"To the Belgians and the Inhabitants of the Left Bank of the Rhine.

"The ephemeral success of my enemies detached you for a moment from my Empire. In my exile, upon a rock in the sea, I heard your complaint; the God of battles has decided the fate of your beautiful provinces; Napoleon is among you; you are worthy to be Frenchmen! Rise in a body, join my invincible phalanxes to exterminate the remainder of these barbarians, who are your enemies and mine: they fly with rage and despair in their hearts. "(Signed) Napoleon.

"The Imperial Palace of Laeken, June 17, 1815.

"By the Emperor,

"The Major-General of the Army, Count Bertrand." *

* Soult was, however, Major-General of the Army in 1815.

Wellington. This confusion of ideas is said to have produced the most laughable mistakes, people frequently beginning invectives which ended in becoming panegyrics of the persons they did not mean to praise.

"We have just learnt," says a writer who was at Brussels at this time, "that Napoleon had left the capital of France on the 12th; on the 15th the frequent arrival of couriers excited extreme anxiety, and towards evening General Muffling presented himself at the hôtel of the Duke of Wellington with despatches from Blucher. We were all aware that the enemy was in movement, and the ignorant could not solve the enigma of the Duke going tranquilly to the ball at the Duke of Richmond's — his coolness was above their comprehension. Had he remained at his own hôtel a panic would have probably ensued amongst the inhabitants, which would have embarrassed the intended movement of the British division of the army.

"I returned home late, and we were still talking over our uneasiness when we heard the trumpets sound. Before the sun had risen in full splendor I heard martial music approaching, and soon beheld from my windows the 5th reserve of the British army passing; the Highland brigade were the first in advance, led by their noble thanes, the bagpipes playing their several pibrochs; they were succeeded by the 28th, their bugles' note falling more blithely upon the ear. Each regiment passed in succession with its band playing."

The gallant Duke of Brunswick was at a ball at the assembly-rooms in the Rue Ducale on the night of the 15th of June when the French guns, which he was one of the first to hear, were clearly distinguished at Brussels. "Upon receiving the information that a powerful French force was advancing in the direction of Charleroi, 'Then it is high time for me to be off,' he exclaimed, and immediately quitted the ballroom."

The assembly broke up abruptly, and in half an hour drums were beating and bugles sounding. The good burghers of the city, who were almost all enjoying their first sleep, started from their beds at the alarm, and hastened to the streets. The most ridiculous and absurd rumors were rapidly circu-

lated and believed. The general impression seemed to be that the town was on fire, the next that the Duke of Wellington had been assassinated; but when it was discovered that the French were advancing the consternation became general, and every one hurried to the Place Royale, where the Hanoverians and Brunswickers were already mustering.

About one o'clock in the morning of the 16th the whole population of Brussels was in motion. The streets were crowded as in full day; lights flashed to and fro; artillery and baggage-wagons were creaking in every direction; the drums beat to arms, and the bugles sounded. The noise and bustle surpassed all description. Here were horses plunging and kicking amongst a crowd of terrified burghers, there lovers parting from their weeping mistresses. Now the attention was attracted by a park of artillery thundering through the streets, and now again by a group of officers disputing loudly the demands of their imperturbable Flemish landlords, for not even the panic which prevailed could frighten the Flemings out of a single stiver; screams and yells occasionally arose above the busy hum that murmured through the crowd, but the general sound resembled the roar of a distant ocean. Between two and three o'clock the Brunswickers marched from the town.

"At four the whole disposable force under the Duke of Wellington was collected together, but in such haste that many of the officers had no time to change their silk stockings and dancing-shoes; and some, quite overcome by drowsiness, were seen lying asleep about the ramparts, still holding, however, with a firm hand, the reins of their horses, which were grazing by their sides.

"About five o'clock the word 'march' was heard in all directions, and instantly the whole mass appeared to move simultaneously. I conversed with several of the officers previous to their departure, and not one appeared to have the slightest idea of an approaching engagement.

"The Duke of Wellington and his staff did not quit Brussels till past eleven o'clock, and it was not till some time after they were gone that it was generally known the

whole French army, including a strong corps of cavalry, was within a few miles of Quatre Bras."

[*ANNEX TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.*]

The state of the popular mind and the curious aspect presented by Paris to the stranger during these days of sudden change have often been described, but seldom better than in the words of an accomplished English lady, a partisan of the Bourbons, who had the courage to await the arrival of Bonaparte.

We were enjoying the breezes of a fine March morning when suddenly an officer issued from the Palace and whispered to us that *Bonaparte had landed!* Had a thunderbolt fallen at our feet its effects could not have produced a more terrible sensation than did this unexpected intelligence on our hearts. We instantly returned home, and that night it was no longer a secret in Paris. Some could not conceal the terror the name of Napoleon always inspires; others, judging from their own loyal sentiments, exclaimed, "*La main de Dieu y est visible!*" Another party, appreciating present circumstances, rejoiced in the idea that he would be taken and secured forever; as if Napoleon, in risking the chance of success, had not secured the means of insuring it! The King issued an *ordonnance* declaring him a traitor. The Chamber of Deputies was convened; an express sent for Marshal Ney. The King, preserving admirable calmness and confidence in his subjects, received the Ambassadors, saying, "Write, gentlemen, to your respective Courts that I am in good health, and that the mad enterprise of this man will no longer trouble the repose of Europe nor my own."[1] The Prince de Condé, notwithstanding his advanced age, offered his services.

His Majesty passed in review the troops, addressed the most flattering compliments to their generals, who surrounded him, and said to General Rapp, "*Malgré que ce ne soit pas le siége de Dantzic, je compte toujours sur votre bravoure et votre fidélité!*" Rapp, affected, turned away and exclaimed, "One must be a villain to betray such a King." He rendered

[1] Louis XVIII. and his Ministers at first were, or affected to be, confident of success. In telling Talleyrand of Napoleon's landing the King says, "You will no doubt have heard of his audacious enterprise. I took at once the measures which I judged most calculated to make him repent of it, and I am confident of their success." He informed the Ambassadors that he was "firmly persuaded that the tranquillity of Europe would no more be disturbed by it than I was myself" (Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 69). On his side Talleyrand wrote to Jaucourt, his substitute in the French Foreign Office, "We have no reason to fear; our cause is safe" (Talleyrand's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 108). Later, however, Talleyrand had doubts as to which cause was safe, and to let time reveal this he withdrew to Carlsbad to "*look after his liver.*"

himself justice, and unconsciously pronounced his own panegyric in advance.[1] When the Duc de Berri appeared he was received with enthusiasm. *La Maison du Roi* solicited to march with him against their common enemy, but elsewhere all remained in a state of apathy. An extensive confederacy on one side, want of means on the other, and inefficient organization in every department — our great confidence was in Ney; Ney departed with promises to bring back Napoleon dead or alive. He kissed the King's hand, and, shedding tears, renewed his oaths of fidelity for himself and his army.

The Duc de Feltre (Clarke) was named Minister of War. Our fluctuating hopes rose and fell like the mercury in a weather-glass, but this nomination revived them. Clarke had been called "*the calculating Irishman*," but the loyal party now extol him, and say that he forgot himself at the epoch that others forgot only what they owed to their King. "*What will Talleyrand do?* Will he, amidst the congregated ministers of the Allies, remain steady to his last oaths to Louis?" was constantly echoing through our *salons* during the first days of consternation.

The streets were quieter than usual; every person seemed to have a more serious mien, and to be pre-occupied. Of the *beau-monde* some had fled, others kept within their hôtels. No carriages of the opulent contested the passage with the cabriolets or with the vehicles of commerce, no *belles* skipped lightly along. In the shops few purchasers, and those few looking gloomy and silent; suspicion and fear seemed to predominate. Entering two or three shops where I had been in the habit of purchasing they exclaimed, "Softly! softly! mademoiselle; speak low, we are surrounded with spies." At the open stalls, and in the shops on the bridges and on the quays, the proprietors were busily occupied in removing the engravings, and other emblems of the Bourbons, and replacing those of the usurper and of his military partisans. Ladders were placed at the corners of the streets and against the shops, while workmen were effacing the names and brevets of the Bourbon dynasty, to be replaced by those of the Corsican family, or in haste substituting a design analogous to the merchandise within. We entered for a moment the Chamber of Deputies. The *drapeaux* taken in the different campaigns were brought from their concealed depots. The President's chair, embroidered with *fleur-de-lis*, was being removed. "Where will you find another?" I hastily demanded. "*L'ancien fauteuil est au grenier*," was the quick reply. In a few moments it was brought down; the portraits of the King and of

[1] Rapp was certainly no scoundrel. He only rejoined his own chief when the flight of Louis XVIII. left France helpless. It cannot be said to have been the duty of any one to support a Government which fled to obtain the help of the Powers which were longing to dismember France. Rapp asserted to the face of Napoleon that he would have resisted him, and on Napoleon disbelieving this and saying he would have shown Rapp "the Medusa's head," Rapp still said he would have fired on his old Chief (*Memoirs*, p. 342). Rapp was sent to defend Alsace, and there, as everywhere, showed himself a gallant and loyal soldier. The few rewards he received from Napoleon prove how little of a time-server he was.

the Princes were already removed from their frames, and those of Napoleon and Maria Louisa had replaced them.

[On the 19th of March cries were heard of "Vive le Roi!" in the square of Louis XV. On the morning of the 20th they were supplanted by shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!"]

The next morning I determined to see Napoleon, but when our carriage arrived at the Pont Royal thousands were collected there. Our servant advised us to descend and proceed on foot. The crowd civilly made way: they were waiting to see the review. An unusual silence prevailed, interrupted only by the cries of the children, whom the parents were thumping with energy for crying "Vive le Roi!" instead of "Vive l'Empereur!" which some months before they had been thumped for daring to vociferate! A friend recommended us to proceed to the review, to see which he had the good nature to procure me admittance to a small apartment in the Tuileries, and from the window I saw and heard for the first time the scourge of the Continent — his martial, active figure, mounted on his famed white horse. He harangued, with energetic tone (and in those bombastic expressions we have always remarked in all his manifestoes, and which are so well adapted to the French), the troops of the divisions of Lefol and Dufour. There was much embracing of *Les anciens Aigles* of the Old Guard, much mention of "great days and souvenirs dear to his heart," of the "scars of his brave soldiers," which, to serve his views, he will re-open without remorse. The populace were tranquil, as I had remarked them on the bridge. Inspirited by my still unsatisfied curiosity I rejoined my escort and proceeded to the gardens, where not more than thirty persons were collected under the windows. There was no enthusiastic cry, at least none deemed sufficient to induce him to show himself. In despair at not being able to contemplate his physiognomy at greater advantage I made my cavalier request some persons in the throng to cry "Vive l'Empereur!" Some laughed and replied, "Attendez un peu," while others advised us to desire some of the children to do so. A few francs thrown to the latter soon stimulated their voices into cries of the loyalty of the day, and Napoleon presented himself at the window, but he retired often and re-appeared. A few persons arrived from the country and held up petitions, which he sent an *aide de camp* to receive. His square face and figure struck me with involuntary emotion. I was dazzled, as if beholding a supernatural being. There was a sternness spread over his expansive brow, a gloom on the lids of his darkened eye, which rendered futile his attempts to smile. Something Satanic sported round his mouth, indicating the ambitious spirit of the soul within!

Much agitation seemed to reign in the *salon*. The ministers and generals paced up and down with their master in reciprocal agitation and debate. The Palace has now the appearance of a fortress, the retreat of a despot, not the abode of a sovereign confiding in the loyalty of his people, and recalled by their unanimous voice, but feeling that he is only welcomed back by military power, whose path was smoothed by the

peasantry of Dauphiny. A range of artillery is now placed before it; soldiers stretched on straw, repose under the finely arched corridors, and military casqued heads even appear from the uppermost windows. Napoleon had the gallant consideration the day after his return to renew the guard of honor at the hôtel of the Dowager-Duchess of Orleans, to whom he has always recorded the respect due to royalty.[1]

Napoleon during the Hundred Days.

I have seen him twice: the first time on Sunday, 16th April, at the review of the National Guards; the second time at the Français on the following Friday, 21st April, at his first visit to that theatre since his return. Having witnessed the first appearance of the Bourbon Princes last year in front of the National Guard and at the same theatre I am able to make some comparison between the two receptions, and what is called the popularity of each dynasty. The first occasion was a trial which some of the female partisans of Napoleon appeared to dread. A rumor had gone about that violence would be attempted against the Emperor's person by the Republicans on the day of the review. Several people whispered the suspicion to me, and added that the deed was to be done by a female. The time naturally selected for the purpose was the moment when the National Guards were to be all under arms, as that body, whatever may be their politics, would, it is thought, defend their properties and the peace of the city rather than fly to the revenge of any individual act. I was in the apartments in the Tuileries allotted to the Queen Hortense, who was present at one of the windows, together with some ladies of the Court. The beautiful —— was of the party; she manifested the utmost inquietude; told me that she had no alarm from the Guards, but was uneasy at the appearance of several persons in plain clothes crowding round the steps of the great porch of the Palace, where the Emperor was to mount his horse: however, she recovered herself, and seemed to forget her fears when the discharges of cannon at the Invalides announced the surrender of Marseilles and the pacification of the whole Empire. By half-past one twenty-four battalions of the Guard had marched into the Court of the Tuileries. There were no troops of the line or of the Imperial Guard under arms on that day, but there were several military men amongst the spectators about the porch, who consisted chiefly of women, and of the above-mentioned persons, apparently of the lower classes. Your friend ——, and myself were, I think, the only gentlemen in plain clothes. We waited silently, and for some time, at the window — the anxiety of the ladies was renewed, but instantly dissipated by the shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" which announced that Napo-

[1] This act on the part of a man whom the sovereigns were declaring an outlaw is worth remarking. It contrasts with the persistent refusal to recognize him as of any higher rank than General. Why the title *General* was allowed him, a question asked by himself, does not appear.

leon was on horseback. He rode off to the left of the line, but the approaching shouts told that he was returning. An officer rode quickly past the windows waving his sword to the lines to fall back a little, and shortly afterwards Napoleon himself followed with his suite, distinguished from amidst their waving plumes and glittering uniforms by the well-known unornamented hat and simple coat, and single star and cross. He cantered down the lines; as he passed near the spot at which I had placed myself for a better view he suddenly drew up and spoke to a man in the ranks: an old soldier near me said aloud, without addressing himself to any one (with a tear of emotion glistening in his eye), "See how he stops to read the petition of the meanest of his army!" I caught frequent glimpses of him as he glided through the ranks, at the end of each of which he stopped a short time, as well as before several soldiers in the line, who held out petitions for his acceptance. His progress was announced from right to left, and left to right, by continued acclamations. The battalions then moved nearer towards the Palace in close order; the gates in front of the Triumphal Arch were thrown open, and the remaining twenty-four battalions, marching from the *Place du Carrousel* into the Court, were inspected in the same manner by the Emperor. Afterwards a space was cleared in the midst of the Court, half-way between the Palace and the Triumphal Arch. Napoleon advanced thither with his staff drawn round behind him. A large body of the officers of the National Guard then quitted their ranks, and rushed towards the Emperor, who addressed them in the speech which you have seen in the *Moniteur* of the 17th, and which was frequently interrupted by shouts, and received at the close, when he added, "*Vous jurez enfin de tout sacrifier à l'honneur et à l'independence de la France*," by a thousand voices exclaiming, "We swear." After some thronging the Emperor wheeled round into an open space before the porch of the Tuileries, and put himself in front of his staff to review the whole body of the troops who prepared to pass by in columns of companies; two officers of the Guard were kind enough to push me forwards within ten paces of him; many of the spectators were about the same distance from him on his right and his left, whilst a whole line of them stood opposite, just far enough to allow the columns to march between them and the Emperor. The staff were behind; Count Lobau was close upon his left, with his sword drawn; scarcely had a regiment passed when Napoleon suddenly threw his foot out of the stirrup, and coming heavily to the ground advanced in front of his horse, which was led off by an *aide de camp*, who rushed forwards, but was too late to take hold of his stirrup. The Marshals and the staff dismounted, except Count Lobau. A grenadier of the Guard without arms stood at the Emperor's left hand, a little behind; some spectators were close to his right. The gendarmerie on horseback took but little pains to keep them at a respectful distance. The troops were two hours passing before him, during the whole of which time any assassin, unless disarmed by his face of *fascination*, might have shot or even stabbed him.

His face was of a deadly pale; his jaws overhung, but not so much as I had heard; his lips thin, but partially curled, so as to give to his mouth an inexpressible sweetness. He had the habit of retracting the lips, and apparently chewing, in the manner observed and objected to in our great actor, Mr. Kean. His hair was of a dark dusky brown, scattered thinly over his temples: the crown of his head was bald. One of the names of affection given him of late by his soldiers is "*Notre petit tondu.*" He was not fat in the upper part of his body, but projected considerably in the abdomen, so much so that his shirt occasionally appeared beneath his waistcoat. He generally stood with his hands knit behind or folded before him, but sometimes unfolded them; played with his nose, took snuff three or four times, and looked at his watch. He very seldom spoke, but when he did, smiled somewhat agreeably. He looked about him, not knitting but joining his eyebrows as if to see more minutely, and went through the whole tedious ceremony with an air of sedate impatience. As the front columns of each regiment passed him he lifted the first finger of his left hand quickly to his hat to return the salute, but did not move either his hat or his head. As the regiments advanced they shouted, some loudly, some feebly, "Vive l'Empereur!" and many soldiers ran out of their ranks with petitions, which were taken by the grenadier on the Emperor's left hand: once or twice the petitioner, afraid to quit his rank, was near losing his opportunity, when Napoleon beckoned to the grenadier to step forward and take his paper. A little child, in true French taste, tricked out in regimentals, marched before one of the bands, and a general laugh ensued. Napoleon contrived to talk to some one behind him at that moment that the ridicule might not reach nor be partaken by him. A second child, however, of six years old perhaps, dressed out with a beard like a pioneer, marching in front of a regiment, strode directly up to him with a petition on the end of a battle-axe, which the Emperor took and read very complacently. Shortly afterwards an ill-looking fellow, in a half suit of regimentals, with a sword by his side, ran from the crowd of spectators opposite or from amidst the National Guards, I could not see which, and rushed directly towards the Emperor. He was within arm's-length when the grenadier on the left and an officer jumped forwards, and seizing him by the collar pushed him farther back. Napoleon did not move a muscle of his body; not a line, not a shade of his face shifted for an instant. Perfectly unstartled, he beckoned the soldiers to let loose their prisoner; and the poor fellow, approaching so close as almost to touch his person in front, talked to him for some time with eager gestures and his hand on his heart. The Emperor heard him without interruption, and then gave him an answer, which sent him away apparently much satisfied with his audience. I see Napoleon at this moment. The unruffled calmness of his countenance at the first movement of the soldier, relaxing softly into a look of attention and of kindness, will never be erased from my memory.

During the review, hearing a movement amongst his staff, he turned

round, and seeing that it arose from a very pretty countrywoman of ours, whom one of his *aides de camp* was placing near him, replied to her courtesies with a very low bow.

The last regiment of the National Guards was followed by ninety boys of the Imperial Lyceum, who came rushing by, shouting and running, many of them out of their ranks, with petitions. Then for the first time Napoleon seemed delighted; he opened his mouth almost to a laugh, and turned round to his attendants on the right and left with every sign of satisfaction. These youths wished to fight the last year at the defence of Paris, and they are now again enrolled.

As to Napoleon's reception at the *Français*, it is impossible to give any idea of the joy by which he was hailed. The house was choked with spectators, who crowded into the orchestra. The play was *Hector*. Previously to the rising of the curtain the airs of "La Victoire" and the "Marseillaise" were called for, and performed amidst thunders of applause, the spectators joining in the burden of the song. An actor of the Feydeau rose in the balcony and sung some occasional words to the "Marseillaise," which were received in raptures, and accompanied by the whole house at the end of each verse. The enthusiasm was at its utmost pitch. Napoleon entered at the third scene. The whole mass rose with a shout which still thunders in my ears. The "Vives" continued till the Emperor, after bowing to the right and left, had seated himself, and the play was recommenced. The audience received every speech which had the least reference to their returned hero with unnumbered plaudits. The words "*enfin il reparoit*," and "*c'étoit lui*," — *Achille*, raised the whole parterre, and interrupted the actor for some moments. Napoleon was very attentive; whilst I saw him he spoke to none of those who stood behind him, nor returned the compliments of the audience: he withdrew suddenly at the end of the play, without any notice or obeisance, so that the multitude had hardly time to salute him with a short shout. As I mentioned before, I saw the Bourbon Princes received, for the first time, in the same place last year. Their greeting will bear no comparison with that of Napoleon, nor will any of those accorded to the heroes of the very many ceremonies I have witnessed in the course of my life. Talma played Hector in his usual powerful style; and having mentioned the name of this great actor, I cannot forbear adding a story I heard from him, which shows that Napoleon has some ability in turning a kind compliment. At the first meeting between the Emperor and actor since the return from Elba, the former, addressing him with his usual familiarity, said, "So, Talma, Chateaubriand says that you gave me lessons how to act the Emperor: I take his hint as a compliment, for it shows I must at least have played my part well."

The intimacy between the master and the scholar had been of long standing: the reputation of the former was established when the latter was scarcely known, and the young officer accepted admissions for the theatre from his acquaintance. At that time one of the principal amuse-

ments of the two friends, together with that of M. Lenoir (afterwards a general), was the relation of stories of ghosts and old castles, into which (the candles being extinguished) the future conqueror of Europe entered with all his heart, and was seriously offended when his companions interrupted him by tripping up his chair, shaking the table, or any other practical pleasantry.

Union of the Workmen of St. Antoine.

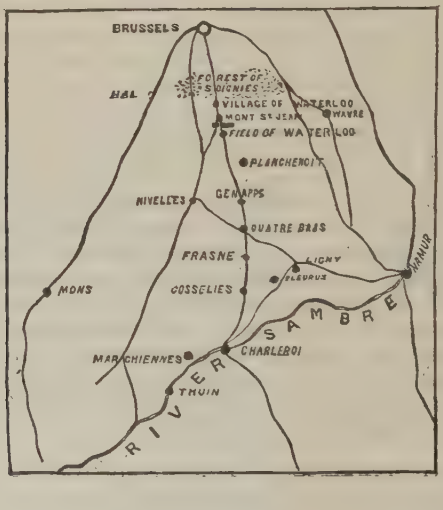
On Sunday last, 14th May, a body of the workmen of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, representing a federation, which had two days before formed itself in those suburbs, to the number of 30,000, marched before the Emperor at the Tuileries. The express purpose of this union is to form a body of sharpshooters to fight in advance of the National Guard, in case the enemy shall present itself before the capital. They demand arms, with which they promise to guarantee Paris against the re-appearance of the Allies. The number of those who were ranged in order of battle at the Court of the Tuileries, and passed Napoleon previously to his review of some regiments of the line and of the Young Guard, amounted to 12,000; they had demanded this presentation, but had made no preparation for appearing before their Emperor, the greater part being in their laboring dresses and in their dustmen's hats: nevertheless, when drawn up and when marching, they fell so easily into their ranks, and proceeded in such order, that they might, in any other country, have been taken for old soldiers; indeed, many of them have served.

On the 30th of March the works of Paris were recommenced at the fountain of the Elephant, the Louvre, the new market-place of St. Germains, and the Office of Foreign Affairs: the next week the workmen were doubled, the streets recovered their former names, the public buildings their imperial inscriptions, the theatres were declared on their ancient footing, and the Imperial Conservatory, for the education and maintenance of actors and singers of both sexes, restored. This is the only establishment of the kind in Europe; it was commenced under the Republic, but received its present endowment chiefly from Napoleon. The representations take place every other Sunday at two o'clock, when the pupils, in their usual dresses, sing and recite portions of operas and plays to an audience which pays for admission, and thus contributes to support the institution. M. Talma is the principal professor of declamation. The suppression of the Conservatory by the Bourbons was a measure the economy of which was not sufficiently considerable to be set off against the odium occasioned by this declaration against the amusements of the Parisians, who had rather be limited to their ounces of bread, as in the Days of Terror, than be deprived of their shows.

Fête given by the Imperial Guard.

On Sunday, the 2d of April, the Imperial Guard gave a *fête* to the National Guard and garrison of Paris, in the Champ-de-Mars. The com-

mon soldiers, to the number of 15,000, were placed at tables in the open air; whilst the officers dined in the galleries of the palace of the Military School. After the repast, which was served up in presence of an immense multitude on the sloping sides of the plain, and which was interrupted by many military songs and other toasts to the health of the Emperor, the Empress, and the Imperial Prince (for so the King of Rome is now denominated), repeated to the sound of music, and discharges of artillery, the whole mass of guests and spectators rose to the shout of some voices which cried out, "To the column!" The procession, carrying a bust of the Emperor, moved towards the Tuileries, and presented itself under the Imperial apartments with unceasing acclamations, to which Napoleon replied by appearing at the window and saluting the enthusiastic multitude, who then repaired to the column of the Grand Army in the Square Vendôme, under which the bust of Napoleon received a solemn inauguration. The pedestal of the pillar and the houses of the square were then spontaneously illuminated, and rings of soldiers, national guards, and citizens, danced round the monument of their former glories. The evening ended with a procession round the boulevards, the Palais Royal, and the principal streets of the neighboring quarter. No excesses, no insulting of royalists, no turbulent shouts or menacing gestures; in short, no sign of the triumph of one citizen over another was displayed during this *fête*. — *Letters written from Paris during the last reign of Napoleon.*



CHAPTER VIII.[1]

1815.

THE BATTLES OF LIGNY AND QUATRE BRAS.

The moment for striking a decisive blow had now come, and accordingly, early on the morning of the 15th, the whole of the French army was in motion.[2] The 2d corps proceeded to Marchiennes to attack the Prussian outposts at Thuin and Lobes, in order to secure the communication across the Sambre between those places. The 3d corps, covered by General Pajol's cavalry, advanced upon Charleroi, followed by the Imperial Guard and the 6th corps, with the necessary detachments of pontoniers. The remainder of the cavalry, under Grouchy,

[1] Like the preceding, this chapter first appeared in the 1836 edition, and is not from the pen of M. de Bourrienne.

[2] At daybreak on the 15th of June (the date should be remarked), General Bourmont and two officers of his staff, the Adjutant-Commandant Clouëys and the *chef d'escadron* Villoutreys, went over to the enemy. Though the Allies were well informed of the exact strength of Napoleon, and though the real date of this desertion, often placed on the 14th of June, shows that it could not have had the importance sometimes attached to it, still it must have had a most disheartening effect on the troops. Bourmont's conduct was especially base. He had been a leader of the Vendéeans, and had accepted the amnesty granted by Napoleon in 1800. Alleged to be concerned in the plot of the infernal machine, he had fled to Portugal. In 1808, when Junot entered Portugal, Bourmont joined him, and Junot obtained his appointment to the staff of the army in Naples (*Junot*, vol. iii. p. 193). He served well, and attained the rank of General of Division. His seeking re-appointment (see *Larallette*, vol. ii. p. 177, and *Rapp*, p. 349), and so soon deserting his post in the very face of the enemy, can only be accounted for by his placing his attachment to the Bourbons over all military honor. His reception in 1815 by Blucher is said to have been of the roughest, as the old Marshal, when his attention was called to the white cockade borne by Bourmont, answered, "All the same, whatever badge one stitches on him, a scoundrel always remains a scoundrel" (see *Quatre Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo*, p. 41). The Bourbons, who had made Dupont, who had surrendered at Baylen, Minister of War in 1814, gave the same appointment to Bourmont in 1829. He commanded the army which took Algiers in 1830, and received the bâton of Maréchal just before the revolution of July. It is pleasant to know by Marmont's Memoirs (tome viii. pp. 214–231) that this appointment of Bourmont to the command at Algiers was a bitter disappointment to the Marshal, who considered his desertion in 1814 gave him greater claims than that of Bourmont in 1815. The high-minded Marmont would have resigned his post as Chief of the Staff to show his disgust, only he could not afford to give up the pay.

also advanced upon Charleroi, on the flanks of the 3d and 6th corps. The 4th corps was ordered to march upon the bridge of Châtelet.

On the approach of the French advanced guards an incessant skirmish was maintained during the whole morning with the Prussians, who, after losing many men, were compelled to yield to superior numbers. General Zieten, finding it impossible, from the extent of frontier he had to cover, to check the advance of the French, fell back towards Fleurus by the road to Charleroi, resolutely contesting the advance of the enemy wherever it was possible. In the repeated attacks sustained by him he suffered considerable loss. It was nearly mid-day before a passage through Charleroi was secured by the French army, and General Zieten continued his retreat upon Fleurus, where he took up his position for the night. Upon Zieten's abandoning, in the course of his retreat, the *chaussée* which leads to Brussels through Quatre Bras, Marshal Ney, who had only just been put in command on the left of the French army, was ordered to advance by this road upon Gosselies, and found at Frasnes part of the Duke of Wellington's army, composed of Nassau troops under the command of Prince Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, who, after some skirmishing, maintained his position. "Notwithstanding all the exertions of the French at a moment when time was of such importance, they had only been able to advance about fifteen English miles during the day, with nearly fifteen hours of daylight." [1]

It was the intention of Napoleon during his operations on this day to effect a separation between the English and Prussian armies, in which he had nearly succeeded. Napoleon's plan for this purpose, and the execution of it by his army, were alike admirable, but it is hardly probable that the Allied generals were taken by surprise, as it was the only likely course which Napoleon could have taken.[2] His line of opera-

[1] Captain Pringle.

[2] There was no doubt that the Allies were well served by spies in France, and Clarke, so long War Minister of Napoleon, and now nominally in the same capacity with Louis XVIII. at Ghent, must have been useful, both from his own knowledge and from his maintenance of his connection with the War Office; see the note on information obtained by him in *Dorsey Gardner*, p. 28. See also *Muffling*, p. 220, where he says that Wellington believed

tion was on the direct road to Brussels, and there were no fortified works to impede his progress, while from the nature of the country his numerous and excellent cavalry could be employed with great effect.[1]

In the French accounts Marshal Ney was much blamed for not occupying Quatre Bras with the whole of his force on the evening of the 15th. "Ney might probably have driven back the Nassau troops at Quatre Bras, and occupied that important position, but hearing a heavy cannonade on his right flank, where General Zieten had taken up his position, he thought it necessary to halt and detach a division in the direction of Fleurus. He was severely censured by Napoleon for not having literally followed his orders and pushed on to Quatre Bras."[2] This accusation forms a curious contrast with that made against Grouchy, upon whom Napoleon threw the blame of the defeat at Waterloo, because he strictly fulfilled his orders, by pressing the Prussians at Wavre, unheeding the cannonade on his left, which might have led him to conjecture that the more important contest between the Emperor and Wellington was at that moment raging.

himself to be secure on the point of espionage, and expected to hear immediately from Paris everything indicating a raid against the Netherlands. Napoleon seems also to have let his plan be known or divined. Mattieu Dumas (tome iii. p. 571) says that Carnot, then Minister of the Interior, told him when Napoleon started for the army that the Emperor intended to throw himself between the Prussian and English armies, and that the Prussians were most likely to be first attacked. Such knowledge soon spreads.

[1] A convenient statement of the strength of the different armies in 1815 will be found at pp. 8, 9, and 20 of *Dorsey Gardner*. Roughly speaking we may say that Napoleon, with a strength of about 206,000 men in June, which might have been in time increased to 327,000, had to be prepared for an attack by an allied force of 731,000 men. If we take the armies which actually fought in the Waterloo Campaign, Napoleon was still outnumbered. Fortunately there is not much question about the strength of the three forces. Wellington had almost 106,000 men, including Germans, Dutch, and *les braves Belges;* Blucher had nearly 117,000, making a grand total of 223,000. Against this force Napoleon only had 122,000 or 123,000 men. The courteous civilian reader will pardon being reminded that it is by these numbers the performances of Wellington and Blucher must be judged. There is no special merit in the general who, having superior numbers, brings superior numbers to bear. It is the commander who, having equal or inferior numbers, manages to bring superior numbers on the decisive point who is to be praised. Wellington was so much inferior in strength to Napoleon at Waterloo because he had placed 18,000 men at Halle, where, as a matter of fact, they were useless. The absence of this force reflects credit on the men, not on the General who won Waterloo. If we blame Napoleon for the absence of D'Erlon from Ligny and of Grouchy from Waterloo, we must remember the force at Halle.

[2] Captain Pringle.

It was at six o'clock in the evening of the 15th that the Duke of Wellington received the first information of the advance of the French army; but it was not, however, until ten o'clock that positive news reached him that the French army had moved upon the line of the Sambre. This information induced him to push forward re-enforcements on Quatre Bras, at which place he himself arrived at an early hour on the 16th, and immediately proceeded to Bry, to devise measures with Marshal Blucher in order to combine their efforts. From the movement of considerable masses of the French in front of the Prussians it was evident that their first grand attack would be directed against them. That this was Napoleon's object on the 16th may be seen by his orders to Ney and Grouchy to turn the right of the Prussians, and drive the British from their position at Quatre Bras, and then to march down the *chaussée* upon Bry in order effectually to separate the two armies. Ney was accordingly detached for this purpose with 43,000 men. In the event of the success of Marshal Ney he would have been enabled to detach a portion of his forces for the purpose of making a flank attack upon the Prussians in the rear of St. Amand, whilst Napoleon in person was directing his main efforts against that village — the strongest in the Prussian position. Ney's reserve was at Frasnes, disposable either for the purpose of supporting the attack on Quatre Bras or that at St. Amand; and in case of Ney's complete success to turn the Prussian right flank by marching on Bry.

On the morning of the 16th Marshal Blucher concentrated the 1st, 2d, and 3d corps of his army, took up a position with his right wing at Bry and his left at Sombref, on a chain of gentle heights, and occupied in force the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, the substantial buildings of which having been loopholed by the Prussians presented formidable defences. The right of this position communicated with the British at Quatre Bras, upon which point the Duke of Wellington was making every possible effort to concentrate his army. General Bulow, with the fourth Prussian corps, not being able from the distance of his position, near Liège, to arrive in

time, Marshal Blucher nevertheless undertook to receive the assault of the French at Ligny, relying upon receiving assistance from the British army, who, by a flank movement to the left, were to form a junction with the Prussians. As two distinct battles took place upon this day (the 16th) it is necessary to give a separate account of each.[1]

Early on the morning of the 16th the French army,[2] about 78,000 strong, appeared on the plain of Fleurus, driving before them the Prussian light troops into the valley of Ligny. Having reconnoitred the Prussian position Napoleon instantly formed the plan of cutting off the retreat of a great portion of Blucher's army, hoping by so decided an advantage over half the Allied troops in Belgium to be able to overwhelm with his whole force the army of Wellington. In taking this determination he was doubtless influenced by the consideration that Ney's reserve in position at Frasnes, which was somewhat in rear of the Prussians, would be available for his purpose, as he supposed that the Marshal had sufficient force to drive the British from Quatre Bras. Had this manœuvre completely succeeded the ruin of Blucher's army would have ensued. Napoleon, confident of success, then directed the attack. Marshal Grouchy was ordered to attack Sombref on the right, Gérard[3] the village of Ligny in the centre, and

[1] There is the usual difficulty about the strength of the armies at Ligny. Thiers (tome xx. pp. 79 and 83) gives Napoleon 64,000 and Blucher 88,000; Dorsey Gardner (p. 94) gives Napoleon 71,000, including the corps of Lobau, some 11,000 men, which was not employed, and Blucher 84,000; while Prince Edouard d'Auvergne, who appears to wish to be fair, gives (*Waterloo*, p. 116) Napoleon 78,000, including Lobau, and Blucher 87,000. Jomini (tome iv. pp. 625, 626) calls Napoleon's force 72,000, and Blucher's from 80,000 to 90,000. Napoleon had 210 guns, besides Lobau's 38 pieces, and Blucher had 224 guns. Practically we may say that Napoleon, using from 60,000 to 68,000 men, drove Blucher and some 84,000 men out of a chosen position. "Sixty thousand men," says the Prince d'Auvergne (*Waterloo*, p. 140), "had beaten 87,000 who had rested on six large villages, four of which, difficult of access, formed the bastions of their line of battle. The enemy, notwithstanding the advantages of their position, had suffered considerable loss: from 18,000 to 20,000 men, dead or wounded, were struck down, and we had in our hands 40 guns, 8 standards or colors, several thousands of prisoners. Twelve thousand men besides disbanded themselves." The desertions from the Prussians — 8000, says Siborne (p. 188), — were of troops from the provinces lately annexed to the kingdom, who apparently did not realize the joy of being restored to German rule. This is one side of the "German uprising."

[2] Called by Jomini (tome iv., pp. 626, 627) a detestable one.

[3] General Comte Maurice Etienne Gérard, who commanded a corps in this campaign, and who was severely wounded under Grouchy on the 18th of

Vandamme was to attack St. Amand on the left. General Girard was posted on the left of Vandamme, and the Imperial Guards were stationed as a reserve before Fleurus. At two o'clock Napoleon sent an order to Marshal Ney informing him of his intended attack upon the Prussians, and ordering him to drive off whatever was in front of him and then to turn and envelop the Prussians.

At three o'clock a similar despatch was sent off urgently pressing the execution of Napoleon's instructions. It was not until this hour that the Emperor was able to concentrate his forces so as to attack the Prussians simultaneously. The battle then began with uncommon fury along the whole Prussian line. The village of St. Amand was vigorously defended. It formed the strength of the Prussian right, and from the intersection of several gardens and hedges, was very capable of defence, although so much in advance of the rest of the Prussian position. After a continued attack for two hours the French had only obtained possession of half the village of St. Amand; that of Ligny had been taken and retaken several times. The French pursued their success at St. Amand by pushing light troops across the rivulet of Ligny, who then formed on the left bank. The position of Blucher's army was in many respects defective. The main body being drawn up on the heights, and the remainder posted in the villages below, the French artillery was enabled to range with destructive effect upon the re-enforcements despatched during the murderous conflict raging in the contested villages. The Prussians having been re-enforced by the 2d brigade of General Zieten's corps, were now vigorously attacked by the division of General Girard, who, supported by a portion of General Vandamme's corps and his reserve cavalry, attempted to carry the heights towards Bry. Marshal Blucher, in order to avert the threat-

June at Wavre, after angrily remonstrating with Grouchy for not marching to the assistance of Napoleon, but who lived to be Marshal and Minister of War under Louis Philippe, must not be confused with General Girard who commanded a division at Ligny, where he found a glorious death. See Dorsey Gardner (p. 45) on the errors caused by the confusion of these names. It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that a corps consists of two or more divisions.

ened danger, led on in person a furious attack against the French, and drove them back beyond the ravine. General Girard, one of the most gallant and intelligent of Napoleon's officers, was killed in this attack at the head of his division, the majority of which shared his fate, so destructive was the Prussian charge. D'Erlon's corps from Frasnes at this juncture appeared on the field, but only to withdraw under orders from Ney.[1] Blucher now brought together masses of troops behind St. Amand, and Bonaparte determined to change his point of attack. His reserves, consisting principally of the Imperial Guard, which had been at first directed to advance upon St. Amand, were now ordered to co-operate in a general attack upon Ligny, which, after a most determined resistance, was taken by the French. While this contest was going on the French Guards, supported by the heavy cavalry, rushed up the heights in the rear of Ligny. Blucher's reserves of infantry having been moved to St. Amand, there remained no other means of resisting this attack than by the employment of cavalry. The Prussian Marshal accordingly placed himself at their head, and attempted with dogged but unavailing gallantry to repel the French. After an unsuccessful charge his cavalry was overpowered and dispersed in confusion. In retreating before the vigorous pursuit of the French cavalry Blucher's horse was struck by a cannon-shot, and he himself was thrown on the ground, the hostile cavalry passing over his prostrate body. In the confusion of the fray he was unnoticed, and was luckily recovered by his own cavalry. The

[1] The whole story of how D'Erlon's corps of some 20,000 men did not strike a blow at either Quatre Bras or Ligny, but were kept on the march first to join Ney, then to join Napoleon, and then, recalled by Ney, returning to rejoin Ney, should be read at length in *Dorsey Gardner*, p. 84, checked by the Prince d'Auvergne's *Waterloo*, p. 169. D'Erlon had been left, as it were, in reserve, but available for Ney. Ney had called him up in support, when an over-zealous *aide de camp*, misunderstanding Napoleon's order to Ney to make a diversion on the rear of the Prussians after seizing Quatre Bras (and so separating the Allies), took on himself to order D'Erlon to Ligny. The corps had just appeared at Ligny, to the surprise of Napoleon, who delayed his final attack on the Prussians to ascertain to which side the force belonged, when D'Erlon received orders from Ney to join him at Quatre Bras, where the corps arrived too late to be of use. When it is considered what this corps did at Waterloo, where it formed the mass of the right wing, it is evident that its intervention at either of the two battles of the 16th June would have been effectual in crushing either foe, and so separating the Prussians and English.

French infantry continued to gain ground; the Imperial Guard advanced with irresistible impetuosity, and Friant's grenadiers threatened the mill of Bussy, near Bry. In vain did the Prussian cavalry attempt to shake these superb masses of infantry. Napoleon had now penetrated through the Prussian line, and had thereby so disorganized their formation that there remained for Gneisenau, who temporarily filled Blucher's post, no other resource than to make an orderly retreat. This was successfully accomplished. Bry was not evacuated by them until the morning of the 17th. This battle, though unattended with any material consequences in itself, was contested with a determination based upon the most implacable hatred on both sides. The Prussians could not have forgotten the humiliating recollections of Jena, the destruction of their army, the subjugation of their country by Napoleon, and the part they were compelled to take in the invasion of Russia; they knew also the character of their enemy, and how little mercy they were to expect at his hands in case of defeat. The French, on the other hand, were smarting at the recent discomfiture they had experienced, in which the Prussians had conspicuously assisted. The illusion of their glory had been dispelled by enemies whom they affected utterly to despise. But above all, the French soldier looked up to Napoleon with a devotion, with an enthusiasm of affection that elevated his feelings to the highest pitch of human energy. In the course of the night the Prussian army fell back on Tilly and Gembloux towards Wavre. Their loss at Ligny, according to their own account, amounted to 14,000 men and 15 pieces of cannon. The French official account in the *Moniteur* makes it reach to 15,000. On their own side the French acknowledge a loss of 7000.[1]

At the moment of the interview between the Duke of Wellington and Blucher the enemy's force before Quatre Bras was so insignificant that there appeared to be no probability of a decided attack being made in that quarter. On Wellington's return, however, to the British position about three o'clock in the afternoon, he found that a considerable body

[1] Thiers (tome xx. pp. 100, 101) puts the Prussian total loss at 30,000 men.

of French troops had been collected at Frasnes, preparatory to an attack which was made about half an hour afterwards by infantry and cavalry, supported by a heavy cannonade. The French had commenced their attack at five o'clock in the morning by skirmishing with the troops of the Netherlands, under the Prince of Orange, and at first obtained some success. This desultory fight lasted until noon, without any more decided demonstrations on the part of the French. The Belgians were, however, losing ground, when at two o'clock Sir Thomas Picton opportunely reached the scene of action with the 5th English division, composed of Sir James Kempt's and Sir Dennis Pack's British brigades and the 4th Hanoverian brigade, under Colonel Best.

"Sir James Kempt's brigade (28th, 32d, 79th, and 95th regiments) moved to the left of the position with the 3d battalion of the Royals, part of the brigade of Sir Dennis Pack, who, with the remainder of his brigade (42d, 44th, and 92d regiments), formed on the great Namur road, and in the cornfields extending to the wood on the right. The 92d was formed in line in the ditch bordering the great road, and was of the greatest service in repelling an attack of the French cavalry, who daringly pursued the Brunswick hussars into the British line, after they had made an unsuccessful attack on the French cavalry."[1]

Sir Thomas Picton, as he approached the field with his division, had heard the continued and increasing fire kept up by the skirmishers, which made him push forward to the support of the Belgians, and by this means he succeeded in reaching Quatre Bras before any other British force. Nearly at the same time, however, the first division of Brunswickers, led by their gallant Duke, arrived to share with Picton and his soldiers the honor of arresting the progress of the French.

The Prince of Orange was anxiously looking for the arrival of some of his Allies, when he was gladdened by the spectacle of his re-enforcement pouring forward with steady but quick steps to relieve his almost exhausted troops. Before half-past three in the afternoon 14,000 men were in the field. As the

[1] Captain Batty.

different regiments arrived on the ground they instantly took up the posts to which they were directed by their respective commanders.[1]

Immediately the enemy perceived that this additional force had taken the field Ney moved down with two columns of infantry and a cloud of cavalry to the attack. The English and Brunswickers had but just taken up their ground when they were exposed to a furious and galling fire from the immense park of artillery attached to this wing of the French army. The receding smoke showed the advancing columns rushing on to break the line of the Allies: the brunt of this movement fell upon Picton's soldiers, and Sir Thomas Picton's "superb division" was singly engaged with the enemy for nearly two hours. Every man fought with a desperation which no language can describe. Picton was himself among his soldiers, calling upon them to stand firm and receive the enemy with a steady front. A murderous conflict now commenced; a rolling discharge of musketry from the British line was answered with deadly rapidity and closeness by that of the French: the havoc was terrible; but Picton was in the midst, watching the progress of the fight; wherever death was thickest there could he be seen encouraging and exhorting the soldiers to be firm.

After the French infantry had been repulsed, and before the heavy smoke had cleared off, the cavalry came thundering on. The English were instantly formed into squares to re-

[1] The strength of both sides at Quatre Bras varied very much from hour to hour from the way in which re-enforcements arrived. The following figures are condensed from the table at p. 65 of Dorsey Gardner's *Quatre Bras*: —

	French.	Allies.
At 2 P.M.	17,615	6,832
At 3.30 P.M.	17,615	20,004
At 4.30 P.M.	19,515	20,004
At 5 P.M.	20,915	26,238
At 6.30 P.M.	20,915	31,643

These figures are those taken by Hamley (*Operations*, p. 189). Thiers (tome xx. p. 109) gives Ney rather more men in the field. It is right to remember that some 7500 men of the Dutch-Belgian infantry made a strategic movement to the rear at an early stage of the fight, so that the numbers of the Allies were not really so large as they are given above. D'Erlon's corps of 20,000 men, who were moving backwards and forwards between Ney and Napoleon, are not included above in the French strength.

ceive them. Upon the steadiness and celerity with which this manœuvre was executed the safety of the men depended: then it was that Picton's calmness and penetration were conspicuous in watching and directing each movement; before the French cavalry was upon them the squares were closed up.

Another furious onset was then made by the lancers, which obliged General Kempt to take refuge in the nearest square, but the English again repulsed their assailants, and at that moment Sir Thomas Picton riding up, ordered them to advance, for the enemy were giving way. Picton led them to the charge himself, and they drove the French from their position with great loss.

In reference to this movement, and the enemy's cavalry having surrounded the British squares, Captain Kincaid makes the following remarks: "This was a crisis in which, according to Bonaparte's theory, the victory was theirs by all the rules of war, for they had superior numbers both before and behind us; but the gallant Picton, who had been trained in a different school, did not choose to confine himself to rules in these matters. Despising the force in his rear, he advanced, charged, and routed those in his front, which created such a panic amongst the others that they galloped back through the intervals in his division with no other object in view than their own safety." [1]

"The third English division, under General Alten, comprised of Sir C. Halket's British brigade, the 2d brigade of King's German Legion under Colonel Ompteda, and the first Hanoverian brigade under General Kielmansegge, arrived next on the field in time to sustain a fresh attack made by the French about four o'clock." [2] From the superior power of the French artillery this division maintained its ground with great difficulty, and one regiment (the 69th) lost a color. After suffering great loss, it succeeded in repelling the French from the positions they occupied at the farm of Gemioncourt, and the village of Pierremont. The French troops were still partly in possession of the wood of Bossu, which extends

[1] *Life of Sir Thomas Picton.* [2] Captain Batty.

about a mile on the road from Quatre Bras towards Frasnes. This favored an attack on the right of the British position which Marshal Ney directed to be made after having been repulsed on the left. At this critical moment, when the French had nearly succeeded in establishing their light troops on the great road of Nivelle, the division of Guards under General Cooke, amounting to 4000 men, accompanied by two field-batteries, arrived, after a fatiguing march, from Enghien, and essentially contributed to repel this attack. Exhausted as the men were from their long march, they were, nevertheless, instantly led into action. The second and third battalions of the First Guards formed line, and with loud cheers entered the wood, which they cleared of the French in a few minutes. Their order, however, was necessarily broken by the irregularity of the ground, and on emerging from the wood they found themselves directly opposed to a body of French infantry prepared to receive them. Rushing forward without waiting to form in line, they succeeded in driving the French up the rising ground before them. During this contest the artillery of both armies kept up an incessant and destructive cannonade. By a rapid charge of cavalry the French endeavored to cover their retreating infantry, whilst the Guards still remained unsupported and in some disorder. General Maitland therefore directed them to retreat into the wood, as all attempts to form squares appeared to be hopeless. Here they formed, and under its cover opened a most galling fire on the French cavalry, which was compelled to fall back with great loss. This contest was renewed several times. Day was now drawing to a close, and Marshal Ney, having been foiled in all his efforts, retired to the heights before Frasnes, leaving Quatre Bras in possession of the Allies.

To the Duke of Wellington it has been imputed as a fault on this occasion that there was not sufficient cavalry and artillery at Quatre Bras. It is remarkable that no portion of either was with the reserve at Brussels. The loss to the Allied army was very severe, amounting to 5000 men, among whom were numbered many brave officers. The gal-

lant Duke of Brunswick was killed [1] at the head of his troops. Colonel Macara of the 42d was severely wounded, and whilst some of his men were conveying him to the rear a party of French cavalry rode up and atrociously murdered him and his faithful attendants. Colonel Cameron of the 92d fell whilst bravely leading on his regiment, and at the close of the day Colonels Askew, Stuart, and Townsend were all severely wounded at the head of the last attack of the Guards, which decided the fate of the day. The loss of the French was about 4000.

"The British had maintained possession of the field of Quatre Bras because the Duke of Wellington conceived that Blucher would be able to make his ground good at Ligny, and was consequently desirous that the Allied armies should retain the line of communication which they had occupied in the morning. But the Prussians, evacuating all the villages which they held in the neighborhood of Ligny, had concentrated their forces to retreat upon Wavre. By this retrograde movement they were placed about six leagues to the rear of their former position, and had united themselves to Bulow's division, which had not been engaged in the battle of Ligny. Blucher had affected this retreat, not only without pursuit by the French, but without their

[1] The gallant Duke (Frederick William) was born in 1771, and was the fourth and youngest son of Duke Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick (who was slain in the battle of Jena, and whose remains Napoleon would not suffer to be deposited with those of his ancestors). He embraced with ardor the military profession, and served in the Prussian army in 1792 and 1793, when he was twice wounded. He joined Blucher's corps in 1806, and was made prisoner with him at Lübeck. On the breaking out of the war between Austria and France in 1809 he raised a body of volunteers in Bohemia. The famous Major Schill had already perished at Stralsund when the Duke made an incursion into Saxony; he was, however, compelled by the King of Westphalia to evacuate Leipsic and Dresden with his black hussars. Subsequently he was forced to retreat to his native city, where he was closely pressed. In an action fought at Oelper, near Brunswick, the Duke's horse was killed under him, being the *eleventh* he had lost in a similar manner since his retreat from Saxony. After many narrow escapes he reached Heligoland with part of his corps, and thence embarked for England. There he was received with great distinction, and his troops were immediately taken into English pay, the British Parliament generously granting him a pension of £6000 a year until he should be able to return to his hereditary dominions. Though idolized by his soldiers he does not appear to have been so popular a sovereign as his father. He was mortally wounded in the side while leading on his troops, who were falling thickly around him. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

knowing for some time in what direction he had gone. This doubt respecting Blucher's movements occasioned an uncertainty and delay in those of the French which were afterwards attended with the very worst consequences."[1] It cannot be doubted that there was some error in Napoleon's calculation as to the movements of the Prussians, and the consequent directions given to Grouchy by him.[2] Napoleon

[1] Napoleon no longer had by his side Berthier, who had accompanied him as his Chief of the Staff (Major-General) throughout his career. Berthier had deserted his old friend in his distress in 1814, but Napoleon was now prepared to welcome him back, only laughingly threatening to make him appear in his dress of Captain of the Guard to Louis XVIII. Berthier was on his way to join Napoleon when he met his death in a mysterious manner, either throwing himself or being thrown from a balcony. His place was taken by Soult, who had been appointed Minister of War by Louis XVIII. in December, 1814. He was a better choice than his predecessor Dupont (of Baylen), and he had appeared to throw himself into the cause of the Bourbons, but his good faith was suspected, and on 10th March, 1814, he was succeeded by Clarke, the Duke of Feltre, who had long held the same post under Napoleon, but who now, calculating Irishman as he was, definitely took the Bourbon side. Soult joined his old commander after some hesitation, and was appointed Chief of the Staff, a post which Davoust might have expected. Soult's performance of the duties of his new post has been much criticised by those who believed in the perfection of the staff under Berthier, and some of the misfortunes of the campaign have been attributed to the absence of the former Major-General. The truth is, that the service of the staff had never been thoroughly well done, the *Memoirs of De Fezensac* prove this. It was taken for granted that an *aide de camp* always had a good horse and knew his way: an officer sent with a message did not dare to even ask where he was to find the intended recipient. If the failure (supposing there to have been failure) to give Grouchy full orders to keep in touch with the main army is to fall at all on Soult, Berthier must bear the heavier blame of the failure to support Vandamme at Kulm — a much greater neglect, and the absence of D'Erlon's division from the actual fight at Quatre Bras and Ligny can be matched by the absence of Bernadotte from Eylau. The truth is that the army was an improvised army, in which the staff was pretty certain to be the greatest sufferer from its rapid formation, and that, when an army is beaten, the faults and failures of every one are pointed out or invented, while when an army is successful every one is interested in leaving the blots in shade, a point on which the Duke of Wellington was very urgent after Waterloo.

[2] For Grouchy's part in this campaign see his *Memoirs* and the *Observations sur la Rélation de la Campagne de* 1815 *publiée par le Général Gourgaud*, by Grouchy's son, the Comte de Grouchy; Paris, Chaumerot, 1819. Also *Le Maréchal Grouchy*, 16-19 *Juin* 1815, *par le Marquis de Grouchy*, and *Dernières Observations sur les Opérations de l'aile droite de l'armée Française*, by General Gérard; Paris, 1830: Gérard, serving under Grouchy on the 18th of June, in command of a corps, having fiercely remonstrated against Grouchy's refusal to march to the cannon when they were in full hearing. The Prince Edouard d'Auvergne also goes into Grouchy's conduct in his *Waterloo*, p. 216, remarking fairly enough that, though Grouchy always denied having received orders from Napoleon to keep *between* the Prussians and Napoleon, "still General Jomini, while not forgetting to record this declaration, observes, with the great authority he possesses, that the order mentioned in the St. Helena account is so conformable to that system of interior lines to which the Emperor owed most of his victories, that it cannot be doubted he

accuses Grouchy, according to the relation by Gourgaud, of being the cause of the delay in pursuing the Prussians. "Had Grouchy been at Wavre," says Napoleon, "on the 17th, and in communication with my right, Blucher would not have dared to detach any portion against me on the 18th, or if he had, I would have destroyed it." From this charge the Marshal triumphantly defended himself. He states that he endeavored to confer with the Emperor on the night of the 16th, when the Prussians commenced their retreat, but that he could not find him until he returned from Fleurus, and that in reply to his request for re-enforcements of infantry, in order that he might be able to follow Blucher, he could obtain no other answer than that he would receive orders on the following day. The Marshal went again to headquarters on the morning of the 17th, being impressed with the great importance of pursuing the Prussians closely, but was obliged to follow Bonaparte to the field of battle of the preceding day before he could receive his commands. No orders were given to Grouchy till near noon, when Napoleon suddenly resolved to send him with an army of 32,000 men, not upon Wavre, for it was not known by him what direction the Prussians had taken, but with instructions to pursue Blucher wherever he might have retreated. Grouchy also asserts that the troops of Gérard and Vandamme, which formed a portion of his army, were not ready to march until three o'clock. The first orders given to the Marshal for the pursuit, according to his

gave the order." It would be impertinent to say much where so many great authorities have spoken, but the reader must remember that Grouchy had distinctly foreseen the possibility of part of the Prussian army joining Wellington. At 10 P.M. on the 17th June, the day after Ligny, he wrote to Napoleon from Gembloux, after saying that the Prussians seemed to have divided, "On peut peut-être en inférer qu'une portion va joindre Wellington" (Auvergne's *Waterloo*, p. 231) — "It may perhaps be inferred that one part is going to join Wellington" (*Dorsey Gardner*, p. 148). It is quite true that Grouchy pleaded his orders from Napoleon, but it has often enough been remarked that Desaix might have easily pleaded his orders as good reasons for not having any part in the day of Marengo. Desaix halted when he believed that he had received wrong orders, and was on the march to join Napoleon when he met the *aide de camp* sent to recall him. The precious moments thus won enabled him to come up in time to decide the battle, and he died knowing that he had brought victory to the army, instead of living to give ingenious reasons for being absent. Grant all that Grouchy and his advocates urge, it is hard to believe that Desaix would not have made his force tell on the 18th of June.

statement, were not received by him then until about noon on the 17th, and the army was not ready to move until three hours afterwards. The Marshal blames Excelmans and Gérard, who commanded under him. When he commenced his march, he was uncertain which route to take. The first information he received as to the movements of the Prussian army led him to suppose that they were not retreating upon Wavre, but towards Namur, which induced him to press the pursuit in the latter direction, and occasioned the loss of some hours. From all these concurring reasons the Marshal shows distinctly that he could not have reached Wavre on the evening of the 17th of June, because he received no orders to go there until noon, nor were the troops ready to march until three o'clock."[1]

It was late on the 17th when Marshal Grouchy halted at Gembloux, in consequence of learning the direction which the main body of the Prussian army had taken. From this place he sent an *aide de camp* to inform Napoleon of his operations, and to acquaint him that the Prussians had retired in two columns by Sauvenière and Sart-lez-Walhain, and suggested that a portion of the Prussians might join Wellington. On the next morning, having ascertained beyond a doubt the line of Blucher's retreat, Grouchy advanced on the road to Wavre. After Grouchy's departure in pursuit of the Prussians Napoleon moved towards Frasnes, and united himself with Marshal Ney with the view of making a combined attack on the Duke of Wellington, whom he still supposed to remain at Quatre Bras.

The evening of the 16th was cold and wet, but the fatigue which the troops had undergone in their long march and hard-fought action rendered the approach of night, wretched as it was, a desirable relief. At daybreak the next morning they were called to arms by some skirmishing at the out-posts. It was at first supposed that the enemy was about to repeat the attempt in which he had failed the preceding day, but this alarm was soon dissipated. About nine o'clock a considerable change was made in the disposition of the British troops, who

[1] Scott

retired in three columns about ten o'clock, by way of Genappe and Nivelles, towards Waterloo, leaving the cavalry, which arrived in the evening of the 16th, as a rear-guard to occupy the ground, so as to prevent the French from perceiving the retreat of the main body of the British army. About noon the French advanced in columns of attack, expecting to find the British in position. As the British infantry retired the cavalry gradually followed, watching the movements of the advancing French. The retrograde movement was conducted in excellent order. At Genappe an affair of cavalry took place, where the 7th British hussars attacked a French regiment of lancers unsuccessfully as it debouched from the town, and a second attack by the same regiment was attended with no better success. The French lancers, formed in a depression caused by the nature of the road, presented an immovable barrier of pikes, and, from the steepness of the banks, there was no approaching them in flank. The Earl of Uxbridge, seeing a more favorable opportunity, brought up the heavy cavalry, and, by a decisive charge, overthrew the advanced guard of the French, thus giving time to the infantry to take up its ground. A violent thunderstorm passed directly over both armies in the latter part of the afternoon, and the rain fell in such torrents that the fatigue of marching was greatly increased.

"As the British troops arrived in position in front of Mont St. Jean, they took up the ground they were to maintain early in the evening. The whole French army under Napoleon, about 71,000 men, not including the two corps under Marshal Grouchy, 32,000 men and 108 guns, despatched in pursuit of the Prussians on the road to Wavre, took up a position immediately in front, and after some cannonading both armies remained opposite to each other during the night, the rain falling in torrents. The Duke of Wellington had already communicated with Marshal Blucher,[1] who promised to come

[1] It has been stated that Blucher narrowly escaped being made prisoner at the battle of Ligny when his horse was struck by a cannon-shot while gallantly leading in person the Prussian lancers against the French cuirassiers. The horse he rode upon this occasion was a gray charger, given to him by the Prince Regent of England; he fell just at the moment when his cavalry

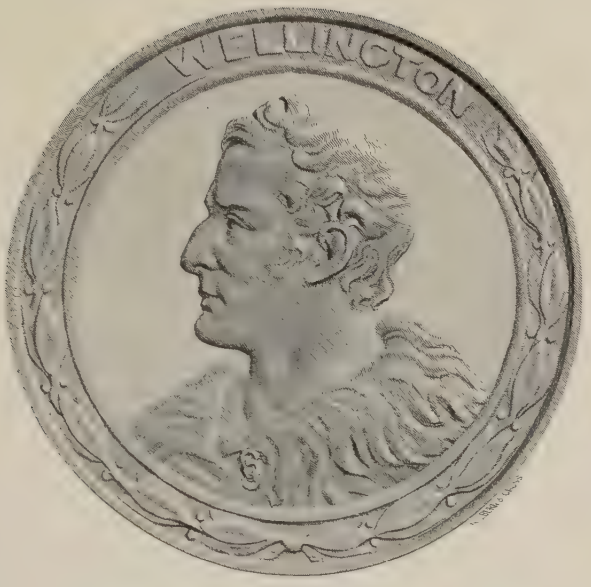
to his support with the whole of his army on the morning of the 18th. It was consequently decided upon to cover Brussels, the preservation of which was of much importance, by maintaining the position of Mont St. Jean. The intention of the Allied chiefs, if they should not be attacked on the 18th, was to attack the French on the 19th." [1]

turned to fly from the French. "Now," said he to his *aide de camp*, "I am indeed lost!" He was for a moment protected by Count Nostitz, who stood by his side to prevent his being noticed, while the mass of the French cavalry passed on. Before, however, the Marshal had been extricated from his dying charger the Prussians rallied and turned upon their pursuers, when the whole of the retreating troops again passed close by the spot where Blucher was lying. Upon the Prussians coming up, Count Nostitz, with the aid of a soldier, placed the almost insensible Marshal on a trooper's horse and hurried him from the field.

During the confusion consequent upon the night retreat of the Prussians after the battle of Ligny all appearance of order was lost. Luckily Blucher soon rallied from the effect of his fall. The toil-worn frame of the veteran had been severely shaken, but his mind retained its usual vigor and elasticity. General Gneisenau found him in a cottage by the roadside during the night already devising plans for another contest. "Hard blows these, Gneisenau," observed Blucher; "but we must pay them back." It was his unyielding resolution that, by animating those who were immediately about his person, communicated itself to the soldiers, and thus restored their confidence in the course of a single day. On the morning of the 17th he issued a general order, detailing the loss of the battle of Ligny; in it he severely censured the cavalry for want of coolness and intrepidity, and required them to be in readiness to wipe away the stain the defeat had brought upon them. The artillery he also reprimanded, and ordered them to advance in future in a more resolute manner, and not so hastily to withdraw their guns when attacked; "for," said he, "it is better to lose a battery than endanger a position by limbering up too soon." To the infantry he addressed great praise, and concluded with these energetic words: "I shall immediately lead you against the enemy; we shall beat him, because it is our duty to do so!"

Marshal Blucher expressed his dislike to co-operate with the Russian commanders, by whom his plans had been often disconcerted, and he had no confidence in the Austrian Cabinet, but was particularly anxious to fight in conjunction with the English army, feeling that his own troops acting with those of Wellington could hardly fail to be invincible. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

[1] Captain Pringle.


WELLINGTON

CHAPTER IX.[1]

1815.

THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.[2]

One of the most important struggles of modern times was now about to commence — a struggle which for many years was to decide the fate of Europe. Napoleon and Wellington at length stood opposite one another. They had never met; the military reputation of each was of the highest kind, the career of both had been marked by signal victory; Napoleon had carried his triumphant legions across the stupendous Alps, over the north of Italy, throughout Prussia, Austria, Russia, and even to the foot of the Pyramids, while Wellington, who had been early distinguished in India, had won immortal renown in the Peninsula, where he had defeated, one after another,

[1] This chapter, like two which preceded it, first appeared in the 1836 edition, and is not from the pen of M. de Bourrienne.

[2] For full details of the Waterloo campaign see Siborne's *History of the War in France and Belgium in* 1815, giving the English contemporary account; Chesney's *Waterloo Lectures*, the best English modern account, which has been accepted by the Prussians as pretty nearly representing their view; and *Waterloo* by Lieutenant-Colonel Prince Edouard de la Tour d'Auvergne (Paris, Plon, 1870), which may be taken as the French modern account. There are also the accounts in *Thiers*, tome xx. livre lx., valuable but somewhat florid, as are all M. Thiers's writings, and that in *Jomini*, tome iv. Jomini also published a summary of the campaign of 1815, and in the American edition of his *Napoleon* the summary is substituted for the chapter in tome iv. Hamley, *Operations of War*, 1872 edition, pp. 133, 179, and 389, has a very valuable summary. Most readers will probably be contented with Dorsey Gardner's *Quatre Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo* (Kegan Paul, 1882), where will be found a summary of all the writers on the subject, very conveniently designed, but containing extracts from Victor Hugo and MM. Erckmann-Chatrian, and several poets, interesting as specimens of the style and of the power of imagination of those writers, but distracting and not precisely of any historical value.

In judging this campaign the reader must guard himself from looking on it as fought by two different armies — the English and the Prussian — whose achievements are to be weighed against one another. Wellington and Blucher were acting in a complete unison rare even when two different corps of the same nation are concerned, but practically unexampled in the case of two armies of different nations. Thus the two forces became one army, divided into two wings, one, the left (or Prussian wing) having been defeated by the main body of the French at Ligny on the 16th of June, the

the favorite generals of Napoleon. He was now to make trial of his prowess against their Master.

Among the most critical events of modern times the battle of Waterloo stands conspicuous. This sanguinary encounter at last stopped the torrent of the ruthless and predatory ambition of the French, by which so many countries had been desolated. With the peace which immediately succeeded it confidence was restored to Europe.

right (or English wing) retreated to hold the position at Waterloo, where the left (or Prussian wing) was to join it, and the united force was to crush the enemy. Thus there is no question as to whether the Prussian army saved the English by their arrival, or whether the English saved the Prussians by their resistance at Waterloo. Each army executed well and gallantly its part in a concerted operation. The English would never have fought at Waterloo if they had not relied on the arrival of the Prussians. Had the Prussians not come up on the afternoon of the 18th of June the English would have been exposed to the same great peril of having alone to deal with the mass of the French army, as the Prussians would have had to face if they had found the English in full retreat. To investigate the relative performances of the two armies is much the same as to decide the respective merits of the two Prussian armies at Sadowa, where one held the Austrians until the other arrived. Also in reading the many interesting personal accounts of the campaign it must be remembered that opinions about the chance of success in a defensive struggle are apt to vary with the observer's position, as indeed General Grant has remarked in answer to criticisms on his army's state at the end of the first day of the battle of Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing. The man placed in the front rank or fighting line sees attack after attack beaten off. He sees only part of his own losses, as most of the wounded disappear, and he also knows something of the enemy's loss by seeing the dead in front of him. Warmed by the contest, he thus believes in success. The man placed in rear or advancing with re-enforcements, having nothing of the excitement of the struggle, sees only the long and increasing column of wounded stragglers, and perhaps of fliers. He sees his companion fall without being able to answer the fire. He sees nothing of the corresponding loss of the enemy, and he is apt to take a most desponding view of the situation. Thus Englishmen reading the accounts of men who fought at Waterloo are too ready to disbelieve representations of what was taking place in the rear of the army, and to think Thackeray's life-like picture in *Vanity Fair* of the state of Brussels must be overdrawn. Indeed, in this very battle of Waterloo, Zieten began to retreat when his help was most required, because one of his *aides de camp* told him that the right wing of the English was in full retreat. "This inexperienced young man," says Muffling, p. 248, "had mistaken the great number of wounded going, or being taken, to the rear to be dressed, for fugitives, and accordingly made a false report." Further, reserves do not say much of their part or, sometimes, no part, of the fight, and few people know that at least two English regiments actually present on the field of Waterloo, hardly fired a shot till the last advance.

The Duke described the army as the worst he ever commanded, and said that if he had had his Peninsula men, the fight would have been over much sooner. But the Duke, sticking to ideas now obsolete, had no picked corps. Each man, trusting in and trusted by his comrades, fought under his own officers and under his own regimental colors. Whatever they did not know, the men knew how to die, and at the end of the day a heap of dead told where each regiment and battery had stood.

The following account of the battle of Waterloo appeared in the first edition of this translation, and is retained with some corrections. Possibly too much was spoken or written at the time about Waterloo, for even the Duke of Wellington said he felt ashamed, "as if it were the only battle the English army had ever fought." But Waterloo was won close to home, and the nation received the news without the long delays they were accustomed to when tidings came from Spain. After the weary struggle of past years there was intense joy to find that peace had been gained in a day. The struggle, too, was one of a nature to be understood by, and to be most gratifying to, the English mind. Few would have comprehended long scientific manœuvring: every one could understand the steady, patient resistance of the gallant men who lined the ridge of Waterloo and died on it. The almost dramatic close of the battle, too, went straight to the heart of the three nations, and all were proud when they read how, at the end of the day, the glad last cheer went up, as the Duke, stirred for once to some emotion and saying his life was no longer valuable, led on his scanty red line from the ridge where a thicker red line of dead and wounded told how fierce had been attack and resistance.

The forces of the Allies were led by the two generals who were probably the very men of all others to be opponents of Napoleon. Wellington had for years met and overcome the French, and though he had acknowledged that he looked on the very presence of Napoleon as equivalent to so many thousand more enemies, still his calm and cold nature was not liable to be dismayed by the prestige of the Great Captain he was now to meet for the first time. "I at least," said he, "will not be frightened beforehand." Blucher had no pretensions to strategic or tactical skill, but he was animated by an intense hatred to the cause of Napoleon, and a determination to batter at the French army wherever and whenever he could meet it. This determination of the old veteran had done more for the Allies in 1814 than all the science of their advisers. When beaten off by Napoleon he had rallied like Grant in front of Lee, and went at his foe again with bull-dog

tenacity. Disgusted with the wavering and caution of his Allies in 1814, he fortunately had great confidence in Wellington and the English. It may safely be said that if no other general would have exposed his army to defeat in the position of Ligny, no other general would have struggled up in time at Waterloo.

No less than 300,000 men were marching to the plains of Fleurus on the morning of the 16th of June, 1815. The summer sun shone brightly on forest and on pasture and cornland, rich in the promise of abundant harvest, and reposing in peace and loveliness. How changed was the scene ere a week had passed away! Scorched forests and trampled plain, smoking ruins of cottages and desolated villages, alone remained![1]

The night of the 17th was a most wretched one in regard to the state of the weather. The ground was trampled into mud, and, though in the middle of June, the temperature before dawn was intensely cold. From the very heavy fall of rain it was found difficult to maintain any fires. Great part of the French army had passed the night in the village of Genappe, and Napoleon had established his quarters at the farmhouse, called Caillou, near La Belle Alliance. As the morning ad-

[1] There is the usual discrepancy between the various histories as to the strength of the armies which fought at Waterloo. Dorsey Gardner, who is always convenient to refer to, makes (p. 194) Napoleon's forces "which participated in the battle" nearly 72,000, but this total does not agree with the figures in the right-hand column of his own table, which only amount to 64,947. The total of the figures given in his table opposite p. 201 comes to 74,725. He does not state whether he includes artillery in this last table; but in any case the numbers will not agree. Thiers (tome xx. p. 153) says that Napoleon had 70,000 men, as does Jomini (tome iv. p. 634). Prince Edouard d'Auvergne (p. 215) gives the total as 72,000, while Hamley (*Operations*, p. 391), adding 7000 for artillery, only gives some 68,000. Perhaps some of the confusion comes from Girard's division being left at Fleurus. Probably we may take Napoleon's strength as about 71,000, with 246 guns. Siborne (p. 230) gives Wellington 67,661, with 156 guns. The Prussians gradually came up, having, by Dorsey Gardner (p. 194), the following strength at the hours stated: — 4.30 P.M., 16,000; 6 P.M., 29,000; 7 P.M., 52,000, with 104 guns. Thus at the end of the day Napoleon had to face some 119,000 men and 260 guns with 71,000 men and 246 guns. The English writers are, of course, anxious to explain that a great many of their allies ran away, but it is impossible to count only the brave men in an army. To make the foe run is almost as good as killing him, and if the whole of Wellington's force had been forced back it would have been absurd not to count them. Indeed, as most of the best French troops did eventually run, this sort of calculation would not end in favor of the English.

vanced the weather became more favorable, and the French made preparations for the attack.

Napoleon drew up his army in such a manner that he could assail either of the wings or the centre of Wellington. The road to Charleroi was taken as the centre. On the right, with its outer flank opposite to La Haye Sainte, was Drouot d'Erlon's corps composed of the four divisions (counting always from the right) of Durutte, Marcognet, Alix, and Donzelot, each about 4000 strong. The 1st, or Jacquinot's, cavalry division, some 1400 sabres, formed the extreme right. The left wing, facing Hougomont and stretching from the Charleroi road to that to Nivelles, was formed of the 2d corps, Reille's, composed of the three divisions of Bachelu, Foy, and Prince Jérôme Bonaparte (the ex-King of Westphalia, with General Guilleminot as his adviser), each 5000 strong. Piré's (2d) cavalry division, 1700 sabres, formed the extreme left. This made the first line 34,100. One hundred yards behind the centre, on the left of the Charleroi road, was the 6th corps, Lobau's,[1] formed of the two divisions of Simmer and Jeannin, with a total strength of about 5000 men. Alongside this corps, but on the right of the Charleroi road, were the two cavalry divisions of Domont and Subervie, together about 2300 sabres. Two hundred yards in rear of each wing was placed a cavalry corps, Milhaud's (cuirassier), the 4th cavalry corps, containing the divisions of Delort and Wautier (or Wathier Saint-Alphonse), on the right; the third cavalry corps, Kellermann's (the General who charged at Marengo, not his father the old Marshal who fought at Valmy), on the left, with Lhéritier (dragoons and cuirassiers) and Roussel d'Herbal as Divisional Generals, each corps being about 2600 strong. Two hundred yards in rear of each of these cavalry corps was a cavalry division of the Guard, the chasseurs and lancers of Lefebvre-Desnouettes, about 2000 sabres, on the right; Guyot with his *grenadiers à cheval*, and dragoons, about 1400 sabres, on the left. Half a mile in rear of the first line was a formidable reserve, Drouot, with three divisions of the infantry of the Guard: Friant's division of

[1] Count Lobau, General Mouton of Aspern or Essling celebrity.

grenadiers of the Old Guard, Morand's of the chasseurs of the Old Guard, and Duhesme's of *voltijeurs* and *tirailleurs* of the Young Guard, the whole of this corps being about 11,000 strong. The strength just given is only an approximation, and does not include some 7000 men of the artillery.[1]

The Allied Army was disposed in the following order: — the corps of the Prince of Orange, forming the centre of the line, was posted on some high ground — its right in the rear of the farm of Hougomont, its left behind La Haye Sainte. These two posts were occupied by light troops, Hougomont by 1200 men, and La Haye Sainte by 400 men. Lord Hill's corps formed the right wing between Merbe Braine and Hougomont. General Picton commanded the left wing, which took up a position between the road from Genappe and Terla-Haye, through which village a communication was kept up with the Prussian army by means of patrols. The cavalry, under the command of the Earl of Uxbridge, was principally stationed in rear of the centre and left wing. Vivian's hussar brigade being on the extreme left of the whole line. The artillery was judiciously planted in various parts of the line. With this order of battle the Duke of Wellington determined to receive the enemy's assault, it having been arranged that Blucher should aid him with part of his army, under General Bulow, whose arrival was expected about the middle of the day.

The position of Mont St. Jean, thus taken up by the British army, was situated about a mile and a quarter from a similar height on which the French army placed itself. It was divided from the opposite ascent by a valley into which there was a very gentle and regular slope, so that the whole of the ground within cannon-shot could be readily seen. Two great roads nearly perpendicular to the line of the army, and two smaller roads in a line with the army, and behind it, gave every facility for a free communication for troops and guns. On another ridge about five hundred yards behind our first lines, the second lines were stationed,

[1] This description is founded on Hamley's *Operations of War*, p. 391. A table of the positions of each army will be found in *Dorsey Gardner* opposite p. 201.

unseen from the French position, and between the two ridges a valley gave cover to any movement that it might be requisite to make. The flanks were sufficiently protected by the possession of the village of Braine-la-Leude on the right, and La Haye and Ohain on the left, as well as by the forest of Soignies in the rear, upon which both flanks were thrown back.

A careful study of this position will refute the objections of those who have blamed the Duke of Wellington for his choice in occupying it, and who held that, in case of defeat, the position left no means of retreat, and that the English army would, in such circumstances, have been utterly destroyed. It is very difficult to predicate what would happen in certain contingencies, but in the present case there does not appear to be any doubt that under such unfortunate circumstances the British army would have been able to effect a retreat without any extraordinary difficulty. If their first position had been carried, the village of St. Jean in the rear, at the junction of the two great roads before mentioned, would have been an excellent centre of support for a second position, from which it would have been equally difficult to dislodge the British. But even if the British troops had been driven into the forest in a state of rout, they would there have found themselves in comparative safety. The forest consisted of tall trees without underwood, almost everywhere passable for men and horses. In such a position the practicability of maintaining themselves against the French army must be evident to any one who considers the extreme difficulty of forcing infantry from a wood which cannot be turned; and it is confirmed by a remark of the Duke of Wellington, made in conversation with a friend, "They could never have so beaten us but that we could have made good the wood against them."[1]

The chief strength of the position of Mont St. Jean was due to two farms in front, — Hougomont and La Haye Sainte.

[1] This leads us to examine a question raised by the battle of Waterloo. Would an army with its back to a forest, and having a good road behind its centre and behind each of its wings, be compromised if it lost the battle, as Napoleon has declared? For my part, I believe, on the contrary, such a position would be more favorable for a retreat than ground entirely open" (Jomini, *Précis de l'Art de la Guerre*, tome ii. p. 15).

These farms lay on the slope of the valley, about 1500 yards apart. Both were capable of containing troops, and Hougomont comprised an extent of gardens and enclosures capable of containing a force sufficient to make it an important post. No columns of the French could pass between them without being exposed to a flank fire, and this circumstance gave the principal advantage to the English position.[1]

The army under the command of the Duke of Wellington amounted to about 67,661 men, of whom 24,000 were British.

Besides this, an Allied force of 18,000 men, under Prince Frederick of Orange, was stationed in front of Halle, about eight miles from the field of battle, and was not engaged. The French force present at Waterloo, as well as that of the Prussians, has already been stated.

The morning and part of the forenoon of the 18th were passed by the French in a state of supineness, for which it was difficult to account. The rain had certainly retarded their movements, more particularly that of bringing the artillery into position; yet it was observed that this had been accomplished at an early hour. In Grouchy's publication we find a reason which may have caused this delay, namely, that Napoleon's ammunition had been so much exhausted in the preceding contests that there was only a supply with the army for an action of eight hours. Bonaparte states that it was necessary to wait until the ground was sufficiently dried to enable the cavalry and artillery to manœuvre;[2] however, in such a soil, a few hours could make very little difference, particularly as a drizzling rain continued all the morning and indeed after the action had commenced. The heavy fall of rain on the night of the 17th was no doubt more disadvantageous to the French than to the troops under Lord Wellington; the latter were in position, and had few movements to make, whilst the French columns, and particularly the cavalry, were fatigued and impeded by the state of the ground, which with the tram-

[1] The Duke of Wellington, when passing through Belgium in the preceding summer, particularly noticed the strength of the position of Waterloo, and stated that if it ever should be his fate to fight a battle for the protection of Brussels, he would endeavor to do so in that position (Creasy's *Decisive Battles*, p. 349, edit. 1883).

[2] Montholon.

pled corn caused them to advance more slowly and kept them longer under fire. On the other hand, the same causes delayed the Prussians in their junction,[1] which they had promised to effect about noon.[2]

Soon after eleven[3] the battle commenced by the advance of the French under Jérôme Bonaparte, upon Hougomont, which was occupied by some Nassau and Hanover troops, and by the light companies of the English Guards, and the first gun fired was from an English battery. This made a gap for a moment in the head of the advancing column. A tremendous cannonade along the whole French line, from upwards of 200 guns, opened to support this attack. Napoleon's eagle glance at once discovered the great importance of the post of Hougomont, which was, in fact, the key to the English position. He accordingly directed his first efforts against it, and persevered in them unceasingly throughout the day.

"A cloud of *tirailleurs* pushed through the wood and cornfields; they were aimed at with fatal certainty from the loopholes, windows, and summit of the building. But the French eventually compelled the few men that remained outside to withdraw into the château by the rear gate. In the mean time the French redoubled their efforts against it, and the fire of the immediate defenders of that point for a moment ceased. The gate was then forced. At this critical moment Colonel Macdonell rushed to the spot with the officers and men nearest at hand, and not only expelled the assailants but reclosed the gate. The French, from their overwhelming numbers, again entered the yard, when the Guards retired to the house and kept up from the windows such a destructive

[1] The delay of Napoleon on the 17th of June has been much criticised, but the Prince Edouard d'Auvergne, in his *Waterloo*, p. 236, points out that this delay had not the effect believed to result from it. Wellington would have retired, if hard pressed on the 17th of June, instead of halting at Waterloo. At the worst Blucher, however hardly pressed in his movement, would have only had to leave two corps to detain Grouchy, indeed less than one corps was found sufficient, and the remaining two corps would have been enough to crush the main army while engaged with Wellington.

[2] Captain Pringle.

[3] Accounts differ as to the precise period at which the battle commenced. The British official account states the time to have been ten o'clock; but Colonel Mackinnon, who was with the Guards at Hougomont, has a precise recollection that the first gun was fired shortly after eleven. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

fire that the French were driven out and the gate once more was closed.

"General Foy having chased the Nassau troops before him, passed through the wood and surrounded the château. All attempts to rally these men proving fruitless, Colonel Mackinnon with the Grenadiers and first company moved to the support of the place, and the French were forced back.

"On the retreat of the Nassau troops Lord Saltoun, with the light companies of the 1st brigade, was again ordered to Hougomont, and recovered the orchard and also part of the wood in its front; the latter, however, there was no possibility of holding in opposition to the vast superiority of the French troops. Lord Saltoun therefore made occasional sallies from the orchard; his orders were, in the event of its being forced, to retire into the château; but he defended it against every attempt.

"The entrance of the wood was attacked in the most gallant manner by the Coldstream Guards. The companies under Colonel Woodford cheered, and after charging opened a fire, but the powerful resistance they met with could not be overcome. This officer therefore retired, and entered Hougomont.

"Afterwards the French exerted themselves to carry the orchard. They twice got possession of the hedge, but gained no further ground, as the defenders were firm, and the troops on the garden-wall which overlooked the orchard poured in a cross-fire and occasioned them severe loss.

"The French soldiers were undaunted in their attacks, but Hougomont was defended with a calm and stubborn gallantry that alone could have enabled so small a force to resist the repeated and fierce assaults of the great force, consisting of nearly the whole 2d French corps. The cross-discharge from the artillery was incessant: the bursting of shells set part of the building in flames, and as the fire extended to the chapel and stables many of the wounded soldiers of the Coldstreams perished. The Guards, nevertheless, at no time exceeding 2000 men, maintained the post

amidst the terrible conflagration within, and the murderous fire of the attacking troops from without. When the contention terminated the French dead lay piled round the château, in the wood, and every avenue leading to it."[1]

During the early part of the day the action was almost entirely confined to this part of the line, except a galling fire of artillery along the centre, vigorously returned by the English guns. This fire gradually extended towards the left, and some cavalry demonstrations were made by the French.

From the exposed position of part of the English troops on the sloping ground they suffered very severely from the French artillery, and the Duke of Wellington thought it advisable to move them back about 150 to 200 yards to the reverse slope of the hill. The artillery in consequence remained in advance, that they might see into the valley. This alteration was made between one and two o'clock by the Duke in person; it was general along the front or centre of the position, on the height to the right of La Haye Sainte.

This movement withdrew a considerable portion of the Allied troops from the sight of the French, and appears to have been considered by them as the beginning of a retreat: Napoleon determined in consequence to attack our left centre, in order to get possession of the farm of Mont St. Jean, or of the village itself, which commanded the point where the two roads met. Accordingly Comte d'Erlon moved forward with his whole corps in four dense columns, supported by large bodies of cavalry, and covered by a tremendous cannonade. The English infantry were formed into squares to receive the cuirassiers. The French cavalry being in advance of their infantry on the left of the attack, the Duke of Wellington ordered the English Life Guards to charge them. The cuirassiers were driven back on their own position, where the *chaussée*, being cut into the rising ground, left steep banks on either side. In this confined space they fought at sword's-length for several minutes, until some light artillery was brought down from the heights, upon which the British cavalry returned to its position.

[1] *Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards*, by Colonel Mackinnon.

Comte d'Erlon's infantry, meanwhile, advanced beyond La Haye Sainte, which at this time they did not attack. As the French drew near a Belgian brigade of infantry stationed in front fell back in confusion, and the French columns instantly occupied the height. Sir Thomas Picton, perceiving this, immediately moved up General Pack's brigade, and opened a fire upon the French columns as they took possession of the vantage-ground they had just gained. Without waiting for the English charge of bayonets the French infantry began to hesitate, when the latter approached within thirty yards. At this moment Ponsonby's brigade of heavy dragoons wheeling round the infantry, took the French in flank. An immediate panic spread amongst them, and throwing down their arms they ran away in all directions to avoid the sabres of the cavalry. Many were killed, and an eagle with 2000 prisoners taken. But the cavalry pursued their success too far; they were fired upon by another column, and being at the same time attacked by a fresh body of French cavalry, they were in turn driven back with much loss.

General Ponsonby, who commanded the heavy dragoons, and Sir Thomas Picton, who led on his division to repel this attack, were both killed.[1]

[1] The following particulars connected with the death of Sir Thomas Picton will be read with especial interest: —

"The French columns were marching close up to the hedge, the English advanced to meet them, and the muzzles of their muskets almost touched. Picton ordered Sir James Kempt's brigade forward; they bounded over the hedge, and were received with a murderous volley. A frightful struggle then ensued; the English rushed with fury upon their opponents, not stopping to load, but trusting solely to the bayonet to do its deadly work. The French fire had, however, fearfully thinned this first line, and they were fighting at least six to one. Picton therefore ordered General Pack's brigade to advance. With the exhilarating cry of 'Charge! Hurra!' he placed himself at their head, and led them forward. They returned his cheer as they followed him with a cool determination, which, in the words of the Spanish chief Alava, 'appalled the enemy.'

"The General kept at the head of the line, stimulating it by his own example. According to the Duke of Wellington's despatch, 'this was one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position.' To defeat it was therefore of vital importance to the success of the day. Picton knew this, and doubtless felt that his own presence would tend greatly to inspire his men with confidence. He was looking along his gallant line, waving his sword, when a ball struck him on the temple, and he fell back upon his horse — dead. Captain Tyler, seeing him fall, immediately dismounted and ran to his assistance: with the aid of a soldier he lifted him off his horse; but all assistance was vain — his noble spirit had fled.

"The rush of war passed on, the contending hosts had met, and none

Ney was now sent with 10,000 cavalry to break the right wing of Wellington. The French cavalry, in their attack on the right centre of the British line, were not supported by infantry, and made several desperate attacks upon our infantry, who immediately formed into square, and maintained themselves with the most determined courage and coolness. During these various charges upon the squares the French cuirassiers displayed great intrepidity, riding up to the ranks, and actually cutting at the bayonets with their swords, and firing at the officers.[1] The artillery, which was somewhat in front, kept up a well-directed fire upon them as they advanced, but, on their nearer approach, the gunners were obliged to retire into the squares, so that the guns were actually in momentary possession of the French cavalry, who could not, however, keep possession of them, or even spike them, if they had the means, in consequence of the heavy fire of musketry to which they were exposed. The French accounts state that several squares were broken, and standards taken, which is incorrect; on the contrary, the small squares constantly repulsed the cavalry, whom they generally allowed to advance close to their bayonets before they fired. The cuirassiers were then driven back with loss on all points,

could be idle at such a moment. His body was therefore placed beneath a tree by which it could readily be found when the fight was done.

"When the sanguinary struggle had ceased, and the victorious English were called back to the field of battle, leaving the Prussians to pursue the enemy, Captain Tyler went in search of the body of his old General. He found it easily.

"Upon looking at the dress of Sir Thomas Picton on the evening of the 18th, a few hours after his death, it was observed that his coat was torn on one side. This led to a further examination, and then the truth became apparent: — on the 16th he had been wounded at Quatre Bras; a musket-ball had struck him and broken two of his ribs, besides producing, it was supposed, some internal injuries; but, expecting that a severe battle would be fought within a short time, he kept this wound secret, lest he should be solicited to absent himself. From the moment he had left this country until he joined the army he had never entered any bed — he had scarcely given himself time to take any refreshment, so eager was he in the performance of his duty. After the severe wound which he had received he would have been justified in not engaging in the action of the 18th. His body was not only blackened by his first wound, but even swelled to a considerable degree: and those who had seen it wondered that he should have been able to take part in the duties of the field" (*Memoirs of Sir T. Picton*).

[1] The Duke of Wellington himself assured me at the Congress of Verona (1822) that he had never seen in war anything so admirable as the ten or twelve repeated charges of the French cuirassiers on the troops of all branches (Jomini, *Précis de la Campagne de* 1815).

and the artillerymen, immediately resuming their guns in the most prompt manner, opened a destructive fire of grapeshot on them as they retired.

"After the failure of the first attack the French had little or no chance of success in renewing it; but the officers, perhaps ashamed of the failure of troops of whose prowess they were justly proud, endeavored repeatedly to bring them back to charge the squares; they could, however, only be brought to pass between them and round them; they even penetrated to our second line, where they cut down some stragglers and artillery drivers, who were with the limbers and ammunition wagons. They charged the Brunswick squares in the second line with no better success, and were driven back by the Allied cavalry, some of whom suffered from pursuing too far.

"If the Allies had been in retreat such an attack of cavalry might have led to the most important results; but the French cavalry, in passing and repassing the British squares, suffered severely by their fire; so much so that before the end of the action, when they might have been of great use, either in the last great attack, or in covering the retreat, they were nearly destroyed. The only advantage which appeared to result from their remaining in the British position was, that it prevented the guns from playing on the columns which afterwards formed near La Belle Alliance, in order to debouch for a new attack. The galling fire of the infantry, however, forcing the French horsemen at length to retire into the hollow ground to cover themselves, the artillery were again at their guns, and being in advance of the squares saw completely into the valley, and by their well-directed fire made gaps in them as they re-formed to repeat this useless expenditure of lives. Had Bonaparte been on the spot he would no doubt have prevented this wanton sacrifice of some of his best troops. The protracted presence of his cavalry in the British lines evidently prevented him from concentrating the fire of his powerful artillery on that part of the line he intended to break, as had always been his custom; and this was treating his enemy with a contempt which,

from what he had experienced at Quatre Bras, could not be justified.[1]

"No situation could be more trying to the steady courage of the British army than the disposition of the troops in square at Waterloo. There is an excited feeling in an attacking body that stimulates the coldest and blunts the thought of danger. The tumultuous enthusiasm of the assault spreads from man to man, and duller spirits catch a gallant frenzy from the brave around them. But the enduring and devoted courage which pervaded the British squares, when, hour after hour, mowed down by a murderous artillery, and wearied by furious and frequent onsets of lancers and cuirassiers, when the constant order, 'Close up! close up!' marked the quick succession of slaughter that thinned their ranks, and when later in the day the remnants of two and even three regiments were necessary to complete the square which one of them had formed in the morning — to support this with firmness, and 'feed death,' inactive and unmoved, exhibited that calm and desperate bravery which elicited the admiration of Napoleon himself.

"Knowing that to repel these desperate and sustained attacks a tremendous sacrifice of human life must occur. Napoleon, in defiance of their acknowledged bravery, calculated on wearing the British into defeat. But when he saw his columns driven back in confusion, when charged on the left of the English line by the gallant Ponsonby, when his cavalry receded from the squares they could not penetrate, when battalions were reduced to companies by the fire of his cannon, and still that 'feeble few' showed a perfect front, and

[1] After one of these charges of cavalry a hand-to-hand encounter, many of which occurred during the day, took place in sight of the British forces. An hussar and a French cuirassier met in the plain; the former had lost his cap, and was bleeding from a wound on the head; he did not, however, hesitate to attack his steel-clad adversary, and it was soon evident that the efficiency of cavalry depends upon good horsemanship and skill in the use of the sword, and not on heavy defensive armor. The moment that the swords crossed the military skill and superiority of the hussar were evident; after a few skirmishes the Frenchman received a violent cut in the face that made him reel in his saddle: it was now impossible for him to escape his active opponent, and a well-directed thrust of the British hussar levelled the cuirassier to the ground, amidst the cheers of his anxious comrades. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

held the ground they had originally taken,—his admiration was expressed to Soult, 'How beautifully these English fight! —but they *must* give way!'"[1]

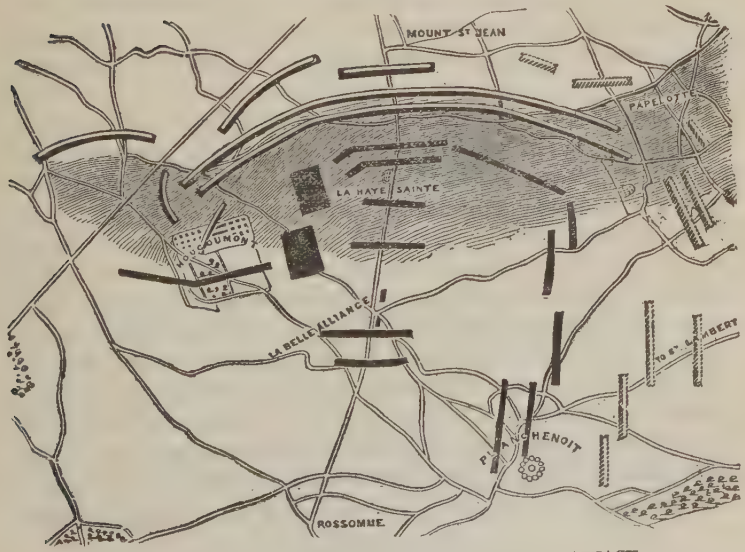
While the battle continued along the whole of the British position the Belgians were driven from Papellote and La Haye by the French. One of the columns in making this attack was completely routed by the 12th British dragoons: this, nevertheless, did not prevent them from carrying the two villages.

The farm of La Haye Sainte was bravely defended by 400 men of the King's German Legion, eventually re-enforced by two more companies of the same body. Profiting by the temporary recoil produced by one of their combined attacks upon this part of the British line, La Haye Sainte was surrounded by French troops, and incessant efforts were made by them to carry it. The gallant Germans repulsed every attempt as long as their ammunition lasted. This at length failed them, and there was no possibility of introducing a further supply, the provision of a gate at the rear having been overlooked. The overwhelming force of the French near the spot, and the difficulty of ingress offered by the construction of the building, rendered all aid hopeless. For some time these devoted men resisted their adversaries with their swords and bayonets, but the French, firing upon them from the roof, and bursting open the strong doors and defences, soon succeeded in overpowering the remnant, who, to a man, were put to the sword. This success, unattended with any ultimate benefit to the French, was all they could boast of. The contest was now continued in the same unconnected mode of skirmishing in front of La Haye Sainte and around Hougomont.

The cavalry charges on the right wing were repeated time after time without infantry support till nearly half-past four, all, however, without any great result. Soon after four o'clock a brief cessation of Napoleon's repeated attacks took place: this may be considered as the crisis of the sanguinary contest of Waterloo. The squares of the Allied army had

[1] Maxwell, vol. iii. p. 487.

WATERLOO AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ACTION.
The White are English, the Black are French.



WATERLOO AT THE TIME OF THE LAST FRENCH ATTACK.
The White are English, the Black French, the Shaded are Prussians.

remained unshaken, they had received repeated charges with a characteristic coolness and intrepidity that have no equal. The Emperor might at this moment have broken off the engagement, but if it was to be continued, it could only be done by destroying the English army before the Prussians, who were expected, should arrive, for at this time General Domont, who had been detached to watch the progress of the Prussians, announced that a corps of 10,000 men was in full march towards Planchenoit, and by half-past four Bulow's guns opened on Domont.

"The French about this period concentrated their artillery particularly on the left of the Genappe *chaussée* in front of La Belle Alliance, and commenced a heavy fire (a large proportion of the guns were twelve-pounders) on that part of the British line extending from behind La Haye Sainte towards Hougomont: the infantry sheltered themselves by lying down behind the ridge of the rising ground, and bore the fire with heroic patience. Several of the English guns had been disabled, and many artillerymen killed and wounded, so that this fire was scarcely returned, but when the new point of attack was no longer doubtful two brigades were brought from Lord Hill's corps on the right, and were of most essential service." [1]

"The British army had sustained several severe attacks, which had been all repulsed, and no advantage of any consequence had been gained by the enemy. They had possessed part of the wood and garden of Hougomont and La Haye Sainte, which latter they were unable to occupy. Not a square had been broken, shaken, or obliged to retire. The infantry continued to display the same obstinacy, the same cool, calculating confidence in themselves, in their commander, and in their officers, which had covered them with glory in the long and arduous war in the Peninsula. From the limited extent of the field of battle, and the tremendous fire their columns were exposed to, the loss of the enemy could not have been less than 15,000 killed and wounded. Two eagles and 2000 prisoners had been taken, and the French cavalry

[1] Captain Pringle.

nearly destroyed. The English still occupied nearly the same position as in the morning, but their loss had been severe, perhaps not less than 10,000 killed and wounded. Their ranks were further thinned by the numbers of men who carried off the wounded, part of whom never returned to the field; the number of Belgian and Hanoverian troops, many of whom were young levies, that crowded to the rear, was very considerable, besides the number of dismounted dragoons, together with a proportion of infantry, some of whom, as will always be found in the best armies, were glad to escape from the field. These thronged the road leading to Brussels in a manner that none but an eye-witness could have believed, so that perhaps the actual force under the Duke of Wellington at this time, half-past six, did not amount to more than 34,000 men."

It may here be proper to consider the situation of the Prussian army, and the assistance they had been able to render up to this time.

"We had at an early hour been in communication with some patrols of Prussian cavalry on our extreme left. A Prussian corps, under Bulow, had marched from Wavre at an early hour, 7 A.M., to manœuvre on the right and rear of the French army, but Marshal Blucher with a large proportion of the Prussian army were still on the heights above Wavre when the action had commenced at Waterloo."[1] The state of the roads had become deplorable, for the ground was completely saturated with the heavy rains that had fallen during sixteen hours. Rivulets had become torrents: water had filled up every hollow, so as constantly to compel the troops to separate, for in many cases the infantry were obliged to wade for hundreds of yards together along the forest roads, which might rather be termed water-courses. The columns of the Prussian troops advancing from Wavre extended over many miles. Great as were the obstacles that retarded the progress of the cavalry and infantry, the immense train of artillery occasioned still greater delay, although they had not more than twelve or fourteen miles to march. The guns fre-

[1] Captain Pringle.

quently sunk axle-deep into the mud. "We shall never get on," was heard on all sides. "We *must get on*," replied Blucher. "I have given my word to Wellington, and you surely will not suffer me to break it! only exert yourselves a few hours longer, my children, and certain victory is ours." Thus encouraging their gallant efforts, the Marshal was to be seen in every part of the tedious line of march.

The cannonading at Waterloo had been distinctly heard by Blucher and his anxious army for several hours. *Aides de camp* were continually arriving with reports of the state of the battle, and the Prussians were arduously engaged in toiling through narrow lanes, being well aware that if attacked in such a perilous position, should the English army experience a reverse, their own destruction would be inevitable. Information had been conveyed to Blucher about three o'clock that Grouchy had attacked General Thielmann at Wavre in great force. Unmoved by this news the veteran Marshal replied, "Tell him to do his best, for the campaign of Belgium must be decided at Mont St. Jean, and not at Wavre."

Marshal Blucher, who had joined in person Bulow's corps at half-past four, ordered immediately two brigades of infantry and some cavalry to operate on the right of the French.[1] He was so far from them, however, that his fire was too distant to produce any effect, and was chiefly intended to give the Duke of Wellington notice of his arrival. It was certainly past five o'clock before the fire of the Prussian artillery was observed from the British position, and it soon seemed to cease altogether. It appears they had advanced and obtained some success, but were afterwards held in check by the French, who sent a corps under Count Lobau to prevent them from advancing. About half-past six the first Prussian corps came into communication with our extreme left near the small hamlet of Ohain.

The attacks of the French on the Allied right were still continued. The British remained unmoved under these continued assaults; Milhaud's cuirassiers and the cavalry of the

[1] Muffling, the Prussian commissioner with Wellington, says (p. 247) Blucher opened fire at four o'clock.

Guard had again charged about five o'clock; to support these cuirassiers Kellermann's were despatched, as well as a part of the reserve cavalry.[1] To oppose these movements the British squares were again formed, and successfully repulsed them; thousands of French cavalry were in this manner put *hors de combat* during the day. Unable to force the squares of the British infantry, the French cavalry showed greater courage when opposed to the Horse of the Allies, and many severe contests took place between them in front of and even among the squares.

During the temporary cessation which now took place the Duke began to concentrate his forces towards the centre, and the troops sent to Braine-la-Leude were now brought back. The assistance of the Prussians, as we have already stated, was expected at mid-day, and this induced Wellington to accept a battle, so that the British army had to bear the whole brunt of the action for a much longer period than was calculated. It was now past six o'clock, and they had been under fire for nearly seven hours. The Duke of Wellington however, never for a moment showed any anxiety as to the result of the battle. He knew his troops, and all that they would do under him and for him, and felt confident he should be able to maintain his position. The British army was not aware of the concerted approach of the Prussians, nor did their commander think it necessary to animate their exertions by telling them they were coming. Napoleon, on the contrary, in order to revive the already drooping spirits of his men, even of his favorite Guards, who had not as yet been engaged, sent Labédoyère to inform them, as they were about to advance on our squares, that the corps of Grouchy had joined the right flank of the French Army. This intelligence deceived even Marshal Ney, and had a bad effect in the French ranks when the men learned that it was false.

[1] Bonaparte allows that this charge was made too soon, but that it was necessary to support it, and that the cuirassiers of Kellermann, 3000 in number, were consequently ordered forward to maintain the position. And he allows that the *grenadiers-à-cheval* and dragoons of the Guard, which were in reserve, advanced without orders, that he sent to recall them but, as they were already engaged, any retrograde movement would then have been dangerous. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

On the part of Wellington, a considerable portion of Lord Hill's corps was still available as a reserve. On the side of Bonaparte, the Imperial Guard had been kept in reserve, and had been for some time formed on the heights which extend from La Belle Alliance towards Hougomont, and covered their left flank. With these devoted and brave men Bonaparte resolved to make a last desperate effort to break the often-tried centre of the British line, and carry their position before the attack of the Prussians could take effect.

"About seven o'clock they advanced in two columns, leaving four battalions in reserve. They were commanded by Ney, who led them on. The advance of these columns of the Imperial Guard was supported by a heavy fire of artillery. The British infantry, which had been posted on the reverse of the hill, to be sheltered from the guns, was instantly moved forward by Lord Wellington. General Maitland's brigade of guards and General Adam's brigade (52d and 71st regiments, and 95th rifles) met this formidable attack. They were flanked by two batteries of artillery, who kept up a destructive discharge on the advancing columns. The troops waited for the approach of the French with their characteristic coolness, until they were within a short distance of their line, when they opened a well-directed fire upon them. This line was formed four deep. Each man fired independently, retiring a few paces to load, and then advanced again, so that they never ceased for a moment. The French, headed by their gallant leader, still came on, notwithstanding the severe loss they sustained by this destructive musketry. They were now within about fifty yards of the British line, when they attempted to deploy, in order to return the fire. The line appeared to be closing round them. They could not deploy under such a storm, and from the moment they ceased to advance their chance of success was over. They now formed a confused mass, and at last giving way, retired in the utmost confusion. They were immediately pursued by the light troops of General Adam's brigade. This decided the battle. Napoleon had now exhausted his means of attack. He had still, however, the four battalions of the Old Guard in reserve.

Lord Wellington immediately ordered his whole line to advance and attack their position. The French were already attempting a retreat. The Old Guard formed a square to cover the dismayed and flying columns, flanked by a few guns, and supported by some light cavalry (red lancers)."

It was expected that Napoleon would charge at the head of his gallant Guards, but though he certainly exposed his person to great danger towards the end of the battle, he did not put himself at their head as he would have done in the days of Lodi and Arcola.[1] A distinguished writer says: —

"It was about seven o'clock at night when Napoleon determined to devote this proved and faithful reserve as his last stake to the chance of one of those desperate games in which he had been so frequently successful. For this purpose he placed himself in the midst of the highway, fronting Mont St. Jean, and within about a quarter of a mile of the English line.[2] Here he caused his Guard to defile before him, and acquainting them that the English cavalry and infantry were entirely destroyed, and that to carry their position they had only to sustain with bravery a heavy fire of their artillery, he concluded by pointing to the causeway and exclaiming, 'There, there is the road to Brussels!' The prodigious shouts of 'Vive l'Empereur!' with which the Guard answered this appeal, led the British troops, and the Duke of Wellington himself, to expect an instant renewal of the attack with Napoleon as leader.

"In this, the last charge it was ever to make, the Guard of Napoleon advanced into the plain with demonstrations of enthusiasm. They swept away every obstacle until they attained the ridge where the British soldiers lay on the ground to avoid the destructive fire of artillery by which the assault was covered: but this was their final effort. 'Up,

[1] "Ouvrard, who attended Napoleon as chief commissary of the French army on that occasion, told me that Napoleon was suffering from a complaint which made it very painful for him to ride" (*Lord Ellesmere*, p. 47).

[2] Napoleon had stationed himself on a little hillock near La Belle Alliance, in the centre of the French position. Here he was seated, with a table before him, on which maps and plans were spread; and hence with his telescope he surveyed the field. Soult watched his orders close at his left hand, and his staff was grouped on horseback a few paces in the rear (Creasy's *Decisive Battles*, p. 371, edit. 1883).

Guards, and at them!' cried the Duke of Wellington, who was then with a brigade of the household infantry. In an instant they sprang up, and assuming the offensive rushed upon the attacking columns with the bayonet. This body of the Guards had been previously disposed in line instead of the squares which they had hitherto formed. But the line was of unusual depth, consisting of four ranks instead of two. 'You have stood cavalry in this order,' said the General, 'and can therefore find no difficulty in charging infantry.' The effect of the rapid advance which followed was decisive. The Guard of Napoleon was within twenty yards of the British, but did not stop to cross bayonets. The consciousness that no support or reserve remained to them added confusion to their retreat. The *tirailleurs* of the Imperial Guard gallantly attempted to cover the retreat. They were charged by the British cavalry, and literally cut to pieces." [1]

"The first Prussian corps, commanded by Bulow, had now joined the English extreme left. They had obtained possession of the village of La Haye, driving out the French light troops who occupied it. Bulow had some time previously made an unsuccessful attack upon the village of Planchenoit, in the rear of the French right wing, and being joined by the second corps (Pirch's) was again advancing to attack it.[2] In the mean time the square of the Old Guard maintained itself, the guns on its flank firing upon the British light cavalry, which now advanced and threatened to turn the flank. The light troops were close on their front, and the whole line advancing under Wellington, when this body, the *élite* of the army, and now the only hope of the French to cover their retreat, gave way, and mixed in the general confusion and route, abandoning their cannon and all their *matériel*." [3]

"The irremediable disorder consequent on this decisive repulse, and the confusion in the French rear, where Bulow had fiercely attacked them, did not escape Wellington. 'The hour has come!' he is said to have exclaimed; and closing his

[1] Sir Walter Scott.
[2] General Gneisenau says it was past seven o'clock before Pirch's corps came up, and this fact is admitted in Blucher's official despatches.
[3] Captain Pringle.

telescope, commanded the whole line to advance. The order was exultingly obeyed: forming four deep, on came the British; wounds and fatigue and hunger were all forgotten! With their customary steadiness they crossed the ridge: when they saw the French, and began to move down the hill, a cheer that seemed to rend the heavens pealed from their proud array, and with levelled bayonets they pressed on to meet the enemy.[1]

"Panic-stricken and disorganized, the French resistance was short and feeble. The Prussian cannon thundered in their rear, the British bayonet was flashing in their front, and unable to stand the terror of the charge they broke and fled. A dreadful and indiscriminate carnage ensued. The great road was choked with their *matériel*, and cumbered with the dead and dying, while the fields, as far as the eye could reach, were covered with fugitives. Courage and discipline were forgotten, and Napoleon's army of yesterday was now a splendid wreck — a terror-stricken multitude. His own words best describe it — 'It was a total rout!'"

It was now nearly dark: Bulow upon being joined by Pirch's corps again attacked Planchenoit, which he turned, and then the French abandoned it. He immediately advanced towards the Genappe *chaussée*, and closed round the right of the French, driving the enemy before him, and augmenting their confusion. His troops came into the high road near Maison du Roi, and Blucher and Wellington having met about the same time near La Belle Alliance, it was resolved to pursue the French, and give them no time to rally. The loss of

[1] As to the final advance of the British, General Muffling, an experienced if prejudiced witness, says that the advance was hazardous, "small masses of only some hundred men at great intervals were seen everywhere advancing." Though Lord Uxbridge drew the Duke's attention to this, the Duke thought the support of the cavalry was sufficient. "There was probably also a political motive for this advance. The Duke with his practised eye perceived that the French army was no longer dangerous: he was equally aware, indeed, that with his infantry so diminished he could achieve nothing more of importance; but if he stood still and resigned the pursuit to the Prussian army alone it might appear in the eyes of Europe as if the British army had defended themselves bravely indeed, but that the Prussians alone decided and won the battle." Surely also the Duke could not have refused his gallant men that last glorious advance; they well deserved it. "The position in which the infantry had fought was marked, as far as the eye could reach, by a red line caused by the red uniform of the numerous killed and wounded who lay there" (*Muffling*, p. 250).

the Prussians on the 18th did not exceed 800 men. The brunt of the action was chiefly sustained by the British troops and the King's German Legion.

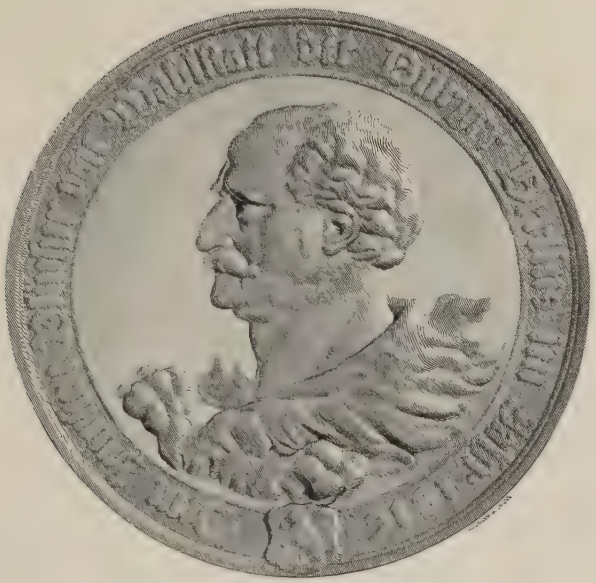
The British army rested on the night of the 18th on the field of battle, but this was not before a hot pursuit of the French had been accomplished; and then the Duke of Wellington halted, not only on account of the fatigue of his troops, which had been engaged eight hours, but because he found himself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who promised to continue the pursuit during the night, and well performed his engagement.[1]

The Prussians, who had made a difficult march during the day, pursued the enemy with such vigor that they were unable to rally a single battalion. They once attempted to make a show of resistance at Genappe, where, perhaps, if they had had a chief to direct them, they might have maintained themselves until daylight, the situation of the village being strong; this might have given them the means of at least preserving the semblance of an army. The second Prussian corps was afterwards detached to intercept Grouchy, who was not aware of the result of the battle until eleven o'clock next morning. He had succeeded in obtaining some advantage over General Thielmann, and got possession of Wavre. Grouchy at once retreated towards Namur, where his rear-guard maintained themselves against all the efforts of the Prussians, who suffered severely in their attempt to take the place. This served to cover his retreat, which he executed with great ability, keeping in a parallel line to Blucher, and having rallied many of the fugitives he brought his army in the end without loss to Paris.

What must have been the feelings of Napoleon on the memorable night of Waterloo! One of his *aides de camp*[2] has described his attitude the last time he was seen in the field,

[1] In all our battles against Napoleon's troops, and lately against the Russians, we have shown ourselves incapable of reaping the benefit of victory. Wellington won many battles, but never delivered any very crushing blow to his opponent, *because he never pursued*. Waterloo is no exception, for the pursuit was effected by the Prussians (Lord Wolseley's *Soldier's Pocket-Book*, edition of 1882, p. 336).

[2] Raoul.



1815
VORWÄRTS

and the fascination he still exercised over all who were about his person.

"He has ruined us — he has destroyed France and himself — yet I love him still; it is impossible to be near him and not love him. He has so much greatness of soul, such majesty of manner. He bewitches all minds; approach him with a thousand prejudices, and you quit him filled with admiration: but then, his mad ambition! his ruinous infatuation! his obstinacy without bounds! Besides, he was wont to set everything upon a cast — his game was all or nothing! Even the battle of Waterloo might have been retrieved had he not charged with the Guard. This was the reserve of the army, and should have been employed in covering his retreat instead of attacking; but with him, whenever matters looked desperate, he resembled a mad dog. He harangued the Guard — he put himself at its head — it debouched rapidly, and rushed upon the enemy. We were mowed down by grape — we wavered — turned our backs, and the rout was complete. A general disorganization of the army ensued, and Napoleon, rousing himself from the stupor into which he had sunk, was cold as a stone. The last time I saw him was in returning from the charge, when all was lost. My thigh had been broken by a musket-shot in advancing, and I remained in the rear, having fallen on the ground. Napoleon passed close by me; his nose was buried in his snuff-box, and his bridle fell loosely on the neck of his horse, which was pacing leisurely along. A Scotch regiment was advancing at the charge in the distance. The Emperor was almost alone. Lallemand only was with him. The latter still exclaimed, 'All is not lost, Sire; all is not lost! Rally, soldiers! rally!' The Emperor replied not a word. Lallemand recognized me in passing. 'What has happened to you, Raoul?' — 'My thigh is shattered with a musket-ball.' — 'Poor devil, how I pity you! how I pity you! Adieu! adieu!' The Emperor uttered not a word."

In the midst of the horrid rout that followed it was not known what had become of Napoleon. Some of the soldiers declared that he had perished. When this was announced

to a well-known general officer in his service he exclaimed (like Megret on the death of Charles XII. at Friederickstadt), "*Voilà la pièce finie.*" Others pretended that having charged several times at the head of the Guard he had been dismounted and made prisoner. The same uncertainty prevailed respecting the fate of Marshal Ney, the Major-General (Soult), and most of the French generals and chiefs.

Others again affirmed that they had seen Napoleon pass, escaping alone through the disordered crowd, and that they had recognized him by his gray great-coat and dapple-colored horse. This last account was the true one. In his flight, he threw himself into an orchard adjoining the farm of La Belle Alliance. It was there he was met by two French horse-soldiers, who, like himself, had lost their way, but who now undertook to guide and protect him through the parties of Prussians, who, fortunately for him, were so busy in plundering the camp equipages that they let him pass. In spite of the darkness of night he was perceived and recognized in several places, and his presence was made manifest by the remarks of the soldiers, who said to one another in a low tone of voice, "There is the Emperor!" "There goes the Emperor!" These words appeared to him a cry of alarm, and each time he was thus discovered, he galloped forward as quickly as the crowded state of the roads would permit. What had now become of those rapturous acclamations that used to accompany him whenever he showed himself in the midst of his army?

At a short distance from Charleroi two roads meet: one leads to Avesnes, the other to Philippeville: the Emperor chose the latter, and increasing his speed as the roads became clearer, and he could obtain a carriage and post-horses, he abandoned his army without making any effort to rally it. He has been censured for this; but we would remark that French soldiers with all their excellent qualities, are not good at rallying after a signal defeat, and that his army was so completely cut up and dispersed, so thoroughly disheartened, that every effort to re-form them on the spot must have failed. In their blind panic, groups of these heroes

of many battles — cavalry and infantry still well armed — suffered themselves to be cut up by a few Prussian lancers, whom they might have turned upon and annihilated.

On arriving at Philippeville Napoleon was compelled to wait some time outside the walls. He had need of the protection of its ramparts, for the Prussians, into whose hands he dreaded to fall, were close upon him, having tracked him with great pertinacity, and detached some cavalry in that direction. When he reached the gates of the town the men on guard would not admit him until the commander of the fortress came up and recognized him. He then entered with a very humble retinue, the drawbridge being raised and the barrier closed immediately afterwards. As soon as it was known that the Emperor was at Philippeville many of his scattered troops closed round the town in order to protect him and to receive in turn protection from the ramparts. This caused some uneasiness: such a gathering of men would prove to the Prussians that the Emperor was there. To obviate this recourse was had to the following stratagem.

A number of emissaries were sent from the town to the camp, instructing them to counterfeit great terror, and to cry out, "Save yourselves! the Prussians are coming! The Uhlans are close upon us!" The emissaries played their parts so well, and the French soldiery were now so spiritless, that they broke up and fled like a flock of sheep. The feigned heralds of the enemy then went on to spread over the country the deplorable news that the Emperor was blockaded in Philippeville. This was regarded as certain, and nobody on the roads of Mezières and Laon, where the rumor was propagated, took it into his head to suspect that all this was nothing more nor less than an admirable combination, a stratagem of war of an entirely new conception, imagined by the great man to conceal his line of march, on which his personal safety depended. But the public could not long be imposed upon, and after a few hours' rest, Bonaparte left Philippeville and took the road to Paris by Rocroi and Mezières.

It was at Philippeville that the Duke of Bassano and his

secretary, M. Fleury de Chaboulon, who were travelling together in haste, found Napoleon in a state which indicated the feelings of his mind. It was hence that he sent orders to Generals Rapp, Lecourbe, and Lamarque, to collect what troops were left in France, and proceed by forced marches towards Paris; and at the same time the commanders of every fortified town on the roads leading to the capital were directed to defend themselves to the last extremity, in order that time might be gained to concentrate troops to prevent the Allies from entering Paris. It was at Philippeville that Napoleon dictated two letters to his secretary, to be forwarded immediately to his brother Joseph, the substance of which is thus stated: the first was to be communicated by that Prince to the Council of Ministers, which, however, by no means contained the whole of the fatal result of the battle; the second was a private letter to Joseph, giving him *all* the details of the day, and of the complete discomfiture of the army. He concluded this letter by saying, "All is, however, not lost; when I shall have collected my forces I expect I shall have 150,000 men; those of the National Guards, who are still attached to me, will furnish at least 100,000; the battalions in depot can supply 50,000, consequently I shall have 300,000 troops to oppose to the enemy: the best horses of Paris must be employed for the artillery. There must be immediately a levy of 100,000 recruits to be armed with the fire-locks of the Royalists. I will cause a levy *en masse* of the provinces of Dauphiné, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Champagne, for I am determined to crush our enemies. But to accomplish all this you must aid me immediately. I am going to Laon. I have not yet heard of Grouchy; if he is not taken prisoner, or his corps destroyed, which I much fear is the case, I may have in three days 50,000 men more, which will enable me to engage the attention of the Allies, and thus give time to Paris and to France to do their duty. The English troops march very slowly, and the Prussians, fearing our peasants, do not dare to advance. All may yet go well: write me word as to the effect which this skirmish has produced in the Chamber. I believe that the deputies will

feel it to be their duty to join me in every effort in order to save France: urge them to second me in my endeavors."

It was nightfall, on the 20th of June, when Napoleon approached the walls of Rocroi, where everybody expected he would stop and repose himself. A considerable part of the population of that town gathered on the ramparts and saluted him with the old cry of "Vive l'Empereur," but he only staid to change horses, and then posted onward. In his critical circumstances a single night, nay, a single hour, gained was of the very highest importance.

[*ANNEX TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.*]

NARRATIVE OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

BY M. FLEURY DE CHABOULON, EX-SECRETARY TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

THE plan of the campaign adopted by the Emperor was worthy of the courage of the French and of the high reputation of their Chief. Information given by agents employed by the Duke of Otranto (Fouché) had made known the position of the Allies in all its particulars. Napoleon knew that the army of Wellington was dispersed over the country, from the borders of the sea to Nivelles, that the right of the Prussians rested on Charleroi, and that the rest of their army was stationed in *échelon* indefinitely as far as the Rhine. He judged that the lines of the enemy were too much extended, and that it would be practicable for him, by not giving them time to close up, to separate the two armies, and fall in succession on their troops thus taken by surprise. For this purpose he had united all his cavalry into a single body of 20,000 horse, with which he intended to dart like lightning into the midst of the enemy's cantonments. If victory favored this bold stroke the centre of our army would occupy Brussels on the second day, while the corps of the right and of the left drove the Prussians to the Meuse, and the English to the Scheldt. Belgium being conquered, he would have armed the malcontents, and marched from success to success as far as the Rhine.

On the 14th, during the night, our army, the presence of which the Emperor had taken care to conceal, was to commence its march; nothing indicated that the enemy had foreseen our irruption, and everything promised us important results. It was at this time that Napoleon was informed that General Bourmont, Colonels Clouet and Villoutreys, and two other officers, had just deserted to the enemy. He knew from Marshal Ney that M. de Bourmont, at the time of the occurrences at Besançon,

had shown some hesitation, and was backward to employ him. But M. de Bourmont having given General Gérard his word of honor to serve the Emperor faithfully, and this general, whom Napoleon highly valued, having answered for Bourmont, the Emperor consented to admit him into the service. How could he have supposed that this officer, who had covered himself with glory in 1814, would, in 1815, go over to the enemy on the eve of a battle? Napoleon immediately made such alterations in his plan of attack as this unexpected treason rendered necessary, and then marched forward. On the 15th, at one in the morning, he was in person at Jamignon, on the Eure. At three his army moved in three columns, and debouched suddenly at Beaumont, Maubeuge, and Philippeville. A corps of infantry, under General Zieten, attempted to dispute the passage of the Sambre. The 4th regiment of chasseurs, supported by the 9th, broke it, sword in hand, and took 300 prisoners. The marines and sappers of the Guard, sent after the enemy to repair the bridges, did not allow them time to destroy them. They followed them in skirmishing order, and penetrated with them into the great square. The brave Pajol soon arrived with his cavalry, and Charleroi was ours.[1] The inhabitants, happy at seeing the French once more, saluted them unanimously with continued shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" "France forever!" General Pajol immediately sent the hussars of General Clary in pursuit of the Prussians, and this brave regiment finished its day by the capture of a standard and the destruction of a battalion that ventured to resist it.

During this time the 2d corps passed the Sambre at Marchiennes, and overthrew everything before it. The Prussians having at length rallied, attempted to oppose some resistance to it, but General Reille beat them with his light cavalry, took 200 prisoners, and killed or dispersed the rest. Beaten in every part, they retired to the heights of Fleurus, which had been so fatal to the enemies of France twenty years before. Napoleon reconnoitred the ground at a glance. Our troops rushed on the Prussians at full gallop. Three squares of infantry, supported by several squadrons and some artillery, sustained the shock with intrepidity. Wearied by their immovableness, the Emperor ordered General Letort to charge them at the head of the dragoons of the Guard. At the same moment General Excelmans fell upon the left flank of the enemy, and the 20th dragoons, commanded by the brave and young Briqueville, rushed on the Prussians on one side, while Letort attacked them on the other. They were broken and annihilated; but dearly was the victory purchased: Letort was killed. This affair, though of little importance in its results, cost the enemy five pieces of artillery and 3000 men killed or taken prisoners, and produced the happiest effects on the army. The illness of Marshal Mortier and the

[1] The people of Charleroi marked their respect for fallen greatness by placing the following inscription over the gate by which Napoleon entered the town: —

ABIIT : EXCESSIT : EVASIT : ERYPIT.

treason of General Bourmont had given birth to sentiments of doubt and fear, which were entirely dissipated by the successful issue of this first battle. Hitherto each chief of a corps had retained its immediate command, and it is easy to suppose what their ardor and emulation must have been; but the Emperor fell into the error of overturning the hopes of their courage and their ambition. He placed General d'Erlon and Count Reille under the orders of Marshal Ney, whom he brought forward too late; and Count Gérard and Count Vandamme under the orders of Marshal Grouchy, whom it would have been better to have left at the head of the cavalry.

Marshal Grouchy, with the 3d and 4th corps, and the cavalry of Generals Pajol, Excelmans, and Milhaud, was placed on the heights of Fleurus, and in advance of them. The 6th corps and the Guard were in *échelon* between Fleurus and Charleroi. On the 16th the army of Marshal Blucher, 90,000 strong, collected together with great skill, was posted on the heights of Brie and Sombref, and occupied the villages of Ligny and St. Amand, which protected his front. His cavalry extended far in advance on the road to Namur. The army of the Duke of Wellington, which this General had not yet had time to collect, was composed of about 100,000 men, scattered between Ath, Nivelle, Genappe, and Brussels.

The Emperor went in person to reconnoitre Blucher's position, and penetrating his intentions resolved to give him battle before his reserves and the English army, for which he was endeavoring to wait, should have time to arrive. He immediately sent orders to Marshal Ney, whom he supposed to have been on the march for Quatre Bras, *where he would have found very few forces*, to drive the English briskly before him, and then fall with his main force on the rear of the Prussian army. At the same time he made a change in the front of the Imperial Army: Marshal Grouchy advanced towards Sombref, General Gérard towards Ligny, and General Vandamme towards St. Amand.

General Girard, with his division, 5000 strong, was detached from the 2d corps, and placed in the rear of General Vandamme's left, so as to support him, and at the same time form a communication between Marshal Ney's army and that of Napoleon. The Guard and Milhaud's cuirassiers were disposed as a reserve in advance of Fleurus. At three o'clock the 3d corps reached St. Amand and carried it. The Prussians, rallied by Blucher, retook the village. The French, intrenched in the churchyard, defended themselves there with obstinacy, but, overpowered by numbers, they were about to give way when General Drouot, who has more than once decided the fate of a battle, galloped up with four batteries of the Guard, took the enemy in the rear, and stopped his career. At the same moment Marshal Grouchy was fighting successfully at Sombref, and General Gérard made an impetuous attack on the village of Ligny. Its crenellated walls and a long ravine rendered the approaches to it not less difficult than dangerous. But these obstacles did not intimidate General Lefol, or the brave fellows under his command; they advanced with the

bayonet, and in a few minutes the Prussians, repulsed and annihilated, quitted the ground. Marshal Blucher, conscious that the possession of Ligny would decide the fate of the battle, returned to the charge with picked troops; and here, to use his own words, "commenced a battle that may be considered as one of the most obstinate mentioned in history." For five hours no less than 200 pieces of cannon vomited forth incessantly an iron hail upon this scene of carnage. French and Prussians, alternately vanquished and victors, disputed this ensanguined post hand to hand and foot to foot, and seven times in succession was it taken and lost. The Emperor expected every instant that Marshal Ney was coming to take part in the action. From the commencement of the affair he had reiterated this order to him, to manœuvre so as to surround the right of the Prussians; and he considered this diversion of such high importance as to write to the Marshal, and cause him to be repeatedly told that the fate of France was in his hands. Ney answered that "he had the whole of the English army to encounter, yet he would promise him to hold out the whole day, but nothing more." The Emperor, better informed, assured him "that it was Wellington's advanced guard alone that made head against him," and ordered him anew "to beat back the English, and make himself master of Quatre Bras, cost what it might." The Marshal persisted in his fatal error. Napoleon, deeply impressed with the importance of the movement that Marshal Ney refused to comprehend and execute, sent directly to the 1st corps an order to move with all speed on the right of the Prussians; but, after having lost much valuable time in waiting for it, he judged that the battle could not be prolonged without danger, and directed General Gérard, who had with him but 5000 men, to undertake the movement which should have been accomplished by the 20,000 men under Comte D'Erlon; namely, to turn St. Amand, and fall on the rear of the enemy.

This manœuvre, ably executed, and seconded by the Guard attacking in front, and by a brilliant charge of the cuirassiers of General Delort's brigade, and of the horse grenadier guards, decided the victory. The Prussians, weakened in every part, retired in disorder, and left us masters of the field of battle, forty cannons and many standards.

On the left Marshal Ney, instead of rushing rapidly on Quatre Bras, and effecting the diversion that had been recommended to him, had spent twelve hours in useless attempts, and given time to the Prince of Orange to re-enforce his advance guard. The pressing orders of Napoleon not allowing him to remain meditating any longer, and desirous, no doubt, of recovering the time he had lost, Ney did not thoroughly reconnoitre either the position or the forces of the enemy, but rushed upon them headlong. The division of General Foy commenced the attack, and drove in the sharpshooters and the advanced posts. Bachelu's cavalry, aided, covered, and supported by this division, pierced and cut to pieces three Scotch battalions; but the arrival of fresh re-enforcements, led by the Duke of Wellington, and the heroic bravery of the Scotch, the Belgians, and the

Prince of Orange, suspended our success. This resistance, far from discouraging Marshal Ney, revived in him an energy which he had not before shown. He attacked the Anglo-Hollanders with fury, and drove them back to the skirts of the wood of Bossu. The 1st regiment of chasseurs and 6th of lancers overthrew the Brunswickers; the 8th of cuirassiers positively rode over two Scotch battalions, and took from them a color. The 11th, equally intrepid, pursued them to the entrance of the wood; but the wood, which had not been examined, was lined with English infantry. Our cuirassiers were assailed by a fire at arm's-length, which at once carried dismay and confusion into their ranks. Some of the officers, lately incorporated with them, instead of appeasing the disorder, increased it by shouts of "Every one for himself" (*Sauve qui peut!*). This disorder, which in a moment spread from one to another as far as Beaumont, might have occasioned greater disasters if the infantry of General Foy, which remained unshaken, had not continued to sustain the conflict with equal perseverance and intrepidity.

Marshal Ney, who had with him not more than 20,000 men, was desirous of causing the 1st corps, which he had left in the rear, to advance; but the Emperor, as I have said above, had sent immediate orders to Comte d'Erlon, who commanded it, to rejoin him, and this general had commenced his march. Ney when he heard this was exposed to a cross-fire from the enemy's batteries. "Do you see those bullets?" exclaimed he, his brow clouded with despair: "I wish they would all pass through my body." Instantly he sent with all speed after Comte d'Erlon, and directed him, whatever orders he might have received from the Emperor himself, to return. Comte d'Erlon was so unfortunate and weak as to obey. He brought his troops back to the Marshal, but it was nine o'clock in the evening, and the Marshal, dispirited by the checks he had received, and dissatisfied with himself and others, had discontinued the engagement.

The Duke of Wellington, whose forces had been increased successively to upwards of 50,000 men, retired in good order during the night to Genappe.

Marshal Ney was indebted to the great bravery of his troops and the firmness of his generals for the honor of not being obliged to abandon his positions.

The desperation with which this battle was fought made those shudder who were most habituated to contemplate with coolness the horrors of war. The smoking ruins of Ligny and St. Amand were heaped with the dead and the dying; the ravine before Ligny resembled a river of blood, on which carcasses were floating: at Quatre Bras there was a similar spectacle! The hollow way that skirted the wood had disappeared under the bloody corpses of the brave Scotch and of our cuirassiers. The Imperial Guard was everywhere distinguished by its murderous rage: it fought with shouts of "The Emperor forever! No quarter!" The corps of General Gérard displayed the same animosity. It was this corps that,

having expended all its ammunition, called out for more cartridges and more Prussians.

The loss of the Prussians, rendered considerable by the tremendous fire of our artillery, was 25,000 men. Blucher, unhorsed by our cuirassiers, escaped them only by a miracle.

The English and Dutch lost 4500 men. Three Scotch regiments and the Black Legion of Brunswick were almost entirely exterminated. The Prince of Brunswick himself and a number of other officers of distinction were killed.

We lost in the left wing nearly 5000 men and several generals. Prince Jérôme, who had already been wounded at the passage of the Sambre, had his hand slightly grazed by a musket-shot. He remained constantly at the head of his division, and displayed a great deal of coolness and valor. Our loss at Ligny, estimated at 6500 men, was rendered still more to be regretted by General Girard's receiving a mortal wound. Few officers were endued with a character so noble, and an intrepidity so habitual. More greedy of glory than of wealth, he possessed nothing but his sword; and his last moments, instead of resting with delight on the remembrance of his heroic actions alone, were disturbed by the pain of leaving his family exposed to want.

The victory of Ligny did not entirely fulfil the expectations of the Emperor. "If Marshal Ney," said he, "had attacked the English with all his forces, he would have crushed them, and have arrived in time to give the Prussians the finishing blow: and if, after having committed this first fault, he had not been guilty of a second folly, in preventing the movement of Comte D'Erlon, the intervention of the 1st corps would have shortened the resistance of Blucher, and rendered his defeat irreparable; his whole army would have been taken or destroyed."

This victory, though imperfect, was not the less considered by the generals of the highest importance. It separated the English army from the Prussians, and left us hopes of being able to vanquish it in its turn.

The Emperor, without losing time, was for attacking the English on one side at daybreak, and pursuing Blucher's army without respite on the other. In opposition to this plan it was remarked that the English army was fresh, and ready to accept battle, while our troops, harassed by the conflicts and fatigue of Ligny, would not perhaps be in a condition to fight with the necessary vigor. Finally, such numerous objections were made that he consented to suffer the army to take rest. Ill success inspires timidity. If Napoleon, as of old, had listened only to the suggestions of his own daring resolution, it is probable, nay, it is certain (and this was confirmed by General Drouot) that he might, according to his plan, have led his troops to Brussels on the 17th; and who can calculate what would have been the consequences of that capital falling into his hands?

On the 17th, therefore, the Emperor contented himself with forming his army into two columns: one, of 65,000 men headed by the Emperor himself, after uniting with it the left wing, followed the English army.

The light artillery, the lancers of General Alphonse Colbert, and of the intrepid Colonel Sourd, hung close upon their rear even to the entrance of the forest of Soignies, where the Duke of Wellington took up his position.

The other, 36,000 strong, was detached under the orders of Marshal Grouchy to observe and pursue the Prussians. It did not proceed beyond Gembloux.

The night of the 17th was dreadful, and seemed to presage the calamities of the day. A violent and incessant rain did not allow the army to take a single moment's rest. To increase our misfortunes, the bad state of the roads retarded the arrival of our provisions, and most of the soldiers were without food: however, they endured this double ill luck with much cheerfulness, and at daybreak announced to Napoleon by repeated acclamations that they were ready to fly to a fresh victory.

The Emperor had thought that Lord Wellington, separated from the Prussians, and foreseeing the march of General Grouchy, who on passing the Dyle might fall on his flank or on his rear, would not venture to maintain his position, but would retire to Brussels. He was surprised when daylight discovered to him that the English army had not quitted its positions, and appeared disposed to accept battle and await the attack. Several general officers were directed to reconnoitre their positions; and to use the words of one of them, he learned that they were defended by "an army of cannons, and mountains of infantry."

Napoleon immediately sent advice to Marshal Grouchy that he was probably about to engage in a grand battle with the English, and ordered him to push the Prussians briskly, to rejoin the Grand Army as speedily as possible, and to direct his movements so as to be able to connect his operations with it.

He then sent for his principal officers, to give them his instructions.

Some of them, confident and daring, asserted that the enemy's position should be attacked and carried by main force. Others, not less brave, but more prudent, urged that the ground being deluged by the rain, the troops, the cavalry in particular, could not manœuvre without much difficulty and fatigue, that the English army would have the immense advantage of awaiting us on firm ground in its intrenchments, and that it would be better to endeavor to turn these. All did justice to the valor of our troops, and promised that they would perform prodigies; but they differed in opinion with regard to the resistance that the English would make. "Their cavalry," said the generals who had fought in Spain, "are not equal to ours; but their infantry are more formidable than is supposed. When intrenched they are dangerous from their skill in firing; in the open field they stand firm, and if broken, rally again within a hundred yards, and return to the charge." Fresh disputes arose, and, what is remarkable, it never entered into any one's head that the Prussians, pretty numerous parties of whom had been seen towards Moustier, might be in a situation to make a serious diversion on our right.

The Emperor, after having heard and discussed the opinions of all, determined, on considerations to which all assented, to attack the English in front. Reiterated orders were despatched to Marshal Grouchy; and Napoleon, to give him time to execute the movement he had enjoined, spent the whole morning in arranging his army.

The Emperor, with his staff, took his station on a rising ground near the farm of La Belle Alliance which commanded the plain, and whence he could easily direct the movements of the army, and observe those of the English.

At half-past twelve the Emperor, persuaded that Marshal Grouchy must be in motion, caused the signal for the battle to be given.

Prince Jérôme, with his division, advanced against Hougomont. The approaches were defended by hedges and a wood, in which the enemy had posted numerous guns. The attack, rendered so difficult by the state of the ground, was conducted with extreme impetuosity. The wood was alternately taken and retaken. Our troops and the English, very frequently separated only by a hedge, fired on each other, their muskets almost touching, without retreating a single step. The artillery made fearful ravages on both sides. The event was doubtful till General Reille ordered Foy's division to support the attack of Prince Jérôme, and thus succeeded in compelling the enemy to abandon the woods and orchards, which they had hitherto so valiantly defended and kept possession of.

It was one o'clock. A few moments before, an intercepted despatch informed the Emperor of the near approach of 30,000 Prussians, commanded by Bulow. Napoleon, thinking that the strength of this corps, some of the skirmishers of which had appeared on the heights of St. Lambert, was exaggerated, and being persuaded, too, that Grouchy's army was following it, and that it would soon find itself between two fires, felt but little uneasiness. However, rather from precaution than from fear, he gave orders to General Domont to advance with his cavalry and that of General Subervie to meet the Prussians, and directed Count Lobau to be ready to support General Domont in case of necessity. Orders were despatched at the same time to Marshal Grouchy to inform him of what was passing, and enjoin him anew to hasten his march, to pursue, attack, and crush Bulow.

Thus, by drawing off the divisions of Domont and Subervie, and by the paralyzation of the 6th corps, our army was reduced to less than 57,000 men; but it displayed so much resolution that the Emperor did not doubt that it was sufficient to defeat the English.

The 2d corps, as I have already said, had effected the dislodgement of the English from the woods of Hougomont, but the 1st corps, notwithstanding the continual play of several batteries, and the resolution of our infantry and of the light horse of General Lefebvre-Desnouettes and Guyot, had been unable to force either La Haye Sainte or Mont St. Jean. The Emperor ordered Marshal Ney to undertake a fresh attack, and to

support it by eighty pieces of cannon. A tremendous fire of musketry and artillery then took place along the whole line. The English, insensible to danger, endured the charges of our foot and of our horse with great steadiness. The more resistance they displayed the more furiously did our soldiers continue the attack. At length the English, driven from one position to another, evacuated La Haye Sainte and Mont St. Jean, and our troops seized on them with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!"

To maintain them there Comte d'Erlon immediately sent the 2d brigade of General Allix. A body of English horse intercepted the passage, threw the brigade into disorder, and then, falling on our batteries, succeeded in dismounting several pieces of artillery. The cuirassiers of General Milhaud rushed forward at a gallop to repulse the English horse. A fresh division of these came and fell upon our cuirassiers. Our lancers and chasseurs were sent to their assistance. A general charge ensued, and the English, broken, overthrown, and cut down, were forced to retire in disorder.

Hitherto the French army, or, to speak more properly, the 40,000 men of Generals Reille and d'Erlon, had obtained and preserved a marked superiority. The enemy, driven back, appeared hesitating on their movements. Dispositions had been observed that seemed to indicate an approaching retreat. The Emperor, satisfied, joyfully exclaimed: "They are ours, I have them:" and Marshal Soult and all the generals considered, as he did, the victory certain. The Guard had already received orders to put itself in motion to occupy the ground we had gained, and annihilate the enemy, when General Domont sent to inform the Emperor that Bulow's corps had just formed in line, and was advancing rapidly on the rear of our right. This information changed the design of Napoleon, and instead of employing his Guard to support the 1st and 2d corps, he kept it in reserve, ordering Marshal Ney to maintain his ground in the woods of Hougomont, at La Haye Sainte, and at Mont St. Jean, till the event of the movement which Count Lobau was about to make against the Prussians should be known.

The English, informed of the arrival of Bulow, resumed the offensive, and endeavored to drive us from the positions that we had taken from them. Our troops repulsed them victoriously. Marshal Ney, carried away by his reckless courage, forgot the orders of the Emperor. He charged the enemy at the head of Milhaud's cuirassiers and the light cavalry of the Guard, and succeeded, amid the applause of the army, in establishing himself on the heights of Mont St. Jean, till then inaccessible.

This ill-timed and hazardous movement did not escape the Duke of Wellington. He ordered his infantry to advance, and fell upon us with all his cavalry. The Emperor immediately ordered General Kellermann and his cuirassiers to hasten to extricate our first line. The horse grenadiers and dragoons of the Guard, either from a misconception of Marshal Ney, or spontaneously, put themselves in motion, and followed

the cuirassiers without it being possible to stop them. A second conflict, more bloody than the first, took place at all points. Our troops, exposed to the incessant fire of the enemy's batteries and infantry, heroically sustained and executed numerous brilliant charges during two hours, in which we had the glory of taking six flags, dismounting several batteries, and cutting to pieces four regiments; but in which we also lost the flower of our intrepid cuirassiers and of the cavalry of the Guard.

The Emperor, whom this fatal engagement filled with despair, could not remedy it. Grouchy did not arrive; and he had already been obliged to weaken his reserves by 4000 of the Young Guard, in order to master the Prussians, whose numbers and whose progress were still increasing.

Meantime our cavalry, weakened by a considerable loss and unequal contests incessantly renewed, began to be disheartened, and to yield ground. The issue of the battle appeared to become doubtful. It was necessary to strike a grand blow by a desperate attack.

The Emperor did not hesitate a moment.

Orders were immediately given to Count Reille to collect all his forces, and to fall with impetuosity on the right of the enemy, while Napoleon in person proceeded to attack the front with his reserves. The Emperor had already formed his Guard into a column of attack, when he heard that our cavalry had just been compelled to evacuate in part the heights of Mont St. Jean. Marshal Ney was immediately ordered to take with him four battalions of the Middle Guard, and hasten with all speed to the fatal height, to support the cuirassiers by whom it was still occupied.

The determined aspect of the Guard, and the harangues of Napoleon, animated the courage of all: the cavalry and a few battalions who had followed his movement to the rear faced about towards the enemy shouting, "The Emperor forever!"

At this moment the firing of musketry was heard. "There's Grouchy!" exclaimed the Emperor. "The day is ours!" Labédoyère flew to announce this happy news to the army: in spite of the enemy he penetrated to the head of our columns. "Marshal Grouchy is arriving, the Guard is going to charge: courage! courage! 'tis all over with the English."

One last shout of hope burst from every rank: the wounded who were still capable of taking a few steps returned to the combat, and thousands of voices eagerly repeated, "Forward! forward!"

The column commanded by "the bravest of the brave," on his arrival in the face of the enemy, was received by discharges of artillery that occasioned it a terrible loss. Marshal Ney, weary of bullets, ordered the batteries to be carried by the bayonet. The grenadiers rushed on them with such impetuosity that they neglected the admirable order to which they had been so often indebted for victory. Their leader, intoxicated with intrepidity, did not perceive this disorder. He and his soldiers rushed on the enemy tumultuously. A shower of balls and grape burst on their heads. Ney's horse was shot under him, Generals Michel and Friant fell wounded or dead, and a number of brave fellows were stretched

on the ground. Wellington did not allow our grenadiers time to recover themselves. He attacked them in flank with his cavalry, and compelled them to retire in the greatest disorder. At the same instant the 30,000 Prussians under Zieten, who had been taken for Grouchy's army, carried by assault the village of La Haye, and drove our men before them. Our cavalry, our infantry, already staggered by the defeat of the Middle Guard, were afraid of being cut off, and precipitately retreated. The English horse, skilfully availing themselves of the confusion which this unexpected retreat had occasioned, pierced through our ranks, and succeeded in spreading disorder and dismay amongst them. The other troops on the right, who continued to resist with great difficulty the attack of the Prussians, and who had been in want of ammunition above an hour, seeing some of our squadrons routed and some of the Guards running away, thought all was lost, and quitted their position. This panic extended in an instant to our left, and the whole army, after having so valiantly carried the enemy's strongest posts, abandoned them with as much precipitation as they had displayed bravery in conquering them.

The English army, which had advanced in proportion as we retreated, and the Prussians, who had not ceased to pursue us, fell at once on our scattered battalions; night increased the tumult and alarm, and soon the whole army was nothing but a confused crowd, which the English and Prussians routed without effort, and pitilessly massacred.

The Emperor, witnessing this frightful defection, could scarcely believe his eyes. His *aides de camp* flew to rally the troops in all directions. He also threw himself into the midst of the crowd. But his words, his orders, his entreaties were not heard. How was it possible for the army to form anew under the guns and amid the continual charges of 80,000 English and 60,000 Prussians, who covered the field of battle?

However, eight battalions, which the Emperor had previously collected, formed in squares, and blocked up the road to prevent the advance of the Prussian and English armies. These brave fellows, notwithstanding their resolution and courage, could not long resist the efforts of an enemy twenty times their number. Surrounded, assaulted, cannonaded on all sides, most of them at length fell. Some sold their lives dearly; others, exhausted with fatigue, hunger, and thirst, had no longer strength to fight, and suffered themselves to be killed without being able to make any defence. Two battalions only, whom the enemy were unable to break, retreated disputing the ground, till, thrown into disorder and hurried along by the general movement, they were obliged themselves to follow the stream.

One last battalion of reserve, the illustrious and unfortunate remains of the granite column of the fields of Marengo, had remained unshaken amid the tumultuous waves of the army. The Emperor retired into the ranks of these brave fellows, still commanded by Cambronne! He formed them into a square, and advanced at their head to meet the enemy. All his generals, Ney, Soult, Bertrand, Drouot, Corbineau, De

Flahaut, Labédoyère, Gourgaud, etc., drew their swords and became soldiers. The old grenadiers, incapable of fear for their own lives, were alarmed at the danger that threatened the life of the Emperor. They conjured him to withdraw. "Retire," said one of them. "You see clearly that death shuns you." The Emperor resisted, and ordered them to fire. The officers around him seized his bridle and dragged him away. Cambronne and his brave fellows crowded round their expiring eagles, and bade Napoleon an eternal adieu. The English, moved by their heroic resistance, conjured them to surrender. "No," said Cambronne, "the Guard can die, but not yield!" At the same moment they all rushed on the enemy with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" Their blows were worthy of the conquerors of Austerlitz, Jena, Wagram, and Montmirail. The English and Prussians, from whom they still kept back the victory, united against this handful of heroes, and cut them down. Some, covered with wounds, fell to the ground, weltering in their blood; others, more fortunate, were killed outright: finally, they whose hopes were not answered by death shot one another, that they might not survive their companions-in-arms or die by the hands of their enemies.[1]

Wellington and Blucher, thus become quiet possessors of the field of battle, traversed it as masters. But at what expense of blood was this unjust triumph purchased! Never, no never, were the blows of the French more formidable or more deadly to their adversaries. Thirsting after blood and glory, despising danger and death, they rushed daringly on the blazing batteries of their enemy, and seemed to multiply in number, to seek, attack, and pursue them in their inaccessible intrenchments. 30,000 English or Prussians were sacrificed by their hands on that fatal day; and when it is considered that this horrible carnage was the work of 50,000 men, dying with fatigue and hunger, and striving in miry ground against an impregnable position, and 130,000 fighting men, we cannot but be seized with sorrowful admiration, and decree to the vanquished the palm of victory.[2]

[1] It is scarcely necessary to remind our readers of the graphic, if incorrect, picture of Waterloo given in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*.

[2] *Memoirs of the Private Life, Return, and Reign of Napoleon in* 1815, by M. Fleury de Chaboulon, ex-Secretary of the Emperor Napoleon and of his Cabinets, Master of Requests to the Council of State, etc.

CHAPTER X.

1815.

Interview with Lavallette — Proceedings in the French Chambers — Second abdication of Napoleon — He retires to Rochefort, negotiates with Captain Maitland, and finally embarks in the *Bellerophon*.

One of the first public men to see Napoleon after his return from Waterloo was Lavallette. "I flew," says he, "to the Elysée to see the Emperor: he summoned me into his closet, and as soon as he saw me, he came to meet me with a frightful epileptic laugh. 'Oh, my God!' he said, raising his eyes to heaven, and walking two or three times up and down the room. This appearance of despair was however very short. He soon recovered his coolness, and asked me what was going forward in the Chamber of Representatives. I could not attempt to hide that party spirit was there carried to a high pitch, and that the majority seemed determined to require his abdication, and to pronounce it themselves if he did not concede willingly. 'How is that?' he said. 'If proper measures are not taken the enemy will be before the gates of Paris in eight days. Alas!' he added, 'have I accustomed them to such great victories that they know not how to bear *one day's misfortune?* What will become of poor France? I have done all I could for her!' He then heaved a deep sigh. Somebody asked to speak to him, and I left him, with a direction to come back at a later hour.

"I passed the day in seeking information among all my friends and acquaintances. I found in all of them either the greatest dejection or an extravagant joy, which they disguised by feigned alarm and pity for myself, which I repulsed with great indignation. Nothing favorable was to be expected from the Chamber of Representatives. They all said they wished for liberty, but, between two enemies who appeared

ready to destroy it, they preferred the foreigners, the friends of the Bourbons, to Napoleon, who might still have prolonged the struggle, but that he alone would not find means to save them and erect the edifice of liberty. The Chamber of Peers presented a much sadder spectacle. Except the intrepid Thibaudeau, who till the last moment expressed himself with admirable energy against the Bourbons, almost all the others thought of nothing else but getting out of the dilemma with the least loss they could. Some took no pains to hide their wish of bending again under the Bourbon yoke."

On the evening of Napoleon's return to Paris he sent for Benjamin Constant to come to him at the Elysée about seven o'clock. The Chambers had decreed their permanence, and proposals for abdication had reached the Emperor. He was serious but calm. In reply to some words on the disaster of Waterloo he said, "The question no longer concerns me, but France. They wish me to abdicate. Have they calculated upon the inevitable consequences of this abdication? It is round me, round my name, that the army rallies: to separate me from it is to disband it. If I abdicate to-day, in two days' time you will no longer have an army. These poor fellows do not understand all your subtleties. Is it believed that axioms in metaphysics, declarations of right, harangues from the tribune, will put a stop to the disbanding of an army? To reject me when I landed at Cannes I can conceive possible; to abandon me now is what I do not understand. It is not when the enemy is at twenty-five leagues' distance that any Government can be overturned with impunity. Does any one imagine that the Foreign Powers will be won over by fine words? If they had dethroned me fifteen days ago there would have been some spirit in it; but as it is, I make part of what strangers attack, I make part, then, of what France is bound to defend. In giving me up she gives up herself, she avows her weakness, she acknowledges herself conquered, she courts the insolence of the conqueror. It is not the love of liberty which deposes me, but Waterloo; it is fear, and a fear of which your enemies will take advantage. And then what title has the Chamber to demand my abdication? It goes out

of its lawful sphere in doing so; it has no authority. It is my right, it is my duty to dissolve it."

"He then hastily ran over the possible consequences of such a step. Separated from the Chambers, he could only be considered as a military chief: but the army would be for him; that would always join him who can lead it against foreign banners, and to this might be added all that part of the population which is equally powerful and easily led in such a state of things. As if chance intended to strengthen Napoleon in this train of thought, while he was speaking the avenue of Marigny resounded with the cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' A crowd of men, chiefly of the poor and laboring class, pressed forward into the avenue, full of a wild enthusiasm, and trying to scale the walls to make an offer to Napoleon to rally round and defend him. Bonaparte for some time looked attentively at this group. 'You see it is so,' said he; 'those are not the men whom I have loaded with honors and riches. What do these people owe me? I found them — I left them — poor. The instinct of necessity enlightens them; the voice of the country speaks by their mouths; and if I choose, if I permit it, in an hour the refractory Chambers will have ceased to exist. But the life of a man is not worth purchasing at such a price: I did not return from the Isle of Elba that Paris should be inundated with blood.' He did not like the idea of flight. 'Why should I not stay here?' he repeated. 'What do you suppose they would do to a man disarmed like me? I will go to Malmaison: I can live there in retirement with some friends, who most certainly will come to see me only for my own sake.'

"He then described with complacency and even with a sort of gayety this new kind of life. Afterwards, discarding an idea which sounded like mere irony, he went on. 'If they do not like me to remain in France, where am I to go? To England? My abode there would be ridiculous or disquieting. I should be tranquil; no one would believe it. Every fog would be suspected of concealing my landing on the coast. At the first sight of a green coat getting out of a boat one party would fly from France, the other would put France

out of the pale of the law. I should compromise everybody, and by dint of the repeated 'Behold he comes!' I should feel the temptation to set out. America would be more suitable; I could live there with dignity. But once more, what is there to fear? What sovereign can, without injuring himself, persecute me? To one I have restored half his dominions; how often has the other pressed my hand, calling me *a great man!* And as to the third, can he find pleasure or honor in the humiliation of his son-in-law? Would they wish to proclaim in the face of the world that all they did was through fear? As to the rest, I shall see: I do not wish to employ open force. I came in the hope of combining our last resources: they abandoned me; they do so with the same facility with which they received me back. Well, then, let them efface, if possible, this double stain of weakness and levity! Let them cover it over with some sacrifice, with some glory! Let them do for the country what they will not do for me. I doubt it. To-day, those who deliver up Bonaparte say that it is to save France: to-morrow, by delivering up France, they will prove that it was to save their own heads."[1]

The humiliating scenes which rapidly succeeded one another, and which ended in Napoleon's unconditional surrender, may be briefly told. As soon as possible after his arrival at Paris he assembled his counsellors, when he declared himself in favor of still resisting. The question, however, was, whether the Chambers would support him; and Lafayette being treacherously informed, it is said by Fouché, that it was intended to dissolve the Chambers, used his influence to get the Chambers to adopt the propositions he laid before them. By these the independence of the nation was asserted to be in danger; the sittings of the Chamber were declared permanent, and all attempts to dissolve it were pronounced treasonable. The propositions were adopted, and being communicated to the Chamber of Peers, that body also declared itself permanent. Whatever might have been the intentions of Bonaparte, it was now manifest that there were no longer any hopes of his being able to make his

[1] Hazlitt.

will the law of the nation; after some vacillation, therefore, on 22d June he published the following declaration: —

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

FRENCHMEN! — In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me. Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and really have directed them only against my power. My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son under the title of

Napoleon II.,

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

The present Ministers will provisionally form the Council of the Government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the Chambers to form without delay the Regency by a law. Unite all for the public safety, that you may continue an independent nation.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

This declaration was conveyed to both the Chambers, which voted deputations to the late Emperor, accepting this abdication, but in their debates the nomination of his son to the succession was artfully eluded. The Chamber of Representatives voted the nomination of a Commission of five persons, three to be chosen from that Chamber, and two from the Chamber of Peers, for the purpose of provisionally exercising the functions of Government, and also that the Ministers should continue their respective functions under the authority of this Commission. The persons chosen by the Chamber for Representatives were Carnot, Fouché, and Grenier, those nominated by the Peers were the Duke of Vicenza (Caulaincourt) and Baron Quinette. The Commission nominated five persons to the Allied army for the purpose of proposing peace. These proceedings were, however, rendered of little importance by the resolution of the victors to advance to Paris.

Napoleon's behavior just before and immediately after the crisis is well described by Lavallette. "The next day," he observes, "I returned to the Emperor. He had received the

most positive accounts of the state of feeling in the Chamber of Representatives. The reports had, however, been given to him with some little reserve, for he did not seem to me convinced that the resolution was really formed to pronounce his abdication. I was better informed on the matter, and I came to him without having the least doubt in my mind that the only thing he could do was to descend once more from the throne. I communicated to him all the particulars I had just received, and I did not hesitate to advise him to follow the only course worthy of him. He listened to me with a sombre air, and though he was in some measure master of himself, the agitation of his mind and the sense of his position betrayed themselves in his face and in all his motions. 'I know,' said I, 'that your Majesty may still keep the sword drawn, but with whom, and against whom? Defeat has chilled the courage of every one; the army is still in the greatest confusion. Nothing is to be expected from Paris, and the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire cannot be renewed.' — 'That thought,' he replied, stopping, 'is far from my mind. I will hear nothing more about myself. But poor France!' At that moment Savary and Caulaincourt entered, and having drawn a faithful picture of the exasperation of the Deputies, they persuaded him to assent to abdication. Some words he uttered proved to us that he would have considered death preferable to that step; but still he took it.

"The great act of abdication being performed, he remained calm during the whole day, giving his advice on the position the army should take, and on the manner in which the negotiations with the enemy ought to be conducted. He insisted especially on the necessity of proclaiming his son Emperor, not so much for the advantage of the child as with a view to concentrate all the power of sentiments and affections. Unfortunately, nobody would listen to him. Some men of sense and courage rallied round that proposition in the two Chambers, but fear swayed the majority; and among those who remained free from it many thought that a public declaration of liberty, and the resolution to defend it at any price, would make the enemy and the Bourbons turn back. Strange delu-

sion of weakness and want of experience! It must, however, be respected, for it had its source in love of their country; but, while we excuse it, can it be justified? The population of the metropolis had resumed its usual appearance, which was that of complete indifference, with a resolution to cry 'Long live the King!' provided the King arrived well escorted; for one must not judge of the whole capital by about one-thirtieth part of the inhabitants, who called for arms, and declared themselves warmly against the return of the exiled family.

"On the 23d I returned to the Elysée. The Emperor had been for two hours in his bath. He himself turned the discourse on the retreat he ought to choose, and spoke of the United States. I rejected the idea without reflection, and with a degree of vehemence that surprised him. 'Why not America?' he asked. I answered, 'Because Moreau retired there.' The observation was harsh, and I should never have forgiven myself for having expressed it, if I had not retracted my advice a few days afterwards. He heard it without any apparent ill humor, but I have no doubt that it must have made an unfavorable impression on his mind. I strongly urged on his choosing England for his asylum.

"The Emperor went to Malmaison. He was accompanied thither by the Duchesse de St. Leu, Bertrand and his family, and the Duc de Bassano. The day that he arrived there he proposed to me to accompany him abroad. 'Drouot,' he said, 'remains in France. I see the Minister of War wishes him not to be lost to his country. I dare not complain, but it is a great loss to me; I never met with a better head, or a more upright heart. That man was formed to be a prime minister anywhere.' I declined to accompany him at the time, saying, 'My wife is *enceinte;* I cannot make up my mind to leave her. Allow me some time, and I will join you wherever you may be. I have remained faithful to your Majesty in better times, and you may reckon upon me now. Nevertheless, if my wife did not require all my attention, I should do better to go with you, for I have sad forebodings respecting my fate.'

"The Emperor made no answer; but I saw by the expression

of his countenance that he had no better augury of my fate than I had. However, the enemy was approaching, and for the last three days he had solicited the Provisional Government to place a frigate at his disposal, with which he might proceed to America. It had been promised him; he was even pressed to set off; but he wanted to be the bearer of the order to the captain to convey him to the United States, and that order did not arrive. We all felt that the delay of a single hour might put his freedom in jeopardy.

"After we had talked the subject over among ourselves, I went to him and strongly pointed out to him how dangerous it might be to prolong his stay. He observed that he could not go without the order. 'Depart, nevertheless,' I replied; 'your presence on board the ship will still have a great influence over Frenchmen; cut the cables, promise money to the crew, and if the captain resist have him put on shore, and hoist your sails. I have no doubt but Fouché has sold you to the Allies.' — 'I believe it also; but go and make the last effort with the Minister of Marine.' I went off immediately to M. Decrés. He was in bed, and listened to me with an indifference that made my blood boil. He said to me, 'I am only a Minister. Go to Fouché; speak to the Government. As for me, I can do nothing. Good-night.' And so saying he covered himself up again in his blankets. I left him; but I could not succeed in speaking either to Fouché or to any of the others. It was two o'clock in the morning when I returned to Malmaison; the Emperor was in bed. I was admitted to his chamber, where I gave him an account of the result of my mission, and renewed my entreaties. He listened to me, but made no answer. He got up, however, and spent a part of the night in walking up and down the room.

"The following day was the last of that sad drama. The Emperor had gone to bed again, and slept a few hours. I entered his cabinet at about twelve o'clock. 'If I had known you were here,' he said, 'I would have had you called in.' He then gave me, on a subject that interested him personally, some instructions which it is needless for me to repeat. Soon after I left him, full of anxiety respecting his fate, my heart

oppressed with grief, but still far from suspecting the extent to which both the rigor of fortune and the cruelty of his enemies would be carried." [1]

All the morning of the 29th of June the great road from St. Germain rung with the cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" proceeding from the troops who passed under the walls of Malmaison. About mid-day General Becker,[2] sent by the Provisional Gov-

[1] *Memoirs of Lavallette*, vol. ii. p. 197.

[2] The following official letters between Fouché, Davoust, etc., relative to the situation of Napoleon at this period are too interesting to be omitted.

The Commission of Government to Marshal the Prince of Eckmühl, Minister of War.

PARIS, *27th June*, 1815.

SIR — Such is the present state of affairs, that it is necessary that Napoleon should resolve on taking his departure for the Isle of Aix. If he does not decide upon doing so when you announce the subjoined resolutions you will take care that he is watched at Malmaison, in order to prevent his escape. You will, with this view, place the proper number of gendarmerie and troops under the direction of General Becker to guard every avenue which leads to Malmaison. For this purpose you will give the necessary orders to the chief inspector of gendarmerie. These measures must be as secret as possible.

This letter is intended for you, but General Becker (who will be charged to acquaint Napoleon with the resolutions) will receive particular instructions from your Excellency, and will make him sensible that they have been drawn up for the interest of the State and the safety of his person; that their prompt fulfilment is indispensable; and finally, that the interest of Napoleon himself, as regards his future fate, imperiously demands their execution.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

Copy of the Resolutions of the Commission of Government.

PARIS, *26th June*, 1815.

The Commission of Government resolves as follows: —

Art. I. The Minister of Marine shall give orders for two frigates to be prepared at Rochefort to convey Napoleon Bonaparte to the United States.

Art. II. He shall be furnished, if he requires it, until his departure, with a sufficient escort, under the command of Lieutenant-General Becker, who will be charged to provide for his safety.

Art. III. The Director-General of Posts shall give the necessary orders for the relays of horses.

Art. IV. The Minister of Marine shall give the necessary orders to secure the immediate return of the frigates after the embarkation of Napoleon.

Art. V. The frigates shall not quit Rochefort until the safe arrival of the passports.

Art. VI. The Ministers of Marine, of War, and of the Finances, are charged, in respect of their several departments, with the execution of the present resolutions. (Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

By the Commission of Government,
the Assistant-Secretary of State,
(Signed) COUNT BERLIER.

The Duke of Otranto to the Minister of War.

PARIS, *27th June*, 1815, Noon.

SIR — I transmit you a copy of a letter I have just written to the Minister of Marine respecting Napoleon. You will perceive the necessity, upon read-

ernment, arrived. He had been appointed to attend Napoleon. Fouché knew that General Becker had grievances against the Emperor, and thought to find in him a willing agent. He was greatly deceived, for the General paid to the Emperor a degree of respect highly to his honor. Time now became pressing. The Emperor, at the moment of departure, sent a message by General Becker himself to the Provisional Government, offering to march as a private citizen at the head of the troops. He promised to repulse Blucher, and after-

ing it, of giving orders to General Becker not to separate himself from the person of Napoleon whilst the latter shall remain in the Roads.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

The Duke of Otranto to the Minister of Marine.

PARIS, *27th June*, 1815, Noon.

SIR — The Commission reminds you of the instructions which it caused to be transmitted to you an hour ago. It is necessary that the resolution should be executed as directed by the Commission yesterday, and according to which Napoleon Bonaparte will remain in the Roads of Aix until the passports shall arrive.

The interest of the State, which cannot be indifferent to him, requires that he shall remain there until his own fate and that of his family shall be definitively arranged. Every means shall be employed in order that the negotiation may be settled to his satisfaction. The honor of France is interested in it, but meanwhile every possible precaution must be taken for the personal security of Napoleon, and that he does not quit the place which has been temporarily assigned to him.

The President of the Commission of Government.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

The Minister of War to General Becker.

PARIS, *27th June*, 1815.

SIR — I have the honor to transmit to you the resolutions annexed, which the Commission of Government charges you to notify to the Emperor Napoleon: observing to His Majesty that circumstances are so imperious that it has become indispensable that he should decide upon departing for the Isle of Aix. This resolution, observes the Commission, has been taken as much for the safety of his own person as for the welfare of the State, which must always be dear to him.

If His Majesty does not come to an early decision upon the notification of these resolutions it is the intention of the Commission of Government that necessary measures should be taken to prevent the escape of His Majesty.

I repeat to you, Sir, that this resolution has been adopted for the welfare of the State, and for the personal security of the Emperor, and that the Commission of Government considers its prompt execution as indispensable for the interest of His Majesty and of his family.

I have the honor to be, etc. [————————]

This letter remained unsigned. The Prince of Eckmühl (Davoust), with the same nobleness of sentiment as distinguished Macdonald in 1814, at the moment of despatching it, observed to his secretary, "I will never sign that letter; do you sign it — that will be sufficient." The secretary, however, did not sign it (*Mémorial*, tome i. pp. 25–30).

wards to continue his route. Upon the refusal of the Provisional Government he quitted Malmaison on the 29th. Napoleon and part of his suite took the road to Rochefort. He slept at Rambouillet on the 29th of June, on the 30th at Tours, on the 1st of July he arrived at Niort, and on the 3d reached Rochefort, on the western coast of France, with the intention of escaping to America; but the whole western seaboard was so vigilantly watched by British men-of-war that, after various plans and devices, he was obliged to abandon the attempt in despair. He was lodged at the house of the prefect, at the balcony of which he occasionally showed himself to acknowledge the acclamations of the people.

During his stay here a French naval officer, commanding a Danish merchant vessel, generously offered to some of Napoleon's adherents to further his escape. He proposed to take Napoleon alone, and undertook to conceal his person so effectually as to defy the most rigid scrutiny, and offered to sail immediately to the United States of America. He required no other compensation than a small sum to indemnify the owners of his ship for the loss this enterprise might occasion them. This was agreed to by Bertrand upon certain stipulations.

On the evening of the 8th of July Napoleon reached Fouras, receiving everywhere testimonies of attachment. He proceeded on board the *Saale*, one of the two frigates appointed by the Provisional Government to convey him to the United States, and slept on board that night. Very early on the following morning he visited the fortifications of that place, and returned to the frigate for dinner. On the evening of the 9th of July he despatched Count Las Cases and the Duke of Rovigo to the commander of the English squadron, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the passports promised by the Provisional Government to enable him to proceed to America had been received. A negative answer was returned; it was at the same time signified that the Emperor would be attacked by the English squadron if he attempted to sail under a flag of truce, and it was intimated that every neutral vessel would be examined, and probably sent into an

English port. Las Cases affirms that Napoleon was recommended to proceed to England by Captain Maitland, who assured him that he would experience no ill-treatment there.[1]

[1] Napoleon's presence at Rochefort excited such enthusiasm among the people, the sailors, and soldiers, that the shore uninterruptedly resounded with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" and these shouts, repeated from mouth to mouth, could not but teach those who had flattered themselves with having mastered the will of Napoleon, how easy it would be for him to shake off his chains and laugh at their vain precautions. Faithful to his determination, however, he firmly resisted the impulse of circumstances, and the continual solicitation made him to put himself at the head of the patriots and the army. "It is too late," he constantly repeated; "the evil is now without remedy; it is no longer in my power to save the country. A civil war now would answer no end — would be of no utility. To myself alone it might prove advantageous, by affording me the means of procuring personally more favorable conditions; but these I must purchase by the inevitable destruction of the most generous and magnanimous spirit which France possesses; and such a result inspires me with horror." Up to the 29th of June, the day when the Emperor quitted Malmaison, no English vessel had been seen off the coast of Rochefort, and there is every reason to believe that Napoleon, if circumstances had allowed him to embark immediately after his abdication, would have reached the United States without obstruction. But when he arrived at the sea-coast he found every outlet occupied by the English, and appeared to retain little hope of escaping.

The 8th of July he went on board the French frigate *La Saale*, which had been prepared to receive him. His suite was embarked on board the *Medusa*, and the next day, the 9th, the two vessels anchored at the Isle of Aix. Napoleon, always the same, ordered the garrison under arms, examined the fortifications most minutely, and distributed praise or blame, as if he had still been sovereign master of the State. On the 10th the wind, hitherto contrary, became fair; but an English fleet of eleven vessels was cruising within sight of the port and it was impossible to get to sea. On the 11th the Emperor, weary of this state of anxiety, sent Comte de Las Cases, now become his secretary, to sound the disposition of the English Admiral, to inquire whether he was authorized to allow him liberty to repair to England or to the United States. The Admiral answered that he had no orders; nevertheless he was ready to receive Napoleon and convey him to England, but that it was not in his power to answer whether he would obtain permission to remain there or to repair to America. Napoleon, not satisfied with this answer, caused two half-decked vessels to be purchased, with intention, under favor of night, to reach a Danish smack with which he had contrived to hold communication.

This step having failed, some young midshipmen, full of courage and devotion, proposed to him to go on board the two barks, and swore they would forfeit their lives if they did not convey him to New York. Napoleon was not deterred by so long a voyage in such slight vessels, but he knew that they could not avoid stopping on the coasts of Spain and Portugal to take in water and provision, and he would not expose himself and people to the danger of falling into the hands of the Portuguese or Spaniards.

Being informed that an American vessel was at the mouth of the Gironde, he sent off General Lallemand immediately to ascertain the existence of the vessel, and the sentiments of the captain. The General returned with all speed to inform him that the captain would be happy and proud to extricate him from the persecution of his enemies; but Napoleon, yielding, as it is said, to the advice of some persons about him, gave up the idea of attempting this passage, and determined to throw himself on the generosity of the English. On the 14th he caused the Admiral to be informed that the next day he would repair on board his vessel. On the 15th, in the morning, he went

The English ship *Bellerophon* then anchored in the Basque roads, within sight of the French vessels of war. The coast being, as we have stated, entirely blockaded by the English squadron, the Emperor was undecided as to the course he should pursue. Neutral vessels and *chasse-marées*, manned by young naval officers, were proposed, and many other plans were devised.

Napoleon disembarked on the 12th at the Isle of Aix with acclamations ringing on every side. He had quitted the frigates because they refused to sail, owing either to the weakness of character of the commandant, or in consequence of his receiving fresh orders from the Provisional Government. Many persons thought that the enterprise might be undertaken with some probability of success; the wind, however, remained constantly in the wrong quarter.

Las Cases returned to the *Bellerophon* at four o'clock in the morning of the 14th, to inquire whether any reply had been received to the communication made by Napoleon. Captain Maitland stated that he expected to receive it every moment, and added that, if the Emperor would then embark for England, he was authorized to convey him thither. He added, moreover, that in his own opinion, and many other officers present concurred with him, he had no doubt Napoleon would be treated in England with all possible attention and respect; that in England neither the King nor Ministers exercised the same arbitrary power as on the Continent; that the English indeed possessed a generosity of sentiment and a liberality of opinions superior even to those of the King. Las Cases replied that he would make Napoleon acquainted with Captain Maitland's offer, and added, that he thought the Emperor would not hesitate to proceed to England, so as to be able to continue his voyage to the United States. He described France, south of the Loire, to be in commotion, the hopes of the people resting on Napoleon as long as he was

off in the brig *L'Epervier*, and was received on board the *Bellerophon* with the honors due to his rank and to his misfortune. General Becker, who had orders not to quit him, attended him. The moment they came alongside the Emperor said to him, "Withdraw, General; I would not have it be believed that a Frenchman is come to deliver me into the hands of my enemies." On the 16th the *Bellerophon* set sail for England (*Fleury de Chaboulon*).

present; the propositions everywhere made to him, and at every moment; his decided resolution not to become the pretext of a civil war; the generosity he had exhibited in abdicating, in order to render the conclusion of a peace more practicable; and his settled determination to banish himself, in order to render that peace more prompt and more lasting.

The messengers returned to their Master, who, after some doubt and hesitation, despatched General Gourgaud with the following well-known letter to the Prince Regent:—

ROCHEFORT, 13*th July*, 1815.

ROYAL HIGHNESS—A victim to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest Powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and come, like Themistocles, to share the hospitality of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, and I claim that from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

About four P. M. Las Cases and Savary returned to the *Bellerophon*, where they had a long conversation with Captain Maitland in the presence of Captains Sartorius and Gambier, who both declare that Maitland repeatedly warned Napoleon's adherents not to entertain the remotest idea that he was enabled to offer any pledge whatever to their Master beyond the simple assurance that he would convey him in safety to the English coast, there to await the determination of the British Government.[1]

Napoleon had begun to prepare for his embarkation before daylight on the 15th. It was time that he did so, for a messenger charged with orders to arrest him had already arrived at Rochefort from the new Government.[2] The execution of this order was delayed by General Becker for a few hours

[1] On their second interview Captain Maitland's precise words to Las Cases were:—

"You will recollect that I am not authorized to stipulate as to the reception of Bonaparte in England, but that he must consider himself as entirely at the disposal of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent."

See the Croker *Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 238–241, for the orders given to the navy.

[2] Thiers (tome xx. p. 534) says these orders had been intentionally delayed by Fouché. See also the Croker *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 236.

in order to allow Napoleon sufficient time to escape. At daybreak he quitted the *Epervier*, and was enthusiastically cheered by the ship's company so long as the boat was within hearing. Soon after six he was received on board the *Bellerophon* with respectful silence, but without those honors generally paid to persons of high rank. Bonaparte was dressed in the uniform of the *chasseurs à cheval* of the Imperial Guard, and wore the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor.

On entering the vessel he took off his hat, and addressing Captain Maitland, said, "I am come to throw myself on the protection of the laws of England." Napoleon's manner was well calculated to make a favorable impression on those with whom he conversed. He requested to be introduced to the officers of the ship, and put various questions to each. He then went round the ship, although he was informed that the men were cleaning and scouring, and remarked upon anything which struck him as differing from what he had seen on French vessels. The clean appearance of the men surprised him. "He then observed," says Captain Maitland, to whose interesting narrative we refer, "'I can see no sufficient reason why your ships should beat the French ones with so much ease. The finest men-of-war in your service are French; a French ship is heavier in every respect than one of yours; she carries more guns, and those guns are of a larger caliber, and she has a great many more men.'" His inquiries, which were minute, proved that he had directed much attention to the French navy.

On the first morning Napoleon took breakfast in the English fashion, but observing that his distinguished prisoner did not eat much, Captain Maitland gave directions that for the future a hot breakfast should be served up after the French manner. The *Superb*, the Admiral's ship, which had been seen in the morning, was now approaching. Immediately on her anchoring Captain Maitland went on board to give an account of all that had happened, and received the Admiral's approbation of what he had done. In the afternoon Admiral Sir Henry Hotham was intro-

duced to Napoleon, and invited by him to dinner. This was arranged, in order to make it more agreeable to him, by Bonaparte's *maître d'hôtel.* On dinner being announced Napoleon led the way, and seated himself in the centre at one side of the table, desiring Sir Henry Hotham to take the seat on his right, and Madame Bertrand that on his left hand. On this day Captain Maitland took his seat at the end of the table, but on the following day, by Napoleon's request, he placed himself on his right hand, whilst General Bertrand took the top. Two of the ship's officers dined with the Emperor daily, by express invitation. The conversation of Napoleon was animated. He made many inquiries as to the family and connections of Captain Maitland, and in alluding to Lord Lauderdale, who was sent as ambassador to Paris during the administration of Mr. Fox, paid that nobleman some compliments and said of the then Premier. "Had Mr. Fox lived it never would have come to this; but his death put an end to all hopes of peace."

On one occasion he ordered his camp-bed to be displayed for the inspection of the English officers. In two small leather packages were comprised the couch of the once mighty ruler of the Continent. The steel bedstead which, when folded up, was only two feet long, and eighteen inches wide, occupied one case, while the other contained the mattress and curtains. The whole was so contrived as to be ready for use in three minutes.

Napoleon spoke in terms of high praise of the marines on duty in the *Bellerophon,* and on going through their ranks exclaimed to Bertrand, "How much might be done with a hundred thousand such soldiers as these!" In putting them through their exercise he drew a contrast between the charge of the bayonet as made by the English and the French, and observed that the English method of fixing the bayonet was faulty, as it might easily be twisted off when in close action. In visiting Admiral Hotham's flag-ship, the *Superb,* he manifested the same active curiosity as in former instances, and made the same minute inquiries into everything by which he was surrounded. During breakfast one

of Napoleon's suite, Colonel Planat, was much affected, and even wept, on witnessing the humiliation of his Master.

On the return of Bonaparte from the *Superb* to the *Bellerophon* the latter ship was got under weigh and made sail for England. When passing within a cable's length of the *Superb* Napoleon inquired of Captain Maitland if he thought that distance was sufficient for action. The reply of the English officer was characteristic; he told the Emperor that half the distance, or even less, would suit much better. Speaking of Sir Sidney Smith, Bonaparte repeated the anecdote connected with his quarrel at St. Jean d'Acre with that officer, which has already been related in one of the notes earlier in these volumes. Patting Captain Maitland on the shoulder, he observed, that had it not been for the English navy he would have been Emperor of the East, but that wherever he went he was sure to find English ships in the way.

The *Bellerophon*, with Bonaparte on board, sighted the coast of England on Sunday, the 23d of July, 1815, and at daybreak on the 24th the vessel approached Dartmouth. No sooner had the ship anchored than an order from Lord Keith was delivered to Captain Maitland, from which the following is an extract: —

Extract of an order from Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B., addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. "Bellerophon," dated Ville de Paris, Hamoaze, 23d July, 1815.

Captain Sartorius, of His Majesty's ship *Slaney*, delivered to me last night, at eleven o'clock, your despatch of the 14th instant, acquainting me that Bonaparte had proposed to embark on board the ship you command, and that you had acceded thereto, with the intention of proceeding to Torbay, there to wait for further orders. I lost no time in forwarding your letter by Captain Sartorius to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in order that their Lordships might, through him, be acquainted with every circumstance that had occurred on an occasion of so much importance; and you may expect orders from their Lordships for your further guidance. You are to remain in Torbay until you receive such orders; and in the mean time, in addition to the directions already in your possession, you are most positively ordered to prevent every person whatever from coming on board the ship you command, except the officers and men who compose her crew; nor is any person whatever, whether in His Majesty's service or not, who does not belong to the ship, to be

suffered to come on board, either for the purpose of visiting the officers, or on any pretence whatever, without express permission either from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty or from me. As I understand from Captain Sartorius that General Gourgaud refused to deliver the letter with which he was charged for the Prince Regent to any person except His Royal Highness, you are to take him out of the *Slaney* into the ship you command, until you receive directions from the Admiralty on the subject, and order that ship back to Plymouth Sound, when Captain Sartorius returns from London.

It was stated about this time, in some of the English newspapers, that St. Helena would be the place of exile of the ex-Emperor, the bare report of which evidently caused great pain to Napoleon and his suite. General Gourgaud was obliged to return to the *Bellerophon*, not having been suffered to go on shore to deliver the letter from Bonaparte to the Prince Regent with which he had been intrusted. The ship which bore the modern Alexander soon became a natural object of attraction to the whole neighborhood, and was constantly surrounded by crowds of boats. Napoleon frequently showed himself to the people from shore with a view of gratifying their curiosity. On the 25th of July the number of guard-boats which surrounded the vessel was greatly increased, and the alarm of the captives became greater as the report was strengthened as to the intention of conveying Bonaparte to St. Helena.

In conversation with Captain Maitland, Napoleon, who seemed to be aware that the English fishermen united the occupation of smugglers to their usual trade, stated that many of them had been bribed by him, and had assisted in the escape of French prisoners of war. They had even proposed to deliver Louis XVIII. into his power, but as they would not answer for the safety of his life, Napoleon refused the offer. Upon the arrival of despatches from London the *Bellerophon* got under weigh for Plymouth Sound on the 26th of July. This movement tended still further to disconcert the ex-Emperor and his followers. In passing the breakwater Bonaparte could not withhold his admiration of that work, which he considered highly honorable to the public spirit of the nation, and, alluding to his own improvements at Cher-

bourg, expressed his apprehensions that they would now be suffered to fall into decay.

Captain Maitland was directed by Lord Keith to observe the utmost vigilance to prevent the escape of his prisoners, and with this view no boat was permitted to approach the *Bellerophon :* the *Liffey* and *Eurotas* were ordered to take up an anchorage on each side of the ship, and further precautions were adopted at night.

On the 27th of July Captain Maitland proceeded to Lord Keith, taking with him Bonaparte's original letter to the Prince Regent, which, as General Gourgaud had not been permitted to deliver it personally, Napoleon now desired to be transmitted through the hands of the Admiral. As Lord Keith had now received instructions from his Government as to the manner in which Napoleon was to be treated, he lost no time in paying his respects to the fallen chief.

On the 31st of July the anxiously expected order of the English Government arrived. In this document, wherein the ex-Emperor was styled "General Bonaparte," it was notified that he was to be exiled to St. Helena, the place of all others most dreaded by him and his devoted adherents. It was, moreover, specified that he might be allowed to take with him three officers, and his surgeon, and twelve servants.[1]

[1] The following persons went with Napoleon to St. Helena: — General Count Bertrand (the Grand Marshal), with his wife and three children; General Count Montholon, with his wife and one child; General Gourgaud; Count Las Cases and his son Emmanuel; Marchand, the Emperor's head valet, and the following servants — Saint-Denis, chief chasseur; Novarre or Noverraz, chasseur; Santini (a Corsican), usher; Archambaud senior, a *piqueur* (outrider); Archambaud junior (ditto); Corsor, clerk of the kitchen; Gentili (from Elba), a footman; Cipriani (a Corsican), *maître d'hôtel*, who died at St. Helena in 1818; Peyron or Pierron, butler; Lepage, cook; Rousseau, steward; Joséphine; and Bernard and wife, servants to Count Bertrand. Captain Piontowski, a Pole, a volunteer, arrived 30th December, 1815; O'Meara, a surgeon in the English navy, agreed to accompany Napoleon from the *Bellerophon;* he was sent away from St. Helena by order of the Government 25th July, 1818. Doctor Antommarchi, with the Abbés Buonavita (Bonavista) and Vignali, with a cook, Chandelier or Chandell, and a valet, sent by Cardinal Fesch, arrived 18th September, 1820. The Abbé Buonavita returned to Europe, leaving St. Helena on the 17th of March, 1821. General Gourgaud, in 1818, returned to Europe ill, and not getting on with the other officers. Captain Piontowski, with Rousseau, Santini, and the younger Archambaud, were sent away by Sir Hudson Lowe in October, 1816; Las Cases and his son were sent away by Sir Hudson Lowe on the 29th of December, 1816, and Madame Montholon returned to Europe in 1819. Of these persons, Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud, the

To his own selection was conceded the choice of these followers, with the exclusion, however, of Savary and Lallemand, who were on no account to be permitted any further to share his fortunes. This prohibition gave considerable alarm to those individuals, who became excessively anxious as to their future disposal, and declared that to deliver them up to the vengeance of the Bourbons would be a violation of faith and honor.

Napoleon himself complained bitterly on the subject of his destination, and said, "The idea of it is horrible to me. To be placed for life on an island within the tropics, at an immense distance from any land, cut off from all communication with the world, and everything that I hold dear in it! — *c'est pis que la cage de fer de Tamerlan.* I would prefer being delivered up to the Bourbons. Among other insults," said he, — "but that is a mere bagatelle, a very secondary consideration — they style me 'General!' They can have no right to call me General; they may as well call me 'Archbishop,' for I was head of the Church as well as of the Army. If they do not acknowledge me as Emperor they ought as First Consul; they have sent ambassadors to me as such; and your King, in his letters, styled me 'Brother.' Had they confined me in the Tower of London, or one of the fortresses in England (though not what I had hoped from the generosity of the English people), I should not have so much cause of complaint; but to banish me to an island within the tropics! They might as well have signed my death-warrant at once, for it is impossible a man of my habit of body can live long in such a climate."[1]

Having so expressed himself, he wrote a second letter to the Prince Regent, which was forwarded through Lord Keith. It was the opinion of Generals Montholon and Gourgaud that Bonaparte would sooner kill himself than go to St. Helena. This idea arose from his having been heard emphatically to exclaim, "I will *not* go to St. Helena!" The generals, indeed,

younger Las Cases, Marchand, the young Bertrand, Saint-Denis, Novarre, Peyron, and Archambaud returned to St. Helena in 1840 to escort the body of Napoleon to France.

[1] Captain Maitland's Narrative.

declared that were he to give his own consent to be so exiled they would themselves prevent him. In consequence of this threat Captain Maitland was instructed by Lord Keith to tell those gentlemen that as the English law awarded death to murderers, the crime they meditated would inevitably conduct them to the gallows.

Early on the morning of the 4th of August, the *Bellerophon* was ordered to be ready at a moment's notice for sea. The reason of this was traced to a circumstance which is conspicuous among the many remarkable incidents by which Bonaparte's arrival near the English coast was characterized. A rumor reached Lord Keith that a *habeas corpus* had been procured with a view of delivering Napoleon from the custody he was then in. This, however, turned out to be a *subpœna* for Bonaparte as a witness at a trial in the Court of King's Bench; and, indeed, a person attempted to get on board the *Bellerophon* to serve the document; but he was foiled in his intention; though, had he succeeded, the *subpœna* would, in the situation wherein the ex-Emperor then stood, have been without avail.

On the 5th Captain Maitland, having been summoned to the flag-ship of Lord Keith, acquainted General Bertrand that he would convey to the Admiral anything which Bonaparte (who had expressed an urgent wish to see his lordship) might desire to say to him. Bertrand requested the captain to delay his departure until a document, then in preparation, should be completed; and at length brought from Napoleon's cabin a paper, of which the following is a translation: —

PROTEST OF HIS MAJESTY THE LATE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, Etc.

I hereby solemnly protest, before God and man, against the injustice offered me, and the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and my liberty. I came freely on board the *Bellerophon;* I am not a prisoner; I am the guest of England. I was indeed instigated to come on board by the captain, who told me that he had been directed by his Government to receive me and my suite, and conduct me to England, if agreeable to my wishes. I presented myself in good faith, with the view of claiming the protection of the English laws. As soon as

I had reached the deck of the *Bellerophon*, I considered myself in the home and on the hearth of the British people.

If it was the intention of the Government, in giving orders to the captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me and my suite, merely to entrap me, it has forfeited its honor and sullied its flag.

If this act be consummated, it will be useless for the English to talk to Europe of their integrity, their laws, and their liberty. British good faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*.

I appeal to history; — it will say that an enemy, who made war for twenty years upon the English people, came voluntarily in his misfortunes to seek an asylum under their laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and his confidence? But what return did England make for so magnanimous an act? They pretended to hold out a friendly hand to this enemy, and when he delivered himself up in good faith, they sacrificed him. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

On board the *Bellerophon*,
4th August, 1815.

Captain Maitland denied that any snare was laid for Bonaparte, either by himself or by the English Government, and stated that the precautions for preventing the escape of Napoleon from Rochefort were so well ordered that it was impossible to evade them; and that the fugitive was compelled to surrender himself to the English ship.

On the 7th of August, Bonaparte, with the suite he had selected, was transferred from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*. Lord Keith's barge was prepared for his conveyance to the latter vessel, and his lordship was present on the occasion. A captain's guard was turned out, and as Napoleon left the *Bellerophon* the marines presented arms, and the drum was beaten as usual in saluting a general officer. When he arrived on board the *Northumberland* the squadron got under weigh, and Napoleon sailed for the place of his final exile and grave.[1]

[1] For the continuation of Napoleon's voyage see Chapter XIII.

CHAPTER XI.

1815.

My departure from Hamburg — The King at St. Denis — Fouché appointed Minister of the Police — Delay of the King's entrance into Paris — Effect of that delay — Fouché's nomination due to the Duke of Wellington — Impossibility of resuming my post — Fouché's language with respect to the Bourbons — His famous postscript — Character of Fouché — Discussion respecting the two cockades — Manifestations of public joy repressed by Fouché — Composition of the new Ministry — Kind attention of Blucher — The English at St. Cloud — Blucher in Napoleon's cabinet — My prisoner become my protector — Blucher and the innkeeper's dog — My daughter's marriage contract — Rigid etiquette — My appointment to the Presidentship of the Electoral College of the Yonne — My interview with Fouché — My audience of the King —His Majesty made acquainted with my conversation with Fouché — The Duke of Otranto's disgrace — Carnot deceived by Bonaparte — My election as deputy — My colleague, M. Raudot — My return to Paris — Regret caused by the sacrifice of Ney — Noble conduct of Macdonald — A drive with Rapp in the Bois de Boulogne — Rapp's interview with Bonaparte in 1815 — The Duc de Berri and Rapp — My nomination to the office of Minister of State — My name inscribed by the hand of Louis XVIII. — Conclusion.

The fulfilment of my prediction was now at hand, for the result of the battle of Waterloo enabled Louis XVIII. to return to his dominions. As soon as I heard of the King's departure from Ghent I quitted Hamburg, and travelled with all possible haste in the hope of reaching Paris in time to witness his Majesty's entrance. I arrived at St. Denis on the 7th of July, and, notwithstanding the intrigues that were set on foot, I found an immense number of persons assembled to meet the King. Indeed, the place was so crowded that it was with the greatest difficulty I could procure even a little garret for my lodging.

Having resumed my uniform of a captain of the National Guard, I proceeded immediately to the King's palace. The *salon* was filled with ladies and gentlemen who had come to congratulate the King on his return. At St. Denis I found

my family, who, not being aware that I had left Hamburg, were much surprised to see me.

They informed me that the Parisians were all impatient for the return of the King — a fact of which I could judge by the opposition manifested to the free expression of public feeling. Paris having been declared in a state of blockade, the gates were closed, and no one was permitted to leave the capital, particularly by the Barrière de la Chapelle. It is true that special permission might be obtained, and with tolerable ease, by those who wished to leave the city; but the forms to be observed for obtaining the permission deterred the mass of the people from proceeding to St. Denis, which, indeed, was the sole object of the regulation. As it had been resolved to force Fouché and the tri-colored cockade upon the King, it was deemed necessary to keep away from his Majesty all who might persuade him to resist the proposed measures. Madame de Bourrienne told me that on her arrival at St. Denis she called upon M. Hue and M. Lefebvre, the King's physician, who both acquainted her with these fatal resolutions. Those gentlemen, however, assured her that the King would resolutely hold out against the tri-colored cockade, but the nomination of the ill-omened man appeared inevitable.

Fouché Minister of the Police! If, like Don Juan, I had seen a statue move, I could not have been more confounded than when I heard this news. I could not credit it until it was repeated to me by different persons. How, indeed, could I think that at the moment of a re-action the King should have intrusted the most important ministerial department to a man to whose arrest he had a hundred days before attached so much consequence? to a man, moreover, whom Bonaparte had appointed, at Lyons, to fill the same office! This was inconceivable! Thus, in less than twenty-four hours, the same man had been intrusted to execute measures the most opposite, and to serve interests the most contradictory. He was one day the minister of usurpation and the next the minister of legitimacy! How can I express what I felt when Fouché took the oath of fidelity to Louis XVIII. —

when I saw the King clasp in his hands the hands of Fouché! I was standing near M. de Chateaubriand, whose feelings must have been similar to mine, to judge from a passage in his admirable work, *La Monarchie selon la Charte.* "About nine in the evening," he says, "I was in one of the royal antechambers. All at once the door opened, and I saw the President of the Council enter leaning on the arm of the new minister. Oh, Louis-le-Désiré! Oh, my unfortunate master! you have proved that there is no sacrifice which your people may not expect from your paternal heart!"

Fouché was resolved to have his restoration as well as M. de Talleyrand, who had had his the year before; he therefore contrived to retard the King's entry into Paris for four days. The prudent members of the Chamber of Peers, who had taken no part in the King's Government in 1814, were the first to declare that it was for the interest of France to hasten his Majesty's entrance into Paris, in order to prevent foreigners from exercising a sort of right of conquest in a city which was a prey to civil dissension and party influence. Blucher informed me that the way in which Fouché contrived to delay the King's return greatly contributed to the pretensions of the foreigners who, he confessed, were very well pleased to see the population of Paris divided in opinion, and to hear the alarming cries raised by the confederates of the faubourgs when the King was already at St. Denis.

I know for a fact that Louis XVIII. wished to have nothing to do with Fouché, and indignantly refused to appoint him when he was first proposed. But he had so nobly served Bonaparte during the Hundred Days that it was necessary he should be rewarded. Fouché, besides, had gained the support of a powerful party among the emigrants of the Faubourg St. Germain, and *he possessed the art of rendering himself indispensable.* I have heard many honest men say very seriously that to him was due the tranquillity of Paris. Moreover, Wellington was the person by whose influence in particular Fouché was made one of the counsellors of the King. After all the benefits which foreigners had conferred

upon us Fouché was indeed an acceptable present to France and to the King![1]

I was not ignorant of the Duke of Wellington's influence upon the affairs of the second Restoration, but for a long time I refused to believe that his influence should have outweighed all the serious considerations opposed to such a perfect anomaly as appointing Fouché the Minister of a Bourbon. But I was deceived. France and the King owed to him Fouché's introduction into the Council, and I had to thank him for the impossibility of resuming a situation which I had relinquished for the purpose of following the King into Belgium. Could I be Prefect of Police under a Minister whom a short time before I had received orders to arrest, but who eluded my agents? That was impossible. The King could not offer me the place of Prefect under Fouché, and if he had I could not have accepted it. I was therefore right in not relying on the assurances which had been given me; but I confess that if I had been told to guess the cause why they could not be realized I never should have thought that cause would have been the appointment of Fouché as a Minister of the King of France. At first, therefore, I was of

[1] Beugnot (vol. ii. p. 274) says that while the King was at St. Denis, before entering Paris, Talleyrand, the Duke of Wellington, and Fouché met at Poissy. "I never understood why the Duke of Wellington was so zealous in his support of the Duc d'Otranto. It is true that he was remarkably distrustful of the real feelings of France, and perhaps he had allowed himself to be persuaded that Fouché alone was master of the situation." In March, 1814, either Metternich, or some of the Ministers of the Allies in his presence, had asked Vitrolles, "Could your Prince (Comte d'Artois) attach himself to Fouché?" — "Fouché," answered I (Vitrolles) in a murmur: "that is rather strong, but still, if he were necessary." This applied to the Comte d'Artois, but shows that the Royalists did not look on Fouché as an impossible choice (*Vitrolles*, tome i. p. 148). Louis XVIII. seems to have really felt deeply having to appoint Fouché as minister. Beugnot (vol. ii. p 278) says he "presented the ordinance for the appointment of the Duke of Otranto (Fouché)! The King glanced at the paper and let it fall on the desk; the pen slipped from his hand, the blood rushed into his face, his eyes became sorrowful, and he fell back as if struck by some fatal thought. A sorrowful silence had suddenly interrupted a conversation that was quite easy and pleasant. The silence lasted some minutes, after which the King said, with a deep sigh, 'Come, it must be done.' He picked up his pen, stopped again before writing the letters, and uttered these words, 'Oh, my unhappy brother! If you see me you have forgiven me.' He signed at last, but in a painful and agitated manner, great tears falling from his eyes and moistening the paper." This feeling could hardly have been feigned, though it has been believed by some that Louis XVIII. had greater wrongs to his brother to complain of than the appointment of one of the regicides as Minister.

course quite forgotten, as is the custom of courts when a faithful subject refrains from taking part in the intrigues of the moment.

I have already frequently stated my opinion of the pretended talent of Fouché; but admitting his talent to have been as great as was supposed, that would have been an additional reason for not intrusting the general police of the kingdom to him. His principles and conduct were already sufficiently known. No one could be ignorant of the language he held respecting the Bourbons, and in which he indulged as freely after he became the minister of Louis XVIII. as when he was the minister of Bonaparte. It was universally known that in his conversation the Bourbons were the perpetual butt for his sarcasms, that he never mentioned them but in terms of disparagement, and that he represented them as unworthy of governing France. Everybody must have been aware that Fouché, in his heart, favored a Republic, where the part of President might have been assigned to him. Could any one have forgotten the famous postscript he subjoined to a letter he wrote from Lyons to his worthy friend Robespierre: "*To celebrate the fête of the Republic suitably, I have ordered* 250 *persons to be shot*"? And to this man, the most furious enemy of the restoration of the monarchy, was consigned the task of consolidating it for the second time! But it would require another Claudian to describe this new Rufinus!

Fouché never regarded a benefit in any other light than as the means of injuring his benefactor. The King, deceived, like many other persons, by the reputation which Fouché's partisans had conjured up for him, was certainly not aware that Fouché had always discharged the functions of Minister in his own interest, and never for the interest of the Government which had the weakness to intrust him with a power always dangerous in his hands. Fouché had opinions, but he belonged to no party, and his political success is explained by the readiness with which he always served the party he knew must triumph, and which he himself overthrew in its turn. He maintained himself in favor from the days of

blood and terror until the happy time of the second Restoration only by abandoning and sacrificing those who were attached to him; and it might be said that his ruling passion was the desire of continual change. No man was ever characterized by greater levity or inconstancy of mind. In all things he looked only to himself, and to this egotism he sacrificed both subjects and Governments. Such were the secret causes of the sway exercised by Fouché during the Convention, the Directory, the Empire, the Usurpation, and after the second return of the Bourbons. He helped to found and to destroy every one of those successive Governments. Fouché's character is perfectly unique. I know no other man who, loaded with honors, and almost escaping disgrace, has passed through so many eventful periods, and taken part in so many convulsions and revolutions.

On the 7th of July the King was told that Fouché alone could smooth the way for his entrance into Paris, that he alone could unlock the gates of the capital, and that he alone had power to control public opinion. The reception given to the King on the following day afforded an opportunity of judging of the truth of these assertions. The King's presence was the signal for a feeling of concord, which was manifested in a very decided way. I saw upon the boulevards, and often in company with each other, persons, some of whom had resumed the white cockade, while others still retained the national colors, and harmony was not in the least disturbed by these different badges.

Having returned to private life solely on account of Fouché's presence in the Ministry, I yielded to that consolation which is always left to the discontented. I watched the extravagance and inconsistency that were passing around me, and the new follies which were every day committed; and it must be confessed that a rich and varied picture presented itself to my observation. The King did not bring back M. de Blacas. His Majesty had yielded to prudent advice, and on arriving at Mons sent the unlucky Minister as his ambassador to Naples. Vengeance was talked of, and there were some persons inconsiderate enough to wish that

advantage should be taken of the presence of the foreigners in order to make what they termed "an end of the Revolution," as if there were any other means of effecting that object than frankly adopting whatever good the Revolution had produced. The foreigners observed with satisfaction the disposition of these shallow persons, which they thought might be turned to their own advantage. The truth is, that on the second Restoration our pretended allies proved themselves our enemies.

But for them, but for their bad conduct, their insatiable exactions, but for the humiliation that was felt at seeing foreign cannon planted in the streets of Paris, and beneath the very windows of the Palace, the days which followed the 8th of July might have been considered by the Royal Family as the season of a festival. Every day people thronged to the garden of the Tuileries, and expressed their joy by singing and dancing under the King's windows. This ebullition of feeling might perhaps be thought absurd, but it at least bore evidence of the pleasure caused by the return of the Bourbons.

This manifestation of joy by numbers of persons of both sexes, most of them belonging to the better classes of society, displeased Fouché, and he determined to put a stop to it. Wretches were hired to mingle with the crowd and sprinkle corrosive liquids on the dresses of the females; some of them were even instructed to commit acts of indecency, so that all respectable persons were driven from the gardens through the fear of being injured or insulted. As it was wished to create disturbance under the very eyes of the King, and to make him doubt the reality of the sentiments so openly expressed in his favor, the agents of the Police mingled the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" with that of "Vive le Roi!" and it happened oftener than once that the most respectable persons were arrested and charged by Fouché's infamous agents with having uttered seditious cries. A friend of mine, whose Royalist opinions were well known, and whose father had been massacred during the Revolution, told me that while walking with two ladies he heard some individuals near him crying out

"Vive l'Empereur!" This created a great disturbance. The sentinel advanced to the spot, and those very individuals themselves had the audacity to charge my friend with being guilty of uttering the offensive cry. In vain the bystanders asserted the falsehood of the accusation; he was seized and dragged to the guard-house, and after being detained for some hours he was liberated on the application of his friends. By dint of such wretched manœuvres Fouché triumphed. He contrived to make it be believed that he was the only person capable of preventing the disorders of which he himself was the sole author. He got the Police of the Tuileries under his control. The singing and dancing ceased, and the Palace was the abode of dulness.

While the King was at St. Denis he restored to General Dessoles the command of the National Guard. The General ordered the barriers to be immediately thrown open. On the day of his arrival in Paris the King determined, as a principle, that the throne should be surrounded by a Privy Council, the members of which were to be the princes and persons whom his Majesty might appoint at a future period. The King then named his new Ministry, which was thus composed: —

Prince Talleyrand, peer of France, President of the Council of Ministers, and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Baron Louis, Minister of Finance.

The Duke of Otranto, Minister of the Police.

Baron Pasquier, Minister of Justice, and Keeper of the Seals.

Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, War Minister.

Comte de Jaucourt, peer of France, Minister of the Marine.

The Duc de Richelieu,[1] peer of France, Minister of the King's Household.

[1] Some time after it was thought proper to suppress the office of Minister of the King's Household, and to substitute in its stead the office of Intendant-General — an arrangement which I thought better calculated for a Constitutional Government. M. de Richelieu's successor in this office was the Comte de Pradel, a man of great ability. The office of Minister of the King's Household was again restored in favor of my old friend Lauriston, whose elevation did not alter his sentiments towards his old comrades. After his death the office underwent another metamorphosis, and received again the title of Intendant-General, and was filled by M. de la Bouillerie, one of those

The portfolio of the Minister of the Interior, which was not immediately disposed of, was provisionally intrusted to the Minister of Justice. But what was most gratifying to the public in the composition of this new ministry was that M. de Blacas, who had made himself so odious to everybody, was superseded by M. de Richelieu, whose name revived the memory of a great Minister, and who, by his excellent conduct throughout the whole course of his career, deserves to be distinguished as a model of honor and wisdom.

General satisfaction was expressed on the appointment of Marshal Macdonald to the post of Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honor in lieu of M. de Pradt. M. de Chabrol resumed the Prefecture of the Seine, which, during the Hundred Days, had been occupied by M. de Bondi. M. de Molé was made Director-General of bridges and causeways, I was superseded in the Prefecture of Police by M. Decazes, and M. Beugnot followed M. Ferrand as Director-General of the Post-office.

I think it was on the 10th of July that I went to St. Cloud to pay a visit of thanks to Blucher. I had been informed that as soon as he learned I had a house at St. Cloud he sent a guard to protect it. This spontaneous mark of attention was well deserving of grateful acknowledgment, especially at a time when there was so much reason to complain of the plunder practised by the Prussians.[1] My visit to Blucher

men whom Bonaparte, during the Consulate and afterwards, esteemed for his talents and probity. I recollect often having heard him say, speaking of M. de Bouillerie, "He is the man to manage money matters. There is no need to revise his accounts." Bonaparte sent for him from Paris to the camp at Boulogne to examine the accounts, and afterwards appointed him Treasurer of the crown after we lost Estève, our old companion in the Egyptian expedition.— *Bourrienne.*

[1] The English occupied St. Cloud after the Prussians. My large house, in which the children of the Comte d'Artois were inoculated, was respected by them, but they occupied a small house forming part of the estate. The English officer who commanded the troops stationed a guard at the large house. One morning we were informed that the door had been broken open and a valuable looking-glass stolen. We complained to the commanding officer, and on the affair being inquired into it was discovered that the sentinel himself had committed the theft. The man was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death, a circumstance which, as may naturally be supposed, was very distressing to us. Madame de Bourrienne applied to the commanding officer for the man's pardon, but could only obtain his reprieve. The regiment departed some weeks after, and we could never learn what was the fate of the criminal. — *Bourrienne.*

presented to observation a striking instance of the instability of human greatness. I found Blucher residing like a sovereign in the Palace of St. Cloud, where I had lived so long in the intimacy of Napoleon, at a period when he dictated laws to the kings of Europe before he was a monarch himself. In that cabinet in which Napoleon and I had passed so many busy hours, and where so many great plans had their birth, I was received by the man who had been my prisoner at Hamburg. The Prussian General immediately reminded me of the circumstance. "Who could have foreseen," said he, "that after being your prisoner I should become the protector of your property? You treated me well at Hamburg, and I have now an opportunity of repaying your kindness. Heaven knows what will be the result of all this! One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that the Allies will now make such conditions as will banish all possibility of danger for a long time to come. The Emperor Alexander does not wish to make the French people expiate too dearly the misfortunes they have caused us. He attributes them to Napoleon, but Napoleon cannot pay the expenses of the war, and they must be paid by some one. It was all very well for once, but we cannot pay the expenses of coming back a second time. However," added he, "you will lose none of your territory; that is a point on which I can give you positive assurance. The Emperor Alexander has several times repeated in my presence to the King my master, 'I honor the French nation, and I am determined that it shall preserve its old limits.'"

The above are the very words which Blucher addressed to me. Profiting by the friendly sentiments he expressed towards me I took the opportunity of mentioning the complaints that were everywhere made of the bad discipline of the troops under his command. "What can I do?" said he. "I cannot be present everywhere; but I assure you that in future and at your recommendation I will severely punish any misconduct that may come to my knowledge."

Such was the result of my visit to Blucher; but, in spite of his promises, his troops continued to commit the most revolting excesses. Thus the Prussian troops have left in the

neighborhood of Paris recollections no less odious than those produced by the conduct of Davoust's corps in Prussia. Of this an instance now occurs to my memory, which I will relate here. In the spring of 1816, as I was going to Chevreuse, I stopped at the *Petit Bicêtre* to water my horse. I seated myself for a few minutes near the door of the inn, and a large dog belonging to the innkeeper began to bark and growl at me. His master, a respectable-looking old man, exclaimed, "Be quiet, Blucher!" — "How came you to give your dog that name?" said I. — "Ah, sir! it is the name of a villain who did a great deal of mischief here last year. There is my house; they have left scarcely anything but the four walls. They said they came for our good; but let them come back again . . . we will watch them, and spear them like wild boars in the woods." The poor man's house certainly exhibited traces of the most atrocious violence, and he shed tears as he related to me his disasters.

Before the King departed for Ghent he had consented to sign the contract of marriage between one of my daughters and M. Massieu de Clerval, though the latter was at that time only a lieutenant in the navy. The day appointed for the signature of the contract happened to be Sunday, the 19th of March, and it may well be imagined that in the critical circumstances in which we then stood, a matter of so little importance could scarcely be thought about. In July I renewed my request to his Majesty, which gave rise to serious discussions in the Council of Ceremonies. Lest any deviation from the laws of rigid etiquette should commit the fate of the monarchy, it was determined that the marriage contract of a lieutenant in the navy could only be signed at a *petty levee*. However, his Majesty, recollecting the promise he had given me, decided that the signature should be given at the *grand levee*. Though all this may appear exceedingly ludicrous, yet I must confess that the triumph over etiquette was very gratifying to me.

A short time after the King appointed me a Councillor of State, a title which I had held under Bonaparte ever since his installation at the Tuileries, though I had never fulfilled the functions of the office. In the month of August, the King

having resolved to convoke a new Chamber of Deputies, I was appointed President of the Electoral College of the Department of the Yonne. As soon as I was informed of my nomination I waited on M. de Talleyrand for my instructions, but he told me that, in conformity with the King's intentions, I was to receive my orders from the Minister of Police. I observed to M. de Talleyrand that I must decline seeing Fouché, on account of the situation in which we stood with reference to each other. "Go to him, go to him," said M. de Talleyrand, "and be assured Fouché will say to you nothing on the subject."

I felt great repugnance to see Fouché, and consequently I went to him quite against my inclination. I naturally expected a very cold reception. What had passed between us rendered our interview extremely delicate. I called on Fouché at nine in the morning, and found him alone, and walking in his garden. He received me as a man might be expected to receive an intimate friend whom he had not seen for a long time. On reflection I was not very much surprised at this, for I was well aware that Fouché could make his hatred yield to calculation. He said not a word about his arrest, and it may well be supposed that I did not seek to turn the conversation on that subject. I asked him whether he had any information to give me respecting the elections of the Yonne. "None at all," said he; "get yourself nominated if you can, only use your endeavors to exclude General Desfournaux. Anything else is a matter of indifference to me." — "What is your objection to Desfournaux?" — "The Ministry will not have him."

I was about to depart when Fouché called me back saying, "Why are you in such haste? Cannot you stay a few minutes longer?" He then began to speak of the first return of the Bourbons, and asked me how I could so easily bring myself to act in their favor. He then entered into details respecting the Royal Family which I conceive it to be my duty to pass over in silence. It may be added, however, that the conversation lasted a long time, and to say the least of it, was by no means in favor of "divine right."

I conceived it my duty to make the King acquainted with this conversation, and as there was now no Comte de Blacas to

keep truth and good advice from his Majesty's ear, I was, on my first solicitation, immediately admitted to the Royal cabinet. I cautiously suppressed the most startling details, for, had I literally reported what Fouché said, Louis XVIII. could not possibly have given credit to it. The King thanked me for my communication, and I could perceive he was convinced that by longer retaining Fouché in office he would become the victim of the minister who had been so scandalously forced upon him on the 7th of July. The disgrace of the Duke of Otranto speedily followed, and I had the satisfaction of having contributed to repair one of the evils with which the Duke of Wellington visited France.

Fouché was so evidently a traitor to the cause he feigned to serve, and Bonaparte was so convinced of this, that during the Hundred Days, when the Ministers of the King at Ghent were enumerated in the presence of Napoleon, some one said, "But where is the Minister of the Police?" — "*Eh! Parbleu,*" said Bonaparte, "that is Fouché? . . . " It was not the same with Carnot, in spite of the indelible stain of his vote: if he had served the King, his Majesty could have depended on him, but nothing could shake the firmness of his principles in favor of liberty. I learned, from a person who had the opportunity of being well informed, that he would not accept the post of Minister of the Interior which was offered to him at the commencement of the Hundred Days until he had a conversation with Bonaparte, to ascertain whether he had changed his principles. Carnot placed faith in the fair promises of Napoleon, who deceived him, as he had deceived others.

Soon after my audience with the King I set off to discharge my duties in the department of the Yonne, and I obtained the honor of being elected to represent my countrymen in the Chamber of Deputies. My colleague was M. Raudot, a man who, in very trying circumstances, had given proofs of courage by boldly manifesting his attachment to the King's Government. The following are the facts which I learned in connection with this episode, and which I circulated as speedily as possible among the electors of whom I had the honor to be

President. Bonaparte, on his way from Lyons to Paris, after his landing at the gulf of Juan, stopped at Avalon, and immediately sent for the mayor, M. Raudot. He instantly obeyed the summons. On coming into Napoleon's presence he said, "What do you want, General?" This appellation displeased Napoleon, who nevertheless put several questions to M. Raudot, who was willing to oblige him as a traveller, but not to serve him as an Emperor. Napoleon having given him some orders, this worthy servant of the King replied, "General, I can receive no orders from you, for I acknowledge no sovereign but the King, to whom I have sworn allegiance." Napoleon then directed M. Raudot, in a tone of severity, to withdraw, and I need not add that it was not long before he was dismissed from the mayoralty of Avalon.

The elections of the Yonne being over, I returned to Paris, where I took part in public affairs only as an amateur, while waiting for the opening of the session. I was deeply grieved to see the Government resort to measures of severity to punish faults which it would have been better policy to attribute only to the unfortunate circumstances of the times. No consideration can ever make me cease to regret the memory of Ney, who was the victim of the influence of foreigners. Their object, as Blucher intimated to me at St. Cloud, was to disable France from engaging in war for a long time to come, and they hoped to effect that object by stirring up between the Royal Government and the army of the Loire that spirit of discord which the sacrifice of Ney could not fail to produce. I have no positive proofs of the fact, but in my opinion Ney's life was a pledge of gratitude which Fouché thought he must offer to the foreign influence which had made him Minister.

About this time I learned a fact which will create no surprise, as it affords another proof of the chivalrous disinterestedness of Macdonald's character. When in 1815 several Marshals claimed from the Allied powers their endowments in foreign countries, Madame Moreau, to whom the King had given the honorary title of *Madame la Maréchale*, and who was the friend of the Duke of Tarentum, wrote, without Macdonald's knowledge, to M. de Blacas, our ambassador at Naples,

begging him to endeavor to preserve for the Marshal the endowment which had been given him in the kingdom of Naples. As soon as Macdonald was informed of this circumstance he waited upon Madame Moreau, thanked her for her kind intentions, but at the same time informed her that he should disavow all knowledge of her letter, as the request it contained was entirely averse to his principles. The Marshal did, in fact, write the following letter to M. de Blacas: — "I hasten to inform you, sir, that it was not with my consent that Madame Moreau wrote to you, and I beg you will take no step that might expose me to a refusal. The King of Naples owes me no recompense for having beaten his army, revolutionized his kingdom, and forced him to retire to Sicily." Such conduct was well worthy of the man who was the last to forsake Napoleon in 1814, and the last to rejoin him, and that without the desire of accepting any appointment in 1815. M. de Blacas, who was himself much surprised at Macdonald's letter, communicated it to the King of Naples, whose answer deserves to be recorded. It was as follows: — "If I had not imposed a law upon myself to acknowledge none of the French endowments, the conduct of Marshal Macdonald would have induced me to make an exception in his favor." It is gratifying to see princes such scrupulous observers of the laws they make for themselves!

About the end of August, 1815, as I was walking on the Boulevard des Capucines, I had the pleasure of meeting Rapp, whom I had not seen for a long time. He had just come out of the house of Lagrenée, the artist, who was painting his portrait. I was on foot, and Rapp's carriage was waiting, so we both stepped into it, and set off to take a drive in the Bois de Boulogne. We had a great deal to say to each other, for we had not met since the great events of the two Restorations. The reason of this was, that in 1814 I passed a part of the year at Sens, and since the occurrences of March, 1815, Rapp himself had been absent from Paris. I found him perfectly resigned to his change of position, though indulging in a few oaths against the foreigners. Rapp was not one of those generals who betrayed the King on the 20th of March.

He told me that he remained at the head of the division which he commanded at Écouen, under the orders of the Duc de Berry, and that he did not resign it to the War Minister until after the King's departure. "How did Napoleon receive you?" I inquired. "I waited till he sent for me. You know what sort of fellow I am. I know nothing about politics; not I. I had sworn fidelity to the King. I know my duty, and I would have fought against the Emperor." — "Indeed!" — "Yes, certainly I would, and I told him so myself." — "How! did you venture so far?" — "To be sure. I told him that my resolution was definite. 'Pshaw!' . . . replied he angrily. 'I knew well that you were opposed to me. If we had come to an action I should have sought you out on the field of battle. I would have shown you the Medusa's head. Would you have dared to fire on me?' — 'Without doubt,' I replied. 'Ah! *parbleu!* this is too much,' he said. 'But your troops would not have obeyed you. They had preserved all their affection for me.' — 'What could I do?' resumed I. 'You abdicated, you left France, you recommended us to serve the King — and then you return! Besides, I tell you frankly, I do not augur well of what will happen. We shall have war again. France has had enough of that.' Upon this," continued Rapp, "he assured me that he had other thoughts; that he had no further desire for war; that he wished to govern in peace, and devote himself solely to the happiness of his people. When I hinted opposition on the part of the Foreign Powers, he said that he had made alliances. He then spoke to me of the King, and I said I had been much pleased with him; indeed, the King gave me a very gratifying reception on my return from Kief, and I see no reason why I should complain, when I was so well used. During the conversation the Emperor much extolled the conduct of the Duke of Orleans. He then gave me some description of his passage from the Isle of Elba and his journey to Paris. He complained of being accused of ambition; and observing that I looked astonished and doubtful — 'What!' he continued, 'am I ambitious, then?' And patting his belly with both his hands, 'Can a man,' he asked, 'so fat as I am be ambi-

tious ?' I could not for my soul help saying, 'Ah ! Sire, your Majesty is surely joking.' He pretended, however, to be serious, and after a few moments, noticing my decorations, he began to banter me about the Cross of St. Louis and the Cross of the Lily, which I still wore."

I asked Rapp whether all was true that had been said about the enthusiasm which was manifested along the whole of Napoleon's route from the Gulf of Juan to Paris. "*Ma foi!*" he replied, "I was not there any more than you, but all those who accompanied him have assured me of the truth of the details which have been published; but I recollect having heard Bertrand say that on one occasion he was fearful for the safety of the Emperor, in case any assassin should have presented himself. At Fossard, where the Emperor stopped to breakfast on his way to Paris, his escort was so fatigued as to be unable to follow, so that he was for some time almost alone on the road, until a squadron which was in garrison at Melun met him and escorted him to Fontainebleau. As to anything else, from all I have heard, the Emperor was exposed to no danger."

We then began to talk of our situation, and the singular chances of our fortune. Rapp told me how, within a few days only, he had ceased to be one of the discontented; for the condition of the generals who had commanded army corps in the campaign of Waterloo was very different in 1815 from what it had been in 1814. "I had determined," he said, "to live a quiet life, to meddle with nothing, and not even to wear my uniform. I had, therefore, since the King's return never presented myself at Court; when, a week ago, while riding on horseback two or three hundred paces from this spot,[1] I saw a group of horsemen on the other side of the avenue, one of whom galloped towards me. I immediately recognized the Duc de Berry. 'How, Monseigneur, is it you?' I exclaimed. 'It is, my dear General; and since you will not come to us, I must come to you. Will you breakfast with me to-morrow morning?' *Ma foi!*" continued Rapp, "what could I do? The tone of kindness in which he gave this invitation quite

[1] We were then near the Barrière de l'Etoile, and were turning back.—*Bourrienne.*

charmed me. I went, and I was treated so well that I shall go again. But I will ask for nothing: I only want these Prussians and English rascals out of the way!" I complimented Rapp on his conduct, and told him that it was impossible that so loyal and honest a man as he should not, at some time or other, attract the King's notice. I had the happiness to see this prediction accomplished. Since that time I regularly saw Rapp whenever we both happened to be in Paris, which was pretty often.

I have already mentioned that in the month of August the King named me Councillor of State.[1] On the 19th of the following month I was appointed Minister of State and member of the Privy Council. I may close these volumes by relating a circumstance very flattering to me, and connected with the last-mentioned nomination. The King had directed M. de Talleyrand to present to him, in his official character of President of the Council of Ministers, a list of the persons who might be deemed suitable as members of the Privy Council. The King having read the list, said to his Minister, "But, M. de Talleyrand, I do not see here the names of two of our best friends, Bourrienne and Alexis de Noailles." — "Sire, I thought their nomination would seem more flattering in coming directly from your Majesty." The King then added my name to the list, and afterwards that of the Comte Alexis de Noailles, so that both our names are written in Louis XVIII.'s own hand in the original Ordinance.[2]

I have now brought to a conclusion my narrative of the extraordinary events in which I have taken part, either as a spectator or an actor, during the course of a strangely diversified life, of which nothing now remains but recollections.

The original manuscript of M. de Bourrienne ends here.

[1] I discharged the functions of Councillor of State until 1818, at which time an Ordinance appeared declaring those functions incompatible with the title of Minister of State. —*Bourrienne.*

[2] For a totally different version of this incident see the passage about Bourrienne in the following chapter, p. 299, and *De Vitrolles*, tome iii. p. 219.

CHAPTER XII.[1]

THE CENT JOURS.

The extraordinary rapidity of events during the *Cent Jours*, or Hundred Days of Napoleon's reign in 1815, and the startling changes in the parts previously filled by the chief personages, make it difficult to consider it as an historical period; it more resembles a series of sudden theatrical transformations, only broken by the great pause while the nation waited for news from the army.

The first Restoration of the Bourbons had been so unexpected, and was so rapidly carried out, that the Bonapartists, or indeed all France, had hardly realized the situation before Napoleon was again in the Tuileries; and during the *Cent Jours* both Bonapartists and Royalists were alike rubbing their eyes, asking whether they were awake, and wondering which was the reality and which the dream, the Empire or the Restoration.

It is both difficult and interesting to attempt to follow the history of the chief characters of the period; and the reader must pardon some abrupt transitions from person to person, and from group to group, while the details of some subsequent movements of the Bonaparte family[2] must be thrown in to give a proper idea of the strange revolution in their fortunes. We may divide the characters with which we have to deal into five groups, — the Bonaparte family, the Marshals, the Statesmen of the Empire, the Bourbons, and the Allied Monarchs. One figure and one name will be missing, but if we omit all account of poor, bleeding, mutilated France, it is

[1] This chapter is inserted by the Editor of the 1885 edition.

[2] The account given of the Bonaparte family is founded on Wouters' *Histoire Chronologique de la République et de l'Empire suivie des Annales Napoléoniennes* (Bruxelles, Wouters Frères, 1847), which was written under the superintendence of Prince Pierre Napoleon Bonaparte. See also for many of the characters in this chapter the *Court and Camp of Bonaparte* (London, Murray, 1831), which is fairly correct considering its date.

but leaving her in the oblivion in which she was left at the time by every one except by Napoleon.

The disaster of 1814 had rather dispersed than crushed the Bonaparte family, and they rallied immediately on the return from Elba. The final fall of the Empire was total ruin to them. The provisions of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, which had been meant to insure a maintenance to them, had not been carried out while Napoleon was still a latent power, and after 1815 the Bourbons were only too happy to find a reason for not paying a debt they had determined never to liquidate. It was well for any of the Bourbons in their days of distress to receive the bounty of the usurper, but there was a peculiar pleasure in refusing to pay the price promised for his immediate abdication.

The flight of the Bonapartes in 1815 was rapid. Metternich writes to Maria Louisa in July, 1815: "Madame Mère and Cardinal Fesch left yesterday for Tuscany. We do not know exactly where Joseph is. Lucien is in England under a false name, Jérôme in Switzerland, Louis at Rome. Queen Hortense has set out for Switzerland, whither General de Flahault and his mother will follow her. Murat seems to be still at Toulon; this, however, is not certain." Was ever such an account of a dynasty given! These had all been among the great ones of Europe: in a moment they were fugitives, several of them having for the rest of their lives a bitter struggle with poverty. Fortunately for them the Pope, the King of Holland, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, were not under heavy obligations to Napoleon, and could thus afford to give to his family the protection denied them by those monarchs who believed themselves bound to redeem their former servility.

When Napoleon landed Maria Louisa was in Austria, and she was eager to assist in taking every precaution to prevent her son, the young King of Rome, being spirited off to join his father, whose fortunes she had sworn to share. She herself was fast falling under the influence of the one-eyed Austrian General, Neipperg, just then left a widower, who was soon to be admitted to share her bed. By 1829 she seemed to

have entirely forgotten the different members of the Bonaparte family, speaking of her life in France as "a bad dream."[1] She obtained the Grand Duchy of Parma, where she reigned till 1847, marrying a third time, it is said, the Count Bombelles, and dying just too soon to be hunted from her Duchy by the Revolution of 1848.

There is something very touching in most that we know of the poor young King of Rome, from his childish but strangely prescient resistance to his removal from Paris to Blois on the approach of the Allies in 1814, to the message of remembrance sent in after years to the column of the Place Vendôme, "his only friend in Paris."

At four years of age Meneval describes him as gentle, but quick in answering, strong, and with excellent health. "Light curly hair in ringlets set off a fresh face, while fine blue eyes lit up his regular features. He was precociously intelligent, and knew more than most children older than himself."[2] When Meneval — the former secretary of his father, giving up his post in Austria with Maria Louisa, as he was about to rejoin Napoleon — took farewell of the Prince in May, 1815, the poor little motherless child "drew me towards the window, and, giving me a touching look, said in a low tone, 'Monsieur Méva, tell him (Napoleon) that I always love him dearly.'"[3] We say "motherless," because Maria Louisa seems to have yielded up her child at the dictates of policy to be closely guarded as easily as she gave up her husband. "If," wrote Madame de Montesquiou, his governess, "the child had a mother, I would leave him in her hands, and be happy, but she is nothing like a mother, she is more indifferent to his fate than the most utter stranger in her service."[4] His grandfather, the Emperor Francis, to do him justice, seems to have been really kind to the lad, and while, in 1814, 1815, and in 1830, taking care to deprive him of all chance of his glorious inheritance, still seems to have cared for him personally,

[1] This is in opposition to the mention made of Maria Louisa in Napoleon's Will, but see *Meneval*, tome ii. pp. 360–369, and *Vitrolles*, tome iii. pp. 500–508, and the *Talleyrand Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 19.

[2] *Meneval*, tome ii. p. 225.

[3] *Ibid.*, tome ii. p. 326.

[4] Iung's *Lucien*, tome iii. p. 181.

and to have been always kind to him. There is no truth in the story that the Austrians neglected his education and connived at the ruin of his faculties. Both his tutor, the Count Maurice Dietrichstein, and Marshal Marmont, who conversed with him in 1831, agree in speaking highly of him as full of promise: Marmont's evidence being especially valuable as showing that the Austrians did not object to the Duke of Reichstadt (as he had been created by his grandfather in 1818),[1] learning all he could of his father's life from one of the Marshals. In 1831 Marmont describes him; "I recognized his father's look in him, and in that he most resembled Napoleon. His eyes, not so large as those of Napoleon, and sunk deeper in their sockets, had the same expression, the same fire, the same energy. His forehead was like that of his father, and so was the lower part of his face and his chin. Then his complexion was that of Napoleon in his youth, with the same pallor and the same color of the skin, but all the rest of his face recalled his mother and the House of Austria. He was taller than Napoleon by about three inches." [2]

As long as the Duke lived his name was naturally the rallying-point of the Bonapartes, and was mentioned in some of the many conspiracies against the Bourbons. In 1830 Joseph Bonaparte tried to get the sanction of the Austrians to his nephew being put forward as a claimant to the throne of France, vacant by the flight of Charles X., but they held their captive firmly.[3] A very interesting passage is given in the *Memoirs of Charles Greville*, who says that Prince Esterhazy told him "a great deal about the Duke of Reichstadt, who, if he had lived, would have probably played a great part in the world. He died of a premature decay, brought on, apparently, by over-exertion and over-excitement;[4] his talents were very conspicuous, he was *pétri d'ambition*, worshipped the memory of his father, and for that reason never liked his

[1] For the indemnity set apart for the Duke instead of Parma see *Meneval*, tome ii. p. 214.

[2] *Marmont*, tome viii. p. 375.

[3] *Metternich*, vol. v. p. 107, and Iung's *Lucien*, tome iii. pp. 398–403.

[4] Marmont (tome viii. pp. 399, 400) attributes this to the Duke having overheard a sneer about his want of energy, after which he over-strained himself.

mother; his thoughts were incessantly turned towards France, and when he heard of the Days of July (overthrow of Charles X.) he said, 'Why was I not there to take my chance?' He evinced great affection and gratitude to his grandfather, who, while he scrupulously observed all his obligations towards Louis Philippe, could not help feeling a secret pride in the aspiring genius of Napoleon's son. He was well educated, and day and night pored over the history of his father's glorious career. He delighted in military exercises, and not only shone at the head of his regiment, but had already acquired the hereditary art of ingratiating himself with the soldiers."[1] Esterhazy went on to describe how the Duke abandoned everything at a ball when he met there Marshals Marmont and Maison.[2] "He had no eyes or ears but for them; from nine in the evening to five the next morning he devoted himself to these Marshals." There was the true Napoleonic ring in his answer to advice given by Marmont when the Duke said that he would not allow himself to be put forward by the Sovereigns of Europe. "The son of Napoleon should be too great to serve as an instrument; and in events of that nature I wish not to be an advanced guard, but a reserve, — that is, to come as a succor, recalling great memories."[3]

His death in 1832, on the 22d of July, the anniversary of the battle of Salamanca, solved many questions. Metternich visited the Duke on his deathbed. "It was a heartrending sight. I never remember to have seen a more mournful picture of decay."[4] When Francis was told of the death of his grandson he answered, "I look upon the Duke's death as a blessing for him. Whether it be detrimental or otherwise to the public good I do not know. As for myself, I shall ever lament the loss of my grandson."[5]

Josephine was in her grave at Rueil when Napoleon returned. She had died on the 29th of May, 1814, at Malmaison, while the Allies were exhibiting themselves in Paris. It seems hard

[1] *The Greville Memoirs* (*Journal of Charles Greville*, London, Longmans, 1874), vol. iii. pp. 374, 375. See, however, the very different account given by Wouters, *Annales Napoléoniennes*, p. 1049.

[2] Maison, a General and Count of the Empire, was made Marshal of France in 1829.

[3] *Marmont*, tome viii. p. 397.

[4] *Metternich*, vol. v. p. 196.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 196.

that she should not have lived to enjoy a triumph, however brief, over her Austrian rival. "She, at least," said Napoleon truly, "would never have abandoned me."

Josephine's daughter, Hortense, separated from her husband, Louis Bonaparte, and created Duchess of St. Leu by Louis XVIII., was in Paris, much suspected by the Bourbons, but really engaged in a lawsuit with her husband about the custody of her sons. She had to go into hiding when the news of the landing arrived, but her empty house, left unwatched, became very useful for receiving the Bonapartists, who wished for a place of concealment, — amongst them, as we shall see, being, of all people, Fouché! Hortense was met by Napoleon with some reproaches for accepting a title from the Bourbons, but she did the honors of the Elysée for him, and it is creditable to both of them that, braving the vile slanders about their intercourse, she was with him to the end; and that one of the last persons to embrace him at Malmaison before he started for the coast was his adopted daughter, the child of his discarded wife. Hortense's presence in Paris was thought to be too dangerous by the Prussian Governor, and she was peremptorily ordered to leave. An appeal to the Emperor Francis received a favorable answer, but Francis always gave way where any act against his son-in-law was in question, and she had to start at the shortest notice on a wandering life to Aix, Baden, and Constance, till the generosity of the small but brave canton of Thurgau enabled her to get a resting-place at the Château of Arenenberg.

In 1831 she lost her second son, the eldest then surviving, who died from fever in a revolutionary attempt in which he and his younger brother, the future Napoleon III., were engaged. She was able to visit France *incognita*, and even to see Louis Philippe and his Queen; but her presence in the country was soon thought dangerous, and she was urged to leave. In 1836 Hortense's last child, Louis Napoleon, made his attempt at an *émeute* at Strasburg, and was shipped off to America by the Government. She went to France to plead for him, and then, worn out by grief and anxiety, returned to Arenenberg, which her son, the future Emperor, only succeeded

in reaching in time to see her die in October, 1837. She was laid with Josephine at Rueil.

Hortense's brother, Prince Eugène, the Viceroy of Italy, was at Vienna when Napoleon returned, and fell under the suspicion of the Allies of having informed the Emperor of the intention of removing him from Elba. He was detained in Bavaria by his father-in-law the King, to whose Court he retired, and who in 1817 created him Duke of Leuchtenberg and Prince of Eichstadt. With the protection of Bavaria he actually succeeded in wringing from the Bourbons some 700,000 francs of the property of his mother. A first attack of apoplexy struck him in 1823, and he died from a second in February, 1824, at Munich. His descendants have intermarried into the Royal Families of Portugal, Sweden, Brazil, Russia, and Würtemberg; his grandson now (1884) holds the title of Leuchtenberg.

Except Louis, an invalid, all the brothers of the Emperor were around him in the *Cent Jours*, the supreme effort of their family. Joseph had left Spain after Vittoria, and had remained in an uncomfortable and unrecognized state near Paris until in 1814 he was again employed, and when, rightly or not, he urged the retreat of the Regency from Paris to Blois. He then took refuge at his château of Prangins in the canton Vaud in Switzerland, closely watched by the Bourbonists, who dreaded danger from every side except the real point, and who preferred trying to hunt the Bonapartists from place to place, instead of making their life bearable by carrying out the engagements with them.

In 1815, escaping from the arrest with which he was threatened, after having written to urge Murat to action with fatal effect, Joseph joined Napoleon in Paris, and appeared at the Champ de Mai, sitting also in the Chamber of Peers, but, as before, putting forward ridiculous pretentions as to his inherent right to the peerage, and claiming a special seat. In fact, he never could realize how entirely he owed any position to the brother he wished to treat as an equal.

He remained in Paris during the brief campaign, and after Waterloo was concealed in the house of the Swedish Ambas-

sador, where his sister-in-law the Crown Princess of Sweden, the wife of Bernadotte, was living. Muffling, the Prussian Governor of Paris, wished to arrest him, but as the Governor could not violate the domicile of an Ambassador, he had to apply to the Czar, who arranged for the escape of the ex-King before the Governor could seize him. Joseph went to the coast, pretty much following the route of Napoleon. He was arrested once at Saintes, but was allowed to proceed, and he met his brother on the 4th of July at Rochefort.

It is significant as to the possibility of the escape of Napoleon that Joseph succeeded in getting on the brig *Commerce* as "M. Bouchard," and, though the ship was thrice searched by the English, he got to New York on the 28th of August, where he was mistaken for Carnot. He was well received, and, taking the title of Comte de Survilliers, he first lived at Lansdowne, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, where he afterwards always passed part of the year while he was in America. He also bought the property of Point Breeze, at Bordentown, on the Delaware, where he built a house with a fine view of the river. This first house was burnt down, but he erected another, where he lived in some state and in great comfort, displaying his jewels and pictures to his admiring neighbors, and showing kindness to impecunious nephews.[1]

The news of the Revolution of July in 1830, which drove Charles X. from the throne, excited Joseph's hopes for the family of which he considered himself the Regent, and he applied to Metternich to get the Austrian Government to allow or assist in the placing his nephew, the Duke of Reichstadt, on the throne of France. Austria would not even answer.

In July, 1832, Joseph crossed to England, where he met Lucien, just arrived from Italy, bringing the news of the death of his nephew. Disappointed, he staid in England for some time,[2] but returned to America in 1836. In 1839 he

[1] See *Scribner*, vol. xxi. 1880–1881, November, 1880, p. 28, "Bordentown and the Bonapartes."

[2] For reference to the unpretentious demeanor of Joseph and Lucien in England see *Journal of Charles Greville* (Longmans, 1874), vol. iii. pp. 11 and 18.

finally left America, and again came to England, where he had a paralytic stroke, and in 1843 he went to Florence, where he met his wife after a long separation.

Joseph lived long enough to see the two attempts of another nephew, Louis Napoleon, at Strasburg in 1836, and at Boulogne in 1840, which seem to have been undertaken without his knowledge and to have much surprised him. He died in Florence in 1844; his body was buried first in Santa Croce, Florence, but was removed to the Invalides in 1864. His wife, the ex-Queen, had retired in 1815 to Frankfort and to Brussels, where she was well received by the King, William, and where she staid till 1823, when she went to Florence, dying there in 1845. Her monument is in the Cappella Riccardi, Santa Croce, Florence.

Lucien had retired to Rome in 1804, on the creation of the Empire, and had continued embroiled with his brother, partly from his so-called Republican principles, but chiefly from his adhering to his marriage, his second one, with Madame Jouberthon, — a union which Napoleon steadily refused to acknowledge, offering Lucien anything, a kingdom or the hand of a queen (if we take Lucien's account), if he would only consent to the annulment of the contract.

In August, 1810, affecting uneasiness as Napoleon stretched his power over Rome, Lucien embarked for America, but he was captured by the English and taken, first to Malta and then to England, where he passed the years until 1814 in a sort of honorable captivity, first at Ludlow and then at Thorngrove, not far from that town.

In 1814 Lucien was released, when he went to Rome, where he was welcomed by the kindly old Pope, who remembered the benefits conferred by Napoleon on the Church, while he forgot the injuries personal to himself; and the stiff-necked Republican, the one-time "Brutus" Bonaparte, accepted the title of Duke of Musignano and Prince of Canino.

In 1815 Lucien joined his brother, whom he wished to abdicate at the Champ de Mai in favor of the King of Rome, placing his sword only at the disposal of France. This step was seriously debated, but, though it might have placed the

Allies in a more difficult position, it would certainly have been disregarded by them, at least unless some great victory had given the dynasty firmer footing. After Waterloo he was in favor of a dissolution of the Chambers, but Napoleon had become hopeless and almost apathetic, while Lucien himself, from his former connection with the 18th and 19th Brumaire, was looked on with great distrust by the Chambers, as indeed he was by his brother. Advantage was taken of his Roman title to taunt him with not being a Frenchman, and all his efforts failed. At the end he fled, and failing to cross to England or to get to Rochefort, he reached Turin on the 12th of July only to find himself arrested. He remained there till the 15th of September, when he was allowed to go to Rome. There he was interned and carefully watched; indeed in 1817 the Pope had to intervene to prevent his removal to the north of Germany, so anxious were the Allies as to the safety of the puppet they had put on the throne of France.

The death of Napoleon in 1821 released Lucien and the Bonaparte family from the constant surveillance exercised over them till then. In 1830 he bought a property, the Croce del Biacco, near Bologna. The flight of the elder branch of the Bourbons from France in 1830 raised his hopes, and, as already said, he went to England in 1832 to meet Joseph and to plan some step for raising Napoleon II. to the throne. The news of the death of his nephew dashed all the hopes of the family, and after staying in England for some time, he returned to Italy, dying at Viterbo in 1840, and being buried at Canino, where also his second wife lies. Lucien had a taste for literature, and was the author of several works, which a kindly posterity will allow to die.

Louis Bonaparte had fled from his Kingdom of Holland in 1810, after a short reign of four years, disgusted with being expected to study the interests of his brother to whom he owed his throne, and with being required to treat his wife Hortense with ordinary consideration. He had taken refuge in Austria, putting that Court in great anxiety how to pay him the amount of attention to be expected by the brother of

the Emperor, and at the same time the proper coldness Napoleon might wish shown to a royal deserter. Thanks to the suggestions of Metternich, they seem to have been successful in this task. Taking the title of Comte de St. Leu from an estate in France, Louis went first to Toplitz, then to Gratz, and in 1813 he took refuge in Switzerland. In 1814 he went to Rome and then to Florence, where the Grand Duke Ferdinand received any of the family who came there with great kindness.

Louis was the least interesting of the family, and it is difficult to excuse his absence from France in 1815. After all, the present of a kingdom is not such an unpardonable offence as to separate brothers forever, and Napoleon seems to have felt deeply the way in which he was treated by a brother to whom he had acted as a father; still ill health and the natural selfishness of invalids may account for much. While his son Louis Napoleon was flying about making his attempts on France, Louis remained in the Roman Palace of the French Academy, sunk in anxiety about his religious state. He disclaimed his son's proceedings, but this may have been due to the Pope, who sheltered him. Anyhow, it is strange to mark the difference between the father and his two sons who came of age, and who took to revolution so kindly.

In 1846 Louis was ill at Leghorn when his son escaped from Ham, where he had been imprisoned after his Boulogne attempt. Passports were refused to the son to go from Italy to his father, and Louis died alone on the 25th of July, 1846. He was buried at Santa Croce, Florence, but the body was afterwards removed to the village church of St. Leu Taverny, rebuilt by his son Napoleon III.

Jérôme, the youngest of the whole family, the "middy," as Napoleon liked to call him, had been placed in the navy, in which profession he passed as having distinguished himself, after leaving his admiral in rather a peculiar manner, by attacking an English convoy, and eventually escaping the English by running into the port of Concarneau, believed to be inaccessible. At that time it was an event for a French man-of-war to reach home.

Jérôme had incurred the anger of Napoleon by marrying a beautiful young lady of Baltimore, a Miss Paterson, but, more obedient than Lucien, he submitted to have this marriage annulled by his all-powerful brother, and in reward he received the brand-new Kingdom of Westphalia, and the hand of a daughter of the King of Würtemberg, "the cleverest King in Europe," according to Napoleon. Jérôme is said to have ruled rather more as a Heliogabalus than a Solomon, but the new Kingdom had the advantage of starting with good administrators, and with the example of "the Code."

In 1812 Jérôme was given the command of the right wing of the Grand Army in its advance against Russia, but he did not fulfil the expectations of his brother, and Davoust took the command instead. Every king feels himself a born general: whatever else they cannot do, war is an art which comes with the crown, and Jérôme, unwilling to serve under a mere Marshal, withdrew in disgust. In 1813 he had the good feeling and the good sense to refuse the treacherous offer of the Allies to allow him to retain his kingdom if he joined them against his brother, a snare his sister Caroline fell into at Naples.

On the downfall of Napoleon, Jérôme, as the Count of Gratz, went to Switzerland, and then to Gratz and Trieste. His wife, the ex-Queen Catherine, fell into the hands of Maubreuil, the officer sent on a mysterious mission, believed to be intended for the murder of Napoleon, but which only resulted in the robbery of the Queen's jewels and of some 80,000 francs. The jewels were for the most part recovered, being fished up from the bed of the Seine,[1] but not the cash.

In 1815 Jérôme joined his brother, and appeared at the Champ de Mai. A true Bonaparte, his vanity was much hurt, however, by having — he, a real king — to sit on the back seat of the carriage, while his elder brother Lucien, a mere Roman Prince, occupied a seat of honor by the side of Napoleon. In the Waterloo campaign he was given the 6th division, forming part of Reille's corps, General Guilleminot

[1] *De Vitrolles*, tome ii. p. 86.

being sent with him to prevent any of the awkwardnesses of 1812. His division was engaged with the Prussians on the 15th of June, and at Quatre Bras he was severely wounded. At Waterloo his division formed the extreme left of the French infantry, opposite Hougomont, and was engaged in the struggle for that post. Whatever his failings may have been, he is acknowledged to have fought gallantly. After the battle he was given the command of the army by his brother, and was told to cover the retreat to Laon, which he reached on the 21st of June, with 18,000 infantry, 3000 cavalry and two batteries which he had rallied.[1] This, be it observed, is a larger force than Ney told the Chambers even Grouchy (none of whose men are included) could have, and Jérôme's strength had swollen to 25,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry when he handed over the army to Soult at Laon. Napoleon had intended to leave Jérôme with the command of the army, but he eventually took him to Paris.

When Napoleon left the country Jérôme was assured by the ambassador of Würtemberg that he would find a refuge in the dominions of his father-in-law; but when he arrived there he was informed that if he did not wish to be, according to the original intentions of the Allies, handed over to the Prussians, and separated from his wife, he must sign an engagement to remain in Würtemberg under strict surveillance. He was then imprisoned at Göppingen, and afterwards at Ellwangen, where he was not even allowed to write or receive letters except through the captain of the château.

Part of Jérôme's troubles came from the conduct of his wife Catherine, who had the idea that, as she had been given in marriage by her father to Jérôme, as she had lived for seven years as his wife, and as she had borne a child to him, she was really his wife, and bound to remain with him in his misfortunes! The royal family of Würtemberg, however, following the illustrious example of that of Austria, looked on her past life as a mere state of concubinage, useful to the family, and to be respected while her husband could retain his kingdom, but which should

[1] Bingham's *Letters of Napoleon*, vol. iii. p. 401.

end the moment there was nothing more to be gained from Napoleon or his brother. It was all proper and decorous to retain the title of King of Würtemberg, which the former Duke and then Elector had owed to the exile of St. Helena, but King Frederick, and still less his son William, who succeeded him in 1816, could not comprehend Catherine's clinging to her husband when he had lost his kingdom. "I was a Queen; I am still a wife and mother," wrote the Princess to her disgusted father. Another complaint against this extraordinary Princess was that she actually saw Las Cases on his return from St. Helena, and thus obtained news of the exile.[1]

After constant ill treatment Jérôme and his wife, as the Count and Countess of Montfort, a rank the King of Würtemberg afterwards raised to Prince, were allowed to proceed to Hainburg near Vienna, then to Florence, and, later, to Trieste, where Jérôme was when his sister Elisa died. In 1823 they were permitted to go to Rome, and in 1835 they went to Lausanne, where his true-hearted wife died the same year. Jérôme went to Florence, and lived to see the revival of the Empire, and to once more enjoy the rank of a French Prince. He died in 1860 at the château of Villegenis in France, and was buried in the Invalides.

The mother of the Emperor, Letitia, in 1814, had retained her title of Impératrice Mère, and had retired to Rome. She then went to Elba in June, and staid there with her daughter Pauline until Napoleon had sailed from France. On 2d March, 1814, she went from Elba to San Vicenzo near Leghorn, and then to Rome. Her son sent a frigate for her, the *Melpomene*, which was captured by the English *Rivoli*;[2] another vessel, the *Dryade*, brought her to France, and she joined Napoleon in Paris. One must have a regard for this simple old lady, who was always careful and saving, only half believing in the stability of the Empire; and, like a true mother, always most attentive to the most unfortunate of her children. Her life had been full of startling changes, and it must have been strange for the woman who had been hunted out of Cor-

[1] See Catherine's own account in *Meneval*, tome iii. pp. 403–427.
[2] James's *Naval History*, vol. vi. p. 227.

sica, flying from her house just in time to save her life from the adherents of Paoli, to find herself in grandeur in Paris. She saw her son just before he left, as she thought, for America, and then retired to the Rinuccini — now the Bonaparte — Palace at Rome, where she died in 1836. She had been anxious to join Napoleon at St. Helena, and had refused, as long as Napoleon was alive, to forgive her daughter Caroline, the wife of Murat, for her abandonment of her brother. She was buried at Albano.

Letitia's youngest daughter, the beautiful but frail Pauline, Duchess of Guastalla, married first to General Leclerc, and then to Prince Camille Borghèse, was at Nice when her brother abdicated in 1814. She retired with her mother to Rome, and in October, 1814, went to Elba, staying there till Napoleon left, except when she was sent to Naples with a message of forgiveness for Murat. There was a characteristic scene between her and Colonel Campbell when the English Commissioner arrived to find Napoleon gone. Pauline professed ignorance till the last of her brother's intentions, and pressed the Colonel's hand to her heart that he might feel how agitated she was. "She did not appear to be so," says the battered old Colonel, who seems to have been proof against her charms. She then went to Rome, and later to Pisa. Her health was failing, and, unable to join her brother in France, she sent him her only means of assistance, her jewels, which were captured at Waterloo. Her offer to go to St. Helena, repeated several times, was never accepted by Napoleon. She died in 1825 at Florence, from consumption, reconciled to her husband, from whom she had been separated since 1807. She was buried at Sta Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Elisa, the eldest sister of Napoleon, the former Grand Duchess of Tuscany, which Duchy she had ruled well, being a woman of considerable talent, was the first of all to die. In 1814 she had been forced to fly from her Government, and, accompanied by her husband, she had attempted to reach France. Finding herself cut off by the Austrians, she took shelter with Augereau's army, and then returned to Italy. She took the title of Comtesse de Campignano, and retired to

Trieste, near which town, at the Château of Sant Andrea, under a wearisome surveillance, she expired in 1820, watched by her husband, Felix Bacciocchi, and her sister Caroline. Her monument is in the Bacciocchi Chapel in San Petronio, Bologna.

Caroline, the wife of Murat, was the only one of the family untrue to Napoleon. Very ambitious, and forgetting how completely she owed her kingdom of Naples to her brother, she had urged Murat in 1814 to separate from Napoleon, and, still worse, to attack Eugène, who held the north of Italy against the Austrians. She relied on the formal treaty with Austria that Murat should retain his Kingdom of Naples, and she may also have trusted to the good offices of her former admirer Metternich. When the Congress of Vienna met, the French Minister, Talleyrand, at once began to press for the removal of Murat. A trifling treaty was not considered an obstacle to the Heaven-sent deliverers of Europe, and Murat, believing his fate sealed, hearing of Napoleon's landing, and urged on by a misleading letter from Joseph Bonaparte, at once marched to attack the Austrians. He was easily routed by the Austrians under Neipperg, the future husband of Maria Louisa. Murat fled to France, and Caroline first took refuge in an English man-of-war, the *Tremendous*, being promised a free passage to England. She was, however, handed over to the Austrians, who kept her in confinement at Hainburg near Vienna. In October, 1815, Murat landed in Calabria in a last wild attempt to recover his throne. He was arrested and immediately shot. After his murder Caroline, taking the title of Countess of Lipona (an anagram of Napoli), was permitted to retire to Trieste with Elisa, Jérôme, and his wife. Caroline was almost without means of existence, the Neapolitan Bourbons refusing even to give up the property she had brought there. She married a General Macdonald. When Hortense was buried at Rueil Caroline obtained permission to attend the sad ceremony. In 1838 she went to France to try to obtain a pension, and succeeded in getting one of 100,000 francs. She died from cancer in the stomach in 1839, and was buried in the Campo Santo, Bologna.

Cardinal Fesch, the half-uncle of Napoleon, the Archbishop of Lyons, who had fallen into disgrace with Napoleon for taking the side of the Pope and refusing to accept the see of Paris, to which he was nominated by Napoleon, had retired to Rome in 1814, where he remained till the return of Napoleon, when he went to Paris, and accepted a peerage. After Waterloo he again sought the protection of the Pope, and he remained at Rome till his death in 1839, a few days before Caroline Bonaparte's. He was buried in S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome. He had for years been a great collector of pictures, of which he left a large number (1200) to the town of Ajaccio. The Cardinal, buying at the right time when few men had either enough leisure or money to think of pictures, got together a most valuable collection. This was sold in 1843–44 at Rome. Its contents now form some of the greatest treasures in the galleries of Dudley House and of the Marquis of Hertford, now Sir Richard Wallace's. In a large collection there are generally some daubs, but it is an amusing instance of party spirit to find the value of his pictures run down by men who are unwilling to allow any one connected with Napoleon to have even taste in art. He always refused the demands of the Restoration that he should resign his see of Lyons, though under Louis Philippe he offered to do so, and leave his pictures to France, if the Bonaparte family were allowed to enter France: this was refused.

It can hardly be denied that the fate of the Bonapartes was a hard one. Napoleon had been undisputed sovereign of France for fourteen years, Louis had been King of Holland for four years, Jérôme was King of Westphalia for six years, Caroline was Queen of Naples for seven years. If Napoleon had forfeited all his rights by leaving Elba after the conditions of his abdication had been broken by the Allies, still there was no reason why the terms stipulated for the other members of the family should not have been carried out, or at least an ordinary income insured to them. With all Napoleon's faults he was always ready to shower wealth on the victims of his policy. The sovereigns of the Continent had courted and intermarried with the Bonapartes in the time of that family's

grandeur: there was neither generosity nor wisdom in treating them as so many criminals the moment fortune had declared against them. The conduct of the Allies was not influenced simply by the principle of legitimacy, for the King of Saxony only kept his throne by the monarchs falling out over the spoil. If sovereigns were to be respected as of divine appointment, it was not well to make their existence only depend on the fate of war.

Nothing in the history of the *Cent Jours* is more strange than the small part played in it by the Marshals, the very men who are so identified in our minds with the Emperor, that we might have expected to find that brilliant band playing a most prominent part in his last great struggle, no longer for mere victory, but for very existence. In recording how the Guard came up the fatal hill at Waterloo for their last combat, it would seem but natural to have to give a long roll of the old historic names as leading or at least accompanying them; and the reader is apt to ask, where were the men whose very titles recalled such glorious battle-fields, such achievements, and such rewards showered down by the man who, almost alone at the end of the day, rode forward to invite that death from which it was such cruel kindness to save him?

Only three Marshals were in Belgium in 1815, and even of them one did but count his promotion from that very year, so it is but natural for French writers to dream of what might have been the course of the battle if Murat's plume had waved with the cavalry, if Mortier had been with the Guard, and if Davoust or one of his tried brethren had taken the place of Grouchy. There is, however, little real ground for surprise at this absence of the Marshals. Death, time, and hardships had all done their work amongst that grand array of commanders. Some were old men, veterans of the Revolutionary wars, when first created Marshals in 1804; others, such as Masséna, were now but the wreck of themselves; and even before 1812 Napoleon had been struck with the failing energy of some of his original companions: indeed, it might have been better for him if he had in 1813, as he half resolved, cast away his dislike to new

faces, and fought his last desperate campaigns with younger men who still had fortunes to win, leaving "Berthier to hunt at Grosbois," and the other Marshals to enjoy their well-deserved rest in their splendid hôtels at Paris.

Besides, in 1814 the Marshals, perhaps partly necessarily, had taken — still more, had been believed by the army to have taken, a principal part in forcing the abdication of Napoleon; and the officers of the junior ranks, with the old privates, the lion-hearted men whose fidelity never swerved, and who thought themselves well rewarded for a life passed in his service if they caught but a glance of the Emperor as he swept over the field where they lay with just enough life for one last cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" such men, forming a large part of the army, looked with great distrust on the Marshals who had taken rank, honor, and wealth from the Emperor, and who had then shrunk from the side of the beaten Napoleon, or forced the pen into his unwilling hands, in their panic at the idea of losing the rewards they had received from him.

Thus, while Napoleon himself had good reason for meeting his Marshals with but little of his former trust, the mass of the army were full of suspicion even of those who were fighting under the tri-color, this feeling going so far that one private, on the very field of Ligny, ran out to warn the Emperor that Soult was betraying him. On the other side the Marshals themselves had but too great remembrance of the warmth, real or affected, with which they had received the Bourbons; and even Ney, cheerfully venturing his life a thousand times at Waterloo, did so without the confidence which had been in his breast when he alone formed the rear-guard of the army on the retreat from Moscow. Thus we have now but a sorry tale to tell, — a mean and dreary ending to a glorious history.

For our present purpose we may divide the Marshals into three groups. Those absent or dead, those who remained true to the Bourbons, and those who, more or less reluctantly, joined Napoleon.[1]

[1] For an interesting sketch of some of the Marshals see *Temple Bar*, vol. lxviii., No. 273, 1883, p. 495.

The wretched Augereau we may leave out of account. At first destined by Napoleon for punishment, he soon attempted to atone for his base conduct to the Emperor in 1814 by a violent proclamation against the Bourbons. From that moment he was held in just contempt by both parties, only appearing again as one of the members of the military court who, with fatal good will, accepted the ill-advised objection of Ney against their competence. He died in 1816, bitterly regretting, it is said, his vote at the trial of Ney: he had much to regret.

Death had removed some of the most brilliant of the list of Marshals. The rough, gallant, well-tried Lannes had died from wounds received at Essling in 1809. Bessières had been killed in 1813, the day before Lutzen. Poniatowski, who had wielded his *bâton* a brief but eventful three days, had been drowned in the retreat from Leipsic. Berthier, the constant companion of Napoleon in Italy, in Egypt, indeed in every campaign from 1796, had abandoned his friend in 1814, and had welcomed the Bourbons with indecent warmth. In 1815 he accompanied the King over the frontier, privately expressing his intention of returning to rejoin Napoleon, who, threatening to strike him off the roll of Marshals, would certainly have welcomed him with only a passing gibe at his appearance alongside the carriage of Louis XVIII. Berthier met his death in a mysterious manner at Bamberg, where he had retired to the lands of his wife's uncle, the King of Bavaria, by throwing himself (or being thrown) from a balcony, a matter to which we shall again refer when speaking of the death of Marshal Brune, in whose case a most determined murder was attempted to be represented as suicide.

Murat, in obedience, it is said, to the counsels of his wife, Caroline Bonaparte, had abandoned Napoleon in 1814, foolishly trusting to the promises of Austria that he should retain his Kingdom of Naples. He attacked Eugène, and thought he had purchased his safety by his base and foolish ingratitude. When the Congress of Vienna met he soon found that his removal was one of the great aims of France, and neither the solemn treaty with Austria nor the old affection of

Metternich for Caroline were any obstacles to the great plan of getting rid of the last Napoleonic Sovereign. Furious at this, Murat, ever rash, the moment he heard of the landing of Napoleon, distrusting the Austrians, afraid of Napoleon not giving him the object of his dreams, the whole of Italy, and wishing to force the hand of Napoleon, at once, with incredible folly, marched against the Austrians. He penetrated to the Po, but had to retire, and the Austrians, under Neipperg, afterwards to be the husband of Maria Louisa, forced him from his throne by the 20th of May. Murat fled to France and Corsica, leading a wretched life in hiding, but refusing the Austrian offer of an asylum if he would pledge his honor not to leave the Austrian dominions. At last he landed in Calabria, in a desperate attempt to recover his kingdom, was seized and shot on the 13th of October, 1815, — a deed which it is unnecessary to characterize. He died as he had lived, a brave but theatrical man, with his last breath giving the order to the firing party to spare his face. He deserved a better fate, but perhaps the Bourbon was mistaken in his cruelty, and, while attempting to revenge the death of the Duc d'Enghien, of which Murat was guiltless, may have saved Murat the misery of the wandering life he would have had to share with the family which had raised and ruined him by its alliance.

Bernadotte had been Crown Prince of Sweden from 1810. In 1813 and 1814 he had led an army against Napoleon, having great hopes of gaining the crown of France if the Emperor were dethroned. He had a difficult part to play — to please the Allies whose votes he hoped to gain, while any victory won by his forces might be fatal to his chances with the French. He certainly would have been put forward by the Allies if it had been once determined that neither Napoleon nor the Bourbons were to be allowed to reign; but the claims of the Bourbons were too strong; and in any case it is impossible to believe that he would ever have been accepted by the army or by the nation. It is satisfactory to note his total failure to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. The Allies became suspicious of him in 1814, and he had to

be contented with the addition of Norway to his future kingdom, Sweden, which he governed with fair success from 1818 as Charles (John) XIV. to his death in 1844. The present King of Sweden is his grandson. The wife of Bernadotte, Eugénie Bernardine Desirée Clary, the sister-in-law of Joseph Bonaparte, was in Paris during the *Cent Jours*, living in the hôtel of the Swedish Ambassador, where she gave shelter to Joseph, as has already been said. She died in 1860.

The Marshals who adhered to the cause of the Bourbons in 1815 were Macdonald, Pérignon, Victor, Kellermann, Marmont, Gouvion St. Cyr, and Oudinot. Marmont had been exempted from Napoleon's amnesty by the Decrees of Lyons (in which Augereau was at first to have figured, till he won oblivion, if not pardon, by his violent proclamation against the Bourbons). On his arrival in Paris Napoleon intended to strike off the list of Marshals Oudinot, Victor, and St. Cyr; and on the 10th of April[1] we find him writing to the War Minister to strike off Berthier, Marmont, Victor, Pérignon, Augereau, and Kellermann. Soult seems also to have been nearly treated in the same way. Napoleon was, however, always tender to those who had served him, and it is characteristic of the man to find him preparing to give pensions to any of the erring Marshals who might have no fortune.

Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, who had been long in a sort of disgrace under the Empire until made Marshal in 1809 for his services at Wagram, where Napoleon had offered him his hand on the field the day after the battle in token of reconciliation, had behaved loyally towards Napoleon in 1814, and had to the last struggled for his cause. In 1815 he remained faithful to the Bourbons. When Napoleon landed he was commanding at Bourges, and he was ordered to Nîmes to assist the Duc d'Angoulême. At Lyons he met the Comte d'Artois and the Duke of Orleans, who detained him to take the command of the troops. Macdonald did his best to keep the soldiers to their duty, but he was obliged to advise the Princes to withdraw; and, as soon as Napoleon approached, Macdonald had to fly at full speed, pursued for a long distance

[1] Bingham's *Letters of Napoleon*, vol. iii. p. 372.

by his own men, — a fact to be remembered in judging of the conduct of Ney. He was then employed in the task of attempting to collect an army at Melun, till the temper of the soldiers showed that to be useless. Macdonald then accompanied the King to Lille, where he and Mortier gave their best advice to the distracted Court, urging the King not to quit the country. On the 23d of March, when the King crossed the frontier, Macdonald refused to leave France, and retired to his home, where he was left undisturbed, although he refused the offers of Napoleon. Indeed, respected, as he well deserved to be, by both sides, we find the Prussian Governor of Paris after Waterloo singling him out, with Oudinot, as the two honorable officers on whom he could call. He met the King on his return to Paris, and was charged with the disbandment of the army when the Bourbons determined to break the sword which had fallen from the hand of the great captain, and which they were afraid even to preserve. Appropriately made Chancellor of the Legion of Honor, he had to announce the impossibility of doing any business in the Hôtel of the Order, so encumbered was it with the Allied troops, — a melancholy change from the time of its institution.[1] We find him always taking a creditable part in the debates of the time, — defending Drouot, for example; and in 1840 he closed a long and honorable life, entitled to make the proud and rare boast of having been faithful to two Sovereigns in the hour of their misfortunes.

When De Vitrolles was sent to the south to try to establish a government of resistance to Napoleon he found poor old Marshal Pérignon living quietly in Languedoc, and called on him to take command of the forces at Toulouse. The Mar-

[1] Napoleon's appointments of civilians to the Legion are attacked in *Analysis and History of the Catholic Religion* (Bentley, 1826), p. 88. "The same star which decorated the breast of the bravest of the brave, Ney, also glittered on that of the eunuch Crescentini." This arises from a misunderstanding. The Legion was intended for all services to the State, civil or military, and replaced the Bourbon Crosses of St. Louis for military, St. Michel for civil services, and the St. Esprit for grandees. See Mazas' *La Légion*, 1854. In an unlucky attempt to include all merits, the singer Crescentini received, not the Legion, but the Iron Crown (*Mémorial*, tome vi. p. 288).

shal did his best with a simple good faith which earned for him the sneers of his Royalist employer: but he was sorely puzzled by the temper of the troops, and when we think of the reason for the non-appearance of Mortier at Waterloo, it is odd to find Pérignon complaining that he had to remind his officers that when a call for sudden action was made it was not the time to have sciatica or other illnesses. The illness prevalent among his officers, however, was only a dislike to serve against the Emperor, and as soon as a commissioner from Napoleon arrived, Pérignon was politely ousted from his command, and was allowed to retire to his home. The Bourbons gave him the rewards withheld by Napoleon, creating him a marquis and peer. He died in 1818.

Victor (really Claude Perrin), Duke of Belluno, never a very warm admirer of the Emperor, and who had been harshly treated in 1814, attempted to stem the tide in 1815, but had to follow the King out of the country. After the second Restoration he was president of the commission charged with the examination of the conduct of the officers of the army during the *Cent Jours:* a good choice for the Bourbons, as we find him voting for the death of Ney. He became Minister of War from December, 1821, to December, 1823, quitting the post on account of discussions connected with the irrepressible Ouvrard. He died in 1841, seventy-seven years old.

Kellermann, Duke of Valmy, who with Sérurier, Pérignon, and Lefebvre had been, even when created Marshal in 1804, intended to have only an honorary rank for past services, had been employed on the frontier in 1814. Made a peer by the King, he remained passively loyal during 1815, but voted always afterwards against the re-action. He died in 1820. We cannot help thinking of the good old Scotch custom of having one of the family on each side when we find the Marshal's son, the Kellermann of Marengo, fighting at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, although he had small reason for attachment to Napoleon.

Marmont, having done his best in 1814 to make the cause of Napoleon and of France hopeless by taking his corps over

to the enemy, had wisely not carried out his pious intention of devoting the remainder of his years to the tender care of the personal comforts of Napoleon. He had much more sensibly remained high in the royal favor, though the cautious King would not adopt his plan of remaining in the Tuileries to stand a siege by Napoleon, nor could he get any one to assist him in his odd idea of saving the King by practically making him a prisoner, and forcibly removing the royal favorite Blacas, Marmont himself being willing to become generalissimo by land and sea. On the approach of Napoleon he crossed the frontier, feeding his hopes on imaginary speeches of Napoleon full of trust in the man whom, for some mysterious reason, Napoleon denounced in public. Marmont passed his after life without the great employments he considered his due, contenting himself with interviews with the sergeant of English artillery who laid the gun which wounded him at Salamanca, and who himself was similarly hit at Waterloo, with pleasant conversations with Metternich, and with lessons to the young King of Rome on the campaigns of the great Emperor. Of all the former holders of Napoleon's splendid gifts in foreign lands he alone retained his, by special favor of the Emperor of Austria: verily he had his reward. It is, however, but fair to Marmont to acknowledge that, regardless of the royal anger, he overcame all obstacles, forcing the guard as a soldier would say, to enable the miserable Madame Lavallette to throw herself at the feet of the King to implore mercy for her husband. Marmont is reported to have urged her case beforehand with fervor, saying with too much truth to the King, "Sire, I have given you more than life." He also wisely advised Madame Lavallette not to trust to the treacherous hints of the Royalists that Lavallette's life would be spared on the scaffold, and to carry out her plan for the escape of her husband if her application to the King failed. In 1830 he had the disagreeable task of attempting to defend Paris during the rising of July. In this defence Marmont, as often before, exhibited great personal bravery, so that the young Las Cases, who was in the ranks of the insurgents, longing to avenge Napoleon, could not find it

in his heart to fire at him. When he had failed he advised the King to abdicate in favor of his grandson (the late Comte de Chambord) rather than be forced from the throne. His advice was followed, but it was too late, and he had to escort Charles X. to Cherbourg, whence the King passed over to England. Marmont then withdrew from France, and died at Venice in 1852, having lived to see France again under a Napoleon. He left a character probably below his real deserts, but it is impossible not to compare his conduct unfavorably with that of Macdonald.

Gouvion St. Cyr, who had not been created a Marshal till 1812, and who had not received the high rewards showered down on many of the Marshals, returned to France in 1814 after his release from the imprisonment to which he and his garrison of Dresden had been subjected by the Allies, in breach of the capitulation and of all good faith. He threw himself into the cause of the Bourbons, and was sent to take the command of an army to be raised on the Loire, which, it was hoped, would be joined by risings in the west, — an addition to his command deprecated by St. Cyr. The Marshal arrived at his headquarters, Orleans, to find the troops there under orders from Davoust, the new Minister of War, had mounted the tri-color. He succeeded for the moment in stopping this, and in putting the general, Pajol, under arrest, but he soon had to leave the place and return to Paris. He then was directed to go to the west to head a rising, — a task naturally distasteful to him, and which he was relieved from, keeping quiet during the last campaign. After Waterloo he was one of the leaders with whom the Royalists dreamt of attempting some *émeute*. On the 9th of July, 1815, he was made War Minister, and soon found what it was to serve the Bourbons. It is pleasant to read how the old Marshal, remembering his services under the Republic, had to fill the lists of officers with the names of *émigrés* and leaders of the Vendéan insurgents, and how he showed his anger at the interference of the busybody De Vitrolles. St. Cyr had some strange ideas; for instance, he broke up the regiments of lancers, putting one squadron of that arm in each regiment of

GOUVION ST. CYR.

mounted chasseurs. He was, perhaps from his former training, one of the officers opposed to the formation of a guard or picked body, but on this point he had to give way to the wishes of the Court, and apparently of the Allies, till he had agreed to a guard of 12,000 men. He left the Ministry in September, 1815, but held it again from 1817 to 1819, having also been Marine Minister from June to September, 1817. He died in 1830.

Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, one of the 1809 creations as Marshal, had become a warm partisan of the Bourbons; and on the news of the landing of Napoleon he was sent to command the Guard then called Grenadiers and Chasseurs de France, which was at Metz. The Bourbons, with their usual extraordinary want of common sense, had neither treated the Guard well nor broken up the corps, thus keeping them in a discontented state, ready for the hand of Napoleon. The incredibly foolish order was given to Oudinot to march to oppose Napoleon. Off set the Guard, but poor Oudinot soon found that while he was treated with all due respect, he was practically a prisoner, and that the corps he professed to command was determined to join Napoleon at once. "If," said the unhappy Marshal to the messenger sent, too late, to stop the march, "if I cannot escape, they will take me to the Emperor." He did, however, succeed in avoiding, for the moment, a meeting under such very unpleasant circumstances, though he saw Napoleon later. All this action of the troops has to be remembered in thinking of the conduct of Ney. Oudinot refused to take service under Napoleon, and after Waterloo he was prominent in trying to get hostilities stopped, and in assisting the recall of the Bourbons. He soon superseded Dessoles in command of the National Guard of Paris, and received honors from the Bourbons which he might accept without loss of self-respect, but still one cannot speak of him in the same way as of Macdonald. There is an air of perhaps only apparent insincerity and double-dealing in his conduct. He was on the Champ de Mai, and when afterwards questioned about this replied that he was there, *but only in undress*, — an answer, it must be admitted, not absurd to a soldier, as an officer in undress

would only be a spectator, not a participator; still it is easy to understand how the reply was sneered at, and one fails to see why he should have gone there at all. In the same manner, while he hung about Vitrolles (who was acting as the representative of the Bourbons), as if he were a mere *aide de camp* instead of a Marshal, he rushed away when he found Vitrolles committed to an angry interview with a deputation of the Chambers. Perhaps, however, De Vitrolles is unfair to the Marshal, for he seems to have been deeply stung, not only by the disappearance of Oudinot when he wanted backing, but also by finding that, in the hurry, Oudinot had taken his, De Vitrolles's, hat: one of those little ludicrous events which crop up in the history of graver events. Oudinot took part in the expedition into Spain in 1823 to crush the Spanish Liberals, when he commanded at Madrid; and under Louis Philippe he became Chancellor of the Legion of Honor, and Governor of the Invalides. He died in 1847. The General Oudinot who was sent in 1849 by Louis Napoleon, the President of the French Republic, to restore the Pope and to take Rome, held as a Republic by Garibaldi, an enterprise found to be unexpectedly difficult, was a son of the Marshal.

The Marshals who joined Napoleon were Masséna, Sérurier, Jourdan, Lefebvre, Moncey, Mortier, Brune, Grouchy (then General), Soult, Suchet, Davoust, Ney, but of these the first five cannot be said to have done more than to give in their adhesion to his Government when established, and to accept peerages from him.

Masséna was in command of Toulon, etc., in 1815, and sent the King the first news of the landing. He might have easily been induced at least to remain passive, and for some time he kept his command tranquil, but the Royalists showed their distrust too openly, while Masséna may have shared in the suspicion, not too misplaced, that an attempt might be made to open the ports to the English fleet. Called on by Napoleon to unfurl the flag of Essling and to join him, Masséna sent in his adhesion on the 14th of April. He really did so unwillingly, and told Napoleon he would have resisted the march on Paris if the Emperor had passed by him. He was brought

to Paris, but practically left unemployed till after Waterloo, when the Provisional Government put him in command of the National Guard of Paris. Masséna, however, was now but the mere wreck of the General who in 1799 had saved France from invasion, and who had won such distinction in independent commands; he had not been employed by Napoleon since his return from Spain after his check before Torres Vedras; and it must now have been unutterably galling to him to be sent for by the Prussian Governor of Paris to arrange details of the occupation. We find him interrupting the fiery speech of Labédoyère in the Chamber of Peers, and urging the King to retain the tri-color, but he was soon relieved by Dessoles, and practically had no part in the *Cent Jours*. He died in 1817.

Sérurier, Jourdan, Lefebvre, and Moncey, all Marshals of the first creation in 1804, took but a nominal part in affairs. Sérurier, who was Governor of the Invalides, lost his place on the second Restoration, and remained in retirement afterwards till his death in 1819.

Jourdan, who had never received his share of rewards, and who had most right to complain of Napoleon for the neglect of his services in Spain, accepted a peerage, and was sent to command at Besançon, but took little active part in anything. Louis Philippe made him Governor of the Invalides in 1830, but he died in 1833.

The rough old Marshal Lefebvre, Duke of Dantzic, accepted a peerage in the new Chamber, and when younger men despaired after Waterloo still counselled resistance, though De Vitrolles ill-naturedly represents him, when forming one of the deputation of the Chambers, as knowing how to give a different aspect to his face, one side being favorable to the Royalist representative, and the other, meant to be seen by the deputation, quite hostile. He lost his former peerage on the return of Louis, but was soon restored. He died in 1820.

Moncey, Duke of Conegliano, gave up his command of the *gendarmerie d'élite* to Savary, and was made one of the new peers. After the Restoration he gave dire offence to the King by refusing to sit on the court-martial for the trial of Ney.

For this he was deprived of his rank, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment in Ham, — the place which received Louis Napoleon in 1840. It is characteristic of the time and of Bourbon management that Moncey, on his arrival at Ham, was unable to get admission to the castle, as it was occupied by the Prussians, and he had to remain part of the time in a little inn opposite. In 1823 he was employed in the expedition into Spain, and in 1840 he, as Governor of the Invalides, received the body of Napoleon on its arrival from St. Helena. He died in 1842.

Mortier, Duke of Treviso, who in 1814 had defended Paris with Marmont, showing the same courage but greater fidelity, had been sent to the north. On the landing of Napoleon Mortier managed to keep his troops quiet, and by his advice Drouot d'Erlon withdrew from the enterprise of the brothers Lallemand and Lefebvre-Desnouettes who tried to effect an *émeute* before Napoleon arrived. So satisfactory was his conduct considered by the Royalist Government that the Minister of War proposed to the Chamber to vote that Mortier, with Macdonald, had deserved well of the country. When the King began to move to the frontier Mortier and the Duke of Orleans held Lille till the King arrived there; but Louis could only get admission to his own fortress on the promise that neither his military household nor any foreign troops were to be admitted, as there was a not unfounded fear of the fortress being delivered up to the Allies. He accompanied Louis to the frontier with all proper demonstrations of respect, though he had in his pocket the orders of Napoleon to see the Royal Family out of France. Mortier then returned to take service under Napoleon, and he was given the command of the Imperial Guard, with which he would have fought at Waterloo had he not been stopped by an attack of sciatica at Maubeuge, where, oddly enough, he had been wounded in 1793. Thiers remarks on the effect of his absence from Waterloo, saying that though the institution of Marshals commanding the Guard as a separate body had done harm before, still in this instance the presence of Mortier would have prevented the too hasty use made by Ney of the cavalry of the Guard. As Mortier had only

joined a *de facto* Government he was not included in the list of proscriptions, but as he refused to judge Ney, as did Moncey, he was struck off the peerage, only to be restored to it when 1819 saw a return to common sense and moderation. Under the Monarchy of July he was Ambassador in Russia in 1830 and 1832, and in 1834 he became War Minister and President of the Council. In 1835 he was killed by Fieschi's infernal machine while riding by the side of the king, Louis Philippe. He is buried in the Invalides.

Marshal Brune, who had never been in favor during the Empire, and who had not been given one of the dukedoms, threw in his lot with Napoleon, who sent him to command the 9th corps, which was to be formed in the south, and to restrain Marseilles, which showed symptoms of rising in favor of the Bourbons, and from which Masséna had been removed. After Waterloo he hoisted the white flag rather late in the day, and then proceeded towards Paris. At Avignon he was attacked by a Royalist mob, who first wounded him, and then eventually broke into the hôtel and killed him while he was reading a letter from his wife. His body was thrown into the Rhone, and had to be buried by stealth at the spot where the river brought it ashore, and where it long remained. Allusion has been made to this case in considering the death of Berthier. The local authorities did all they could to represent this cowardly and disgraceful murder of Brune as a case of suicide; the Government would do nothing, and it was only by the efforts of his widow that the memory of the Marshal was cleared six years later, even then no one being punished, and the widow having to pay all costs. If this was the case where we can ascertain every particular, we should be very slow to accept the suicide theory in the case of Berthier. To have the double joy of killing a Marshal who had braved death for his country on a hundred battle-fields, and then of dishonoring his memory, was too tempting to the re-actionary mind to make it unlikely that the same thing was done twice. Brune had gone to his command unwillingly, having a presentiment that he went to his death. In descending the steps to

start he fell and injured himself, remarking that it was a bad augury.

One hardly reckons Grouchy as a Marshal, though he had served well and long before gaining the rank. In 1793, when he was Brigadier-General, he lost his rank by a decree against the nobles, but with extraordinary resolution he entered the ranks as a private and regained his grade. He occupied a rather anomalous position, being a Marquis of the *ancien régime* and a Count of the Empire. In 1815 he joined Napoleon, and was sent against the Duc d'Angoulême, whom he forced to capitulate. Napoleon, partly as a reward for this, partly requiring a commander for his cavalry to replace Murat, gave Grouchy the *bâton*. His conduct during the campaign is a matter of general history; here we need only remark that the presence under him of Vandamme, who had been crushed at Kulm in 1813 in trying to intercept the beaten Allies, may have had some influence in making Grouchy over-cautious. Whatever his faults, Grouchy certainly retreated skilfully, and brought his corps safely to Laon. He received the command of the whole army from Soult at Soissons, giving over his corps to Vandamme, and brought the whole to Paris by the 29th of June. His influence was exerted to stop further resistance, but he was one of those the Bourbons intended to have tried and shot — a fate he avoided by leaving the Army of the Loire and going to Philadelphia, only returning in 1821, when he was put on the retired list as a lieutenant-general. He was not restored to his rank as Marshal till the 19th of November, 1831, when Louis Philippe reigned. Two of his sisters, both clever women, married, the one Condorcet the Girondist, and the other the more fortunate Cabanis. The Marquis de Grouchy died in 1847.

Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, had been made Minister of War by the Bourbons in September, 1814, replacing their first and characteristic choice of Dupont, the unfortunate general who surrendered at Baylen to the Spaniards. On the landing of Napoleon the Royalists threw doubts on Soult's loyalty, doubts which had no foundation, for he

himself told Napoleon afterwards that he really liked the King. We have a charming scene when the stiff and stupid royal favorite, Count Blacas, announced to the other Ministers that he intended to question Soult at the Council table, and if the answers were unsatisfactory he had Soult's "dismissal" in his pocket; the dismissal being a pistol with which the old *émigré* meant to shoot the Marshal. When Soult appeared the other Ministers found that they had important business to transact in their respective offices and withdrew, leaving Blacas alone with his prey. Soult, however, forestalled the Count by going straight to the King, and informing Louis that the attacks made on him rendered it impossible for him to serve usefully, and he was relieved by Clarke, who had long held the post under Napoleon. This, however, was on the 11th of March, when it mattered little who was Minister. Soult joined Napoleon unwillingly, and after some bargaining, but was given Berthier's old post of Chief of the Staff of the army under Napoleon. His performance of this duty has been much criticised, but, as has been stated before,[1] most of these attacks depend on an erroneous belief in the excellence of the staff in Berthier's time; it must suffice here to say that any failure in this department during the Waterloo campaign may easily be matched in previous wars. Certainly no better choice could have been made for an army about to meet the English. After Waterloo Soult was put in command of the army at Laon, relieving Jérôme, who was supposed to have brought it from the field. When he heard of Napoleon's abdication he obtained permission to return to Paris, and gave the command over at Soissons to Grouchy. He has been attacked for this, but his duty was not quite clear. The main army really was then Grouchy's corps, and Soult could not have been expected to serve under Grouchy or even Davoust. In the consultations at Paris he advised non-resistance, but all those who did so somehow fell under the special displeasure of the Bourbons, and Soult was exiled and retired to Berg. In 1819 he returned, and after 1830, under the Monarchy of July, he held many high offices. He

[1] See p. 154 of this volume.

was a special Ambassador to England for the coronation of the Queen, when he was well received as a gallant and skilled foe. In fact the ordinary histories, military or otherwise, hardly seem to do justice to the effect of Soult's attacks on the English, when they were advancing into France from Spain in 1814, and when Soult's army was rapidly being drained to re-enforce the main army under Napoleon. In Louis Philippe's reign Soult was Minister of War three times, and President of the Council as often. In 1847 he was given the high rank of "Maréchal-Général." He died, eighty-two years old, in 1851, under a Republic with a Napoleon as President, but one year too soon to see the Empire revived.

Suchet, Duke of Albufera, who had won such honor in his independent command in Spain, was commanding at Strasburg in 1815, and soon raised the tri-color, and was first given the command of the 5th corps to be formed in Alsace. He was then recalled, and sent to command the 7th corps to defend Savoy, with Lyons as his base, Napoleon saying to him, "Wherever you are posted, I am tranquil as to that place." He held his own against the Austrians as long as there was any hope of success. He lost his peerage until 1822. He was employed by the Bourbons in 1823 in their expedition into Spain. He died in 1826.

Davoust, Duke of Auerstadt, Prince of Eckmühl, whose name should be properly spelt Davout, was one of the principal personages at the end of the *Cent Jours*. Strict and severe, having his corps always in good order, and displaying more character than most of the military men under Napoleon, one is apt to believe that the conqueror at Auerstadt bade fair to be the most prominent of all the Marshals. In 1814 he had returned from defending Hamburg to find himself under a cloud of accusations, and the Bourbons ungenerously and unwisely left him undefended for acts which they must have known were part of his duty as governor of a besieged place. At the time he was attacked as if his first duty was not to hold the place for France, but to organize a system of outdoor relief for the neighboring population, and to surrender as soon as he had exhausted the money in the Government

chest and the provisions in the Government stores. Sore and discontented, practically proscribed, still Davoust would not join in the too hasty enterprise of the brothers Lallemand, who wished him to lead the military rising on the approach of Napoleon; but he was with the Emperor on the day after his arrival in Paris.

Davoust might have expected high command in the army, but, to his annoyance, Napoleon fixed on him as War Minister. For several years the War Minister had been little more than a clerk, and neither had nor was expected to have much influence with the army. Napoleon now wanted a man of tried devotion, and of stern enough character to overawe the capital and the restless spirits in the army. Much against his will Davoust was therefore forced to content himself with the organization of the forces being hastily raised, but he chafed in his position; and it is characteristic of him that Napoleon was eventually forced to send him the most formal orders before the surly Minister would carry out the Emperor's unlucky intention of giving a command to Bourmont, whom Davoust strongly and rightly suspected of treachery. When Napoleon left the capital Davoust became its governor, and held his post unmoved by the intrigues of the Republicans and the Royalists. When Napoleon returned from the great disaster Davoust gave his voice for the only wise policy, — resistance and the prorogation of the factious Chambers. On the abdication of Napoleon the Provisional Government necessarily gave Davoust the command of the army which was concentrated round Paris.

If Davoust had restricted himself less closely to his duty as a soldier, if he had taken more on himself, with the 100,000 men he soon had under him, he might have saved France from much of her subsequent humiliation, or at least he might have preserved the lives of Ney and of the brave men whom the Bourbons afterwards butchered. Outwitted by Fouché, and unwilling to face the hostility of the Chambers, Davoust at last consented to the capitulation of Paris, though he first gave the Prussian cavalry a sharp lesson. While many of his comrades were engaged in the great struggle for favor or safety,

the stern Marshal gave up his Ministry, and, doing the last service in his power to France, stopped all further useless bloodshed by withdrawing the army, no easy task in their then humor, behind the Loire, where he kept what the Royalists called the "Brigands of the Loire" in subjection till relieved by Macdonald. He was the only one of the younger Marshals who had not been tried in Spain, and so far he was fortunate; but, though he was not popular with the army, his character and services seem to point him out as the most fit of all the Marshals for an independent command. Had Napoleon been successful in 1812, Davoust was to have received the Viceroyalty of Poland; and he would probably have left a higher name in history than the other men placed by Napoleon to rule over his outlying kingdoms. In any case it was fortunate for France and for the Allies that a man of his character ruled the army after Napoleon abdicated; there would otherwise have been wild work round Paris, as it was only with the greatest difficulty and by the force of his authority and example that Davoust succeeded in getting the army to withdraw from the capital, and to gradually adopt the white cockade. When superseded by Macdonald he had done a work no other man could have accomplished. He protested against the proscription, but it was too late; his power had departed. In 1819 he was forgiven for his services to France, and was made a peer, but he died in 1823, only fifty-three years old.

Among the Marshals who gave an active support to Napoleon Ney takes the leading part in most eyes, if it were only for his fate, which is too well known for much to be said here concerning it. In 1815 Ney was commanding in Franche-Comté, and was called up to Paris and ordered to go to Besançon to march so as to take Napoleon in flank. He started off, not improbably using the rough brags afterwards attributed to him as most grievous sins, — such as that "he would bring back Napoleon in an iron cage." It had been intended to have sent the Duc de Berry, the second son of the Comte d'Artois, with Ney; and it was most unfortunate for the Marshal that this was not done. There can be no possible doubt that Ney spoke and acted in good faith when he left Paris.

One point alone seems decisive of this. Ney found under him in command, as General of Division, Bourmont, an officer of well-known Royalist opinions, who had at one time served with the Vendéan insurgents, and who afterwards deserted Napoleon just before Waterloo, although he had entreated to be employed in the campaign. Not only did Ney leave Bourmont in command, but, requiring another Divisional-General, instead of selecting a Bonapartist, he urged Lecourbe to leave his retirement and join him. Now, though Lecourbe was a distinguished General, specially famed for mountain warfare — witness his services in 1799 among the Alps above Lucerne — he had been long left unemployed by Napoleon on account of his strong Republican opinions and his sympathy with Moreau. These two Generals, Bourmont and Lecourbe, the two arms of Ney as commander, through whom alone he could communicate with the troops, he not only kept with him, but consulted to the last, before he declared for Napoleon. This would have been too dangerous a thing for a tricky politician to have attempted as a blind, but Ney was well known to be only too frank and impulsive. Had the Duc de Berry gone with him, had Ney carried with him such a gage of the intention of the Bourbons to defend their throne, it is probable that he would have behaved like Macdonald; and it is certain that he would have had no better success. The Bonapartists themselves dreaded what they called the wrong-headedness of Ney. It was, however, thought better to keep the Duc de Berry in safety.

Ney found himself put forward singly, as it were, to oppose the man whom all France was joining; he found, as did every officer sent on a similar mission, that the soldiers were simply waiting to meet Napoleon; and while the Princes sought security, while the soldiers plotted against their leaders, came the calls of the Emperor in the old trumpet tone. The eagle was to fly — nay, it was flying from tower to tower, and victory was advancing with a rush. Was Ney to be the one man to shoot down his old leader? could he, as he asked, stop the sea with his hands? On his trial his subordinate, Bourmont, who had by that time shown his devo-

tion to the Bourbons by sacrificing his military honor, and deserting to the Allies, was asked whether Ney could have got the soldiers to act against the Emperor. He could only suggest that if Ney had taken a musket and himself charged, the men would have followed his example. "Still," said Bourmont, "I would not dare to affirm that he (the marshal) would have won." And who was Ney to charge? We know how Napoleon approached the forces sent to oppose him: he showed himself alone in the front of his own troops. Was Ney to deliberately kill his old commander? was any general ever expected to undergo such a test? and can it be believed that the soldiers who carried off the reluctant Oudinot and chased the flying Macdonald, had such a reverence for the "Rougeot," as they called him, that they would have stood by while he committed this murder? The whole idea is absurd: as Ney himself said at his trial, they would have "pulverized" him. Undoubtedly the honorable course for Ney would have been to have left his corps when he lost control over them; but to urge, as was done afterwards, that he had acted on a preconceived scheme, and that his example had such weight, was only malicious falsehood. The Emperor himself knew well how little he owed to the free will of his Marshal, and he soon had to send him from Paris, as Ney, sore at heart, and discontented with himself and with both sides, uttered his mind with his usual freedom. Ney was first ordered to inspect the frontier from Dunkirk to Bâle, and was then allowed to go to his home. He kept so aloof from Napoleon that when he appeared on the Champ de Mai the Emperor affected surprise, saying that he thought Ney had emigrated. At the last moment Marshal Mortier fell ill. Ney had already been sent for. He hurried up, buying Mortier's horses (presumably the ill-fated animals who died under him at Waterloo), and reached the army just in time to be given the command of the left wing.

It has been well remarked that the very qualities which made Ney invaluable for defence or for the service of a rear-guard weighed against him in such a combat as Quatre Bras. Splendid as a corps leader, he had not the commander's eye

to embrace the field and surmise the strength of the enemy at a glance. At Bautzen in 1813 his staff had been unable to prevent him from leaving the route which would have brought him on the very rear of the enemy, because seeing the foe, and unable to resist the desire of returning their fire, he turned off to engage immediately. At Quatre Bras, not seeing the force he was engaged with, believing he had the whole English army on his hands from the first, he let himself at the beginning of the day be imposed upon by a mere screen of troops.

We cannot here go into Ney's behavior at Waterloo except to point out that too little importance is generally given to the fact of the English cavalry having, in a happy moment, fallen on and destroyed the artillery which was being brought up to sweep the English squares at close quarters. At Waterloo, as in so many other combats, the account of Ney's behavior more resembles that of a Homeric hero than of a modern general. To the ideal commander of to-day, watching the fight at a distance, calmly weighing its course, undisturbed except by distant random shots, it is strange to compare Ney staggering through the gate of Königsberg all covered with blood, smoke and snow, musket in hand, announcing himself as the rear-guard of France, or appearing, a second Achilles, on the ramparts of Smolensko to encourage the yielding troops on the glacis, or amidst the flying troops at Waterloo, with uncovered head and broken sword, black with powder, on foot, his fifth horse killed under him, knowing that life, honor, and country were lost, still hoping against hope and attempting one more last desperate rally. If he had died — ah! if he had died there — what a glorious tomb might have risen, glorious for France as well as for him, with the simple inscription, "The Bravest of the Brave."

Early on the 19th June a small band of officers retreating from the field found Ney asleep at Marchiennes, "the first repose he had had for four days," and they did not disturb him for orders. "And indeed what order could Marshal Ney have given?" The disaster of the day, the overwhelming horror of the flight of the beaten army, simply crushed Ney

morally as well as physically. Rising in the Chambers he denounced all attempt at further resistance. He did not know, he would not believe, that Grouchy was safe, and that the army was fast rallying. Fresh from the field, with all its traces on him, the authority of Ney was too great for the Government. Frightened friends, plotting Royalists, echoed the wild words of Ney brave only against physical dangers. Instead of dying on the battle-field, he had lived to insure the return of the Bourbons, the fall of Bonaparte, his own death, and the ruin of France.

Before his exception from the amnesty was known Ney left Paris on the 6th of July, and went into the country with but little attempt at concealment, and with formal passports from Fouché. The capitulation of Paris seemed to cover him, and he was so little aware of the thirst of the Royalists for his blood that he let his presence be known by leaving about a splendid sabre presented to him by the Emperor on his marriage, and recognized by mere report by an old soldier as belonging to Ney or Murat; and Ney himself let into the house the party sent to arrest him on the 5th of August, and actually refused the offer of Excelmans, through whose troops he passed, to set him free. No one at the time, except the wretched refugees of Ghent, could have suspected, after the capitulation, that there was any special danger for Ney, and it is very difficult to see on what principle the Bourbons chose their victims or intended victims. Drouot, for example, had never served Louis XVIII., he had never worn the white cockade, he had left France with Napoleon for Elba, and had served the Emperor there. In 1815 he had fought under his own sovereign. After Waterloo he had exerted all his great influence, the greater from his position, to induce the Guard to retire behind the Loire, and to submit to the Bourbons. It was because Davoust so needed him that Drouot remained with the army. Still Drouot was selected for death, but the evidence of his position was too strong to enable the Court to condemn him. Cambronne, another selection, had also gone with Napoleon to Elba. Savary, another selection, had, as was eventually acknowledged, only joined Napoleon when he was

in full possession of the reins of Government. Bertrand, who was condemned while at St. Helena, was in the same position as Drouot. In fact, if any one were to draw up a list of probable proscriptions and compare it with those of the 24th of July, 1815, there would probably be few names common to both except Labédoyère, Mouton Duvernet, etc. The truth is that the Bourbons, and, to do them justice, still more the rancorous band of mediocrities who surrounded them, thirsted for blood. Even *they* could feel the full ignominy of the flight to Ghent. While they had been chanting the glories of the Restoration, the devotion of the people, the valor of the Princes, Napoleon had landed, the Restoration had vanished like a bad dream, and the Princes were the first to lead the way to the frontier. To protest that there had been a conspiracy, and that the conspirators must suffer, was the only possible cloak for the shame of the Royalists, who could not see that the only conspiracy was the universal one of the nation against the miserable men who knew not how to govern a high-spirited people.

Ney, arrested on the 5th of August, was first brought before a Military Court on the 9th of November composed of Marshal Jourdan (President), Marshals Masséna, Augereau, and Mortier, Lieutenants-General Gazan, Claparède, and Vilatte (members). Moncey had refused to sit, and Masséna urged to the Court his own quarrels with Ney in Spain to get rid of the task, but was forced to remain. Defended by both the Berryers, Ney unfortunately denied the jurisdiction of the court-martial over him as a peer. In all probability the Military Court would have acquitted him. Too glad at the moment to be free from the trial of their old comrade, not understanding the danger of the proceeding, the Court, by a majority of five against two, declared themselves non-competent, and on the 21st of November Ney was sent before the Chamber of Peers, which condemned him on the 6th of December.

To beg the life of his brave adversary would have been such an obvious act of generosity on the part of the Duke of Wellington that we may be pardoned for examining his reasons for not interfering. First, the Duke seems to have laid weight

on the fact that if Ney had believed the capitulation had covered him he would not have hidden. Now, even before Ney knew of his exception from the amnesty, to appear in Paris would have been a foolish piece of bravado. Further, the Royalist re-action was in full vigor, and when the Royalist mobs, with the connivance of the authorities, were murdering Marshal Brune and attacking any prominent adherents of Napoleon, it was hardly the time for Ney to travel in full pomp. It cannot be said that, apart from the capitulation, the Duke had no responsibility. Generally a government executing a prisoner may, with some force, if rather brutally, urge that the fact of their being able to try and execute him in itself shows their authority to do so. The Bourbons could not even use this argument. If the Allies had evacuated France Louis le Désiré would have ordered his carriage and have been at the frontier before they had reached it. If Frenchmen actually fired the shots which killed Ney, the Allies at least shared the responsibility with the French Government. Lastly, it would seem that the Duke would have asked for the life of Ney if the King, clever at such small artifices, had not purposely affected a temporary coldness to him. Few men would have been so deterred from asking for the life of a dog. The fact is, the Duke of Wellington was a great general, he was a single-hearted and patriotic statesman, he had a thousand virtues, but he was never generous. It cannot be said that he simply shared the feelings of his army, for there was preparation among some of his officers to enable Ney to escape, and Ney had to be guarded by men of good position disguised in the uniform of privates. Ney had written to his wife when he joined Napoleon, thinking of the little vexations the Royalists loved to inflict on the men who had conquered the Continent, "you will no longer weep when you leave the Tuileries." The unfortunate lady wept now as she vainly sought some mercy for her husband. Arrested on the 5th of August, sentenced on the 6th of December, Ney was shot on the 7th of December, and the very manner of his execution shows that, in taking his life there was much more of revenge than of justice.

If Ney were to be shot, it is obvious that it should have been as a high act of justice. If neither the rank nor the services of the criminal were to save him, his death could not be too formal, too solemn, too public. Even an ordinary military execution is always carried out with grave and striking forms: there is a grand parade of the troops, that all may see with their own eyes the last act of the law. After the execution the troops defile past the body, that all may see the criminal actually dead. There was nothing of all this in the execution of Ney. A few chance passers, in the early morning of the 7th of December, 1815, saw a small body of troops waiting by the wall of the garden of the Luxemburg. A *fiacre* drove up out of which got Marshal Ney in plain clothes, himself surprised at the every-day aspect of the place. Then, when the officer of the firing party (for such the spectators now knew it to be) saw whom it was he was to fire on, he became, it is said, perfectly petrified; and a peer, one of the judges of Ney, the Duc de la Force, took his place. Ney fell at the first volley with six balls in his breast, three in the head and neck, and one in the arm, and in a quarter of an hour the body was removed; "plain Michel Ney" as he had said to the secretary enunciating his title in reading his sentence, "plain Michel Ney, soon to be a little dust."[1]

The Communists caught red-handed in the streets of Paris

[1] "The grave of 'the bravest of the brave' in Père la Chaise is in the principal avenue, and close to that in which Béranger and Manuel, the orator, lie together, surrounded by the sumptuous tombs of his brother Marshals, and within sight of those of the Generals Foy and Gobert, and that of Baron Larrey, the surgeon of Napoleon I. Ney has no cenotaph, or simple headstone even, to tell the passer-by who it is that lies within the lichen-covered rusty iron railing, and few there are who recognize it, unless prompted by individual interest in the intrepid and unfortunate soldier, or by curiosity at the wildness of the neglected and uncared-for place. Years ago some one laid out the enclosure as a small garden, but no one since has even tended it, and weeds have choked all but a few small wild flowers. There is now no slab or inscription, such as described to exist in 1827, or if there is it is completely hidden beneath the ground and tangled brier, and the rank grass growing all over the grave" (*Notes and Queries*, 1874, fifth series, vol. i. p. 374).

"In 1827," says a contributor to the same journal, "I was anxious to see the Marshal's grave in Père la Chaise. I well remember the alarm, the precautions, and the mystery with which our *conducteur*, watching his opportunity, sought the spot, and, moving aside the rank grass, disclosed a small flat stone with this inscription — eloquent in its simplicity — 'Hic Amicus.'"

The tomb is now easily discoverable from the plans in the guide-books of Paris, where its exact position is shown.

in 1870 died with hardly less formality than was observed at the death-scene of the Prince of the Moskowa and Duke of Elchingen, and the truth then became plain. The Bourbons could not, dared not, attempt to carry out the sentence of the law with the forms of the law. The Government did not venture to let the troops or the people face the Marshal. The forms of the law could not be carried out, the demands of revenge could be. And if this be thought any exaggeration, the proof of the ill effects of this murder, for its form makes it difficult to call it anything else, is ready to our hands. It was impossible to get the public to believe that Ney had really been killed in this manner, and nearly to this day we have had fresh stories recurring of the real Ney being discovered in America. The deed, however, had really been done. The Marshals now knew that when the Princes fled they themselves must remain to die for the Royal cause; and Louis had at last succeeded in preventing his return to his kingdom amongst the baggage wagons of the Allies from being considered as a mere subject for jeers. One detail of the execution of Ney, however, we are told nothing of: we do not know if his widow, like Madame Labédoyère, had to pay three francs a head to the soldiers of the firing party which shot her husband. Whatever were the faults of the Bourbons, they at least carried out their executions economically.[1]

The end of the Imperial Guard should be told. On Napoleon becoming Consul in 1799, the "Garde du Directoire Exécutif" became the "Garde des Consuls," and was increased to 7266 men. On the formation of the Empire in 1804 it became the "Garde Impériale," and was raised to 9798 men. The men composing it were invariably taken from the old and distinguished soldiers of other regiments. There have always been two opinions among French officers on the wisdom of this proceeding, some complaining of the weakening of the regimental *esprit de corps* caused among the ordinary regiments, which were thus trained to look on the Guard as a superior body, and the bad effect of withdrawing so many old

[1] For the trials and executions carried out under the second Restoration see Vaulabelle's *Histoire des Deux Restaurations* (Paris, Perrotin, 1847), tomes iii. and iv.

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and good soldiers who should have leavened the mass of recruits. On the other hand, the Imperial Guard became an enormous reserve for use on the decisive point, and its very approach raised the spirits of the other troops acting on that point, where they then knew the great effort was to be made. Also, there was less jealousy aroused by keeping the Guard in reserve than there would have been if an ordinary corps had been selected for each occasion. Gradually increased, in 1814 the Guard was 112,482 strong.

On the first Restoration the Guard was unwisely deprived of its name and privileges, while it was preserved almost in its entirety. The Grenadiers of the old Guard became the "Corps Royal de Grenadiers de France," and the Chasseurs, sometimes called the Middle Guard, became the "Corps Royal de Chasseurs de France." Marshal Oudinot was given the command of these two bodies, which were sent to Metz. The cavalry became the "Corps Royal de Dragons de France," under the command of Ney. The artillery of the Guard and the infantry of the Young Guard were absorbed in the rest of the army.

On the return of Napoleon Marshal Oudinot was ordered to march to meet and oppose him, but the Guard, as already said, full of discontent with the Bourbons, were eager to join the Emperor, and Oudinot had to leave his so-called command. The Guard was at once re-organized, much on its former base: its strength during the *Cent Jours* is given as 25,870, but only 20,884, including all its branches, seem to have been in the ranks in the campaign. After the capitulation of Paris Drouot, who was put in command of the corps, got it to follow Davoust to the Loire with great difficulty. Marshal Macdonald was charged with the task of breaking it up.

"In despite of this capitulation [of Paris] the proscriptions began to decimate the chiefs of the Guard even before its arrival on the banks of the Loire. Not only were they brought before courts-martial, but they were dogged everywhere, so as to force them to quit a country which showed itself so ungrateful to those it ought to have honored, and

who were stigmatized with the epithet of 'brigands.'[1] Forced to seek a refuge in foreign lands, they went, some to Turkey, some to Greece, others to America, others to the province of Texas, in the Gulf of Mexico, where General Lallemand succeeded in forming a colony which he called the Champ d'Asile [City of Refuge], and where in April, 1818, 200 men of all ranks of the remains of the ex-Imperial Guard were collected together. The annoyances of the Mexican Government, however [Texas was then held by Mexico], soon forced the refugees to quit this inhospitable soil, and on the following 12th of August they disembarked on the island of Galveston, which they had already inhabited before their meeting at the Champ d'Asile. After tortures of every description, unable to preserve any hope of a better future, they determined to leave for New Orleans, where they arrived on the 20th of November, 1818. During this time subscriptions had been opened in France for the Texan exiles, but it was only in April, 1820, that a sum of 80,000 francs reached them. Of 200 exiles forty-seven still lived. The grave alone can now tell what has become of the last survivors of the remnant immortalized as much by misfortune as by glory" (*Norvins*, pp. 759-760).

It was but natural that these and other refugees in America should dream of establishing some French State there, and an expedition is said to have been prepared by Lefebvre-Desnouettes and the brothers Lallemand, the founders of the Champ d'Asile, General Humbert at New Orleans, and Grouchy and Clausel, who were also in America. The originators of the plan even hoped to place Napoleon, enabled to escape from St. Helena, at their head, or at least

[2] "Brigand" had then the fatal meaning "Suspect" formerly bore. After Waterloo the Protestants in the south of France were thus designated and attacked till the Duc d'Angoulême stopped the bloodshed (*Lacretelle*, tome i. chap. iv.). We saw the mob pursuing with ferocious cries a man just ahead of them. "This brigand," said I to one of the crowd, "is no doubt a highway robber?" — "No, sir," said he, "he is a rich gentleman in the village, who never took anything away from any one." — "How is he a brigand then?" — "Because he is a Bonapartist." — "Did he ever do harm to any one?" — "No; but he wished to do it." — "He wished?" said I with astonishment; "and how do you know that he is a Bonapartist?" — "There can be no doubt of it — he is a Protestant" (*The Memoirs of a French Sergeant*).

to have Lucien and Jérôme with them. An attempt was made to communicate with the Emperor, but the letters were intercepted by the English.[1] The failure of the insurrection of Mina in Mexico in 1817 ruined their hopes. Some of the Generals, such as Clausel and Grouchy, returned eventually to France to enjoy rank and honor, while others remained in America, with no other result than as has been said of the members of another nationality there, to lie down in death to make a green spot in the prairies.[2]

The statesmen of France, distinguished as they were, certainly did not rise to a level with the situation either in 1814 or in 1815. In 1814, it is true, they were almost stunned by the crash of the Empire, and little as they foresaw the restoration of the Bourbons, still less could they have anticipated the extraordinary follies which were to be perpetrated. In 1815 there was less excuse for their helplessness, and, overawed as they were by the mass of foes which was pouring on them to complete the disaster of Waterloo, still it is disappointing to find that there was no one to seize the helm of power, and, confronting the Allies, to stipulate proper terms for France, and for the brave men who had fought for her. The steady Davoust was there with his 100,000 men to add weight to their language, and the total helplessness of the older line of the Bourbons had been too evidently displayed to make their return a certainty, so that there is no reason to doubt that a firm-hearted patriot might have saved France from much of the degradation and loss inflicted on her when once the Allies had again got her at their mercy.

1 Croker's *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 88.

2 See *Norvins*, p. 753; *Lucien Bonaparte*, by Iung, tome iii. pp. 380–382; and *Histoire de l'ex-Garde* (Paris, Delaunay, 1821).

The celebrated reply of the Guard at Waterloo to the English demand for surrender, "La Garde meurt et ne se rend pas," was attributed to Cambronne, a rough old veteran, about the last man to use such a phrase, and who indeed was himself taken prisoner. Cambronne denied using the words, substituting a worse sentence. In 1845 it was claimed for General Michel by his sons, but on doubtful ground. During the siege of Sebastopol the third Napoleon sent his Guard to the Crimea, but ordered that they were not to be employed in the exhausting work of the trenches. This naturally gave rise to complaints, and some wag of the army wrote on the huts of the Guard, "La Garde (*dé*) meurt ici, et ne se rend pas (*aux tranchées*)."

See also Wouters' *Annales*, p. 978, note; *Thiers*, tome xx. p. 248; *Dorsey Gardner*, p. 384.

At the least the Bourbons might have been deprived of the revenge they sought for in taking some of the best blood of France. Better for Ney and his comrades to have fallen in a last struggle before Paris than to be shot by Frenchmen emboldened by the presence of foreign troops.

Talleyrand, the most prominent figure among the statesmen, was away. His absence at Vienna during the first Restoration was undoubtedly the cause of many of the errors then committed. His ability as displayed under Napoleon has been much exaggerated, for, as the Duke of Wellington said, it was easy enough to be Foreign Minister to a Government in military possession of Europe, but at least he was above the petty trivialities and absurdities of the Bourbon Court. On the receipt of the news of the landing of Napoleon he really seems to have believed that the enterprise would immediately end in disaster, and he pressed on the outlawing of the man who had overwhelmed him with riches, and who had, at the worst, left him when in disgrace in quiet possession of all his ill-gotten wealth. But, as the power of Napoleon became more and more displayed, as perhaps Talleyrand found that the Austrians were not quite so firm as they wished to be considered, and as he foresaw the possible chances of the Orleans family, he became rather lukewarm in his attention to the King, to whom he had recently been bewailing the hardships of his separation from his loved monarch. He suddenly found that, after a Congress, the first duty of a diplomatist was to look after his liver, and Carlsbad offered an agreeable retreat where he could wait till he might congratulate the winner in the struggle.

Louis deeply resented this conduct of his Foreign Minister, and when Talleyrand at last joined him with all his doubts resolved, the King took the first opportunity of dismissing him, leaving the calm Talleyrand for once stuttering with rage. Louis soon, however, found that he was not the free agent he believed. The Allies did not want to have to again replace their puppet on the throne, and they looked on Talleyrand and Fouché as the two necessary men. Talleyrand was re-instated immediately, and remained for some time at

the head of the Ministry. He was, however, not the man for Parliamentary Government, being too careless in business, and trying to gain his ends more by clever tricks than straightforward measures. As for the state into which he let the Government fall, it was happily characterized by M. Beugnot. "Until now," said he, "we have only known three sorts of governments — the Monarchical, the Aristocratic, and the Republican. Now we have invented a new one, which has never been heard of before, — Paternal Anarchy."

In September, 1815, the elections to the Chamber were bringing in deputies more Royalist than the King, and Talleyrand sought to gain popularity by throwing over Fouché. To his horror it appeared that, well contented with this step, the deputies next asked when the former Bishop was to be dismissed. Taking advantage of what Talleyrand conceived to be a happy way of eliciting a strong expression of royal support by threatening to resign, the King replaced him by the Duc de Richelieu. It was well to cut jokes at the Duke and say that he was the man in France who knew most of *the Crimea* (the Duke had been long in the Russian service, with the approval of Napoleon), but Talleyrand was overwhelmed. He received the same office at Court which he had held under Napoleon, Grand Chamberlain, and afterwards remained a sardonic spectator of events, a not unimposing figure attending at the Court ceremonials and at the heavy dinners of the King, and probably lending a helping hand in 1830 to oust Charles X. from the throne. The Monarchy of July sent him as Ambassador to England, where he mixed in local politics, for example, plotting against Lord Palmerston, whose brusque manners he disliked; and in 1838 he ended his strange life with some dignity, having, as one of his eulogists puts it, been faithful to every Government he had served as long as it was possible to save them.

With the darker side of Talleyrand's character we have nothing to do here; it is sufficient for our purposes to say that the part the leading statesman of France took during the *Cent Jours* was simply *nil*. In 1814 he had let the reins slip through his hands; in 1815 he could only follow the King,

who even refused to adopt his advice as to the proper way in which to return to France, and though he once more became Chief Minister, Talleyrand, like Louis XVIII., owed his restoration in 1815 solely to the Allies.

Next to Talleyrand, at least in the popular belief, came Fouché. Fouché, so long the Police Minister, enjoyed a reputation far above his deserts, as indeed his conduct at this very time shows. In 1814, having been in disgrace since 1810, much to his grief he had been sent to Italy, and found himself unable to get to Paris in time to share in the spoils. During the first Restoration he lived quietly, suspected by both parties, but apparently really inclined to forward the Orleanist cause. The return of Napoleon forced his hand, and an attempt to arrest him, directed by the Bourbons and mismanaged by Bourrienne, threw him on the side of Napoleon. He hedged, however, by foretelling the speedy overthrow of the Empire, and promising to work for the recall of Louis.

Through all the year 1815 Fouché's conduct seems to have been — what his enemies represented it to have always been — a combination of that of knave and fool, the fool in this instance predominating.[1] Strongly suspected by the Bonapartists of giving information to the enemy, he kept his views concealed till he had gained the position of head of the Provisional Government instituted on the Emperor's abdication. At last he had succeeded in placing himself in the position occupied by Talleyrand in 1814, and, like the Irish patriot, no doubt he thanked Heaven that he had a country to sell. He sold it to the least possible advantage for himself or France. Every card he had in his hand he threw away. He forced Napoleon to leave France when his presence might still have prevented the rapid advance of the Allies. He discouraged and sent off the army of some hundred thousand men he had

[1] As before stated, Lucien Bonaparte acquits Fouché of betraying Napoleon during the *Cent Jours*, and says that Napoleon knew of Fouché's secret proposals to Metternich, even those which appeared to be against the Emperor himself (Iung's *Lucien*, tome iii. p. 294). See also Croker's *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 236 (Murray, 1884), to show that Fouché wished Napoleon to succeed in escaping.

under Davoust; and, in treating with the Allies, he failed in obtaining any stipulation for France, or for the men who had fought at Waterloo who might have so easily been protected, or at least enabled to fly. Lastly, and the only good thing about his bargaining, he totally failed to get any terms for himself, except the empty promise of retaining his post as Police Minister. This was a mere snare, at least on the part of the King, as is shown by Louis telling Vitrolles that he preferred making Fouché a Minister who could be dismissed, to giving him a peerage which must be retained. Even this promise Fouché owed entirely to the support of the Allies, who, very erroneously, believed that the presence of a regicide in the Ministry would be the best safeguard for the men of the Revolution and the Empire. His part was a more difficult one than he had expected, for he soon found that Excelmans and others among the Bonapartists were anxious to arrest and shoot him for his treachery to Napoleon.

Fouché soon again overreached himself and lost the support of the one party which must have been faithful to him, by trying to get the favor of the Royalists by signing the edict which sent some of the best soldiers and men in France to death or exile; and it was not his fault that the list was not more extensive than it was. Thanks to Heaven, and to whatever French Saint takes the place of St. Chad, he soon had his guerdon. The country sent up a number of the most extreme Royalist deputies, who insisted on the dismissal of Fouché. The King, too glad to get rid of him, was also anxious to please the Duchesse d'Angoulême, who refused even to receive Fouché. Offered an Ambassadorship, Fouché again overreached himself by refusing that of the United States, which he might possibly have kept, and, preferring to be near France, taking that of Saxony, which he lost by the *Ordonnance* of 1816 dismissing all regicides. He died in 1820 at Trieste, where he must have met several members of the Bonaparte family. His so-called Memoirs are altogether spurious.

We owe Cambacérès, the Arch-Chancellor, an apology for not giving him the place of honor, but he had fallen into a

state of feebleness, being much alarmed about his religious safety, and on the return of the chief he dreaded and served he would only resume the post he had held in 1799 — the Ministry of Justice. He took no real part in the *Cent Jours*, after which he was exiled, retiring to the Netherlands till 1819, when, like most of the Bonapartists, he was allowed to return and die in peace in 1824, leaving the memory of a distinguished and moderate Jurist, and, last not least, of a man who thoroughly realized the importance of the great art of dining.

Le Brun, who had been Third Consul until the formation of the Empire, when he became Arch-Treasurer and Duke of Piacenza (Plaisance), and who had been employed on the financial system of the Empire and in governing Genoa, and later, Holland, when first annexed to the Empire, had accepted the post of one of the Commissaires-Extraordinaires despatched by the Comte d'Artois, while Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom before the arrival of the King, and had been sent to Caen. Trained under the *ancien régime*, old, and little fond of display, one would have thought that he would have adhered to the Bourbons, or rather, would have remained passive. He, however, accepted a peerage from Napoleon, and also the post of Grand Master of the University. On the second Restoration he forfeited his former peerage. He was restored to his rank in 1819, but lived in retirement till his death in 1824, aged 85.

Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, the Grand Écuyer, the constant and faithful companion of Napoleon, came at once to his side in 1815, but only from fidelity, not with any hope of success. At first he positively declined to retake the Foreign Office, and when he consented, the determination of the Allies not to treat with the man who had made some of them Kings made Caulaincourt's tenure of that post a mere sinecure. Indeed, the first duty he had to perform was to receive the announcements of all the Ambassadors that they intended to withdraw at once. After Waterloo Caulaincourt formed one of the Provisional Government, but he had lost all hope, and was outwitted by Fouché. He and his Duchess were true to

Napoleon to the end. This, of course, was hateful to the Royalists, who also professed to believe him specially responsible for the death of Duc d'Enghien; but the protection of the Czar, who had treated him as a friend from the time he had been Ambassador in Russia, saved him from much of the annoyance he would have had to undergo. Indeed, Alexander got his name erased from the list presented by Fouché of persons selected for exile. He died in 1827, leaving an honorable name, and being a striking instance of a courtier who, never shrinking from telling his master the most unpalatable truths, and openly disapproving of many of his acts, still served Napoleon with as true fidelity in his worst misfortunes as he had done in his time of success.

Maret, Duke of Bassano, who had held the Secretariat during almost the whole period of the Empire, and who never wavered from his fidelity to his master, and who, if he ever injured Napoleon, did so only by too blind an obedience to his orders, had remained in communication with him while he was at Elba, but had refrained from giving him advice. On the return of Napoleon he was at once by his side, and, retaking his former office, did the Emperor and the Bourbons a great service by insuring the release of the Duc d'Angoulême who had fallen into the hands of Grouchy by virtue of a capitulation which Napoleon had at first ordered to be fulfilled, but about which he had changed his mind. Maret acted on the first order, and, as usual with Napoleon, received only thanks for his conduct in studying the true interests of his master. Maret was on the field of Waterloo; indeed he had often enough been by the side of his master in battle. He had only just time to fly, destroying or getting destroyed many papers, and he got to Paris before Napoleon. True to the end, he only left his master by his orders at Rambouillet, and retired to Switzerland. Arrested by the Austrians, he was imprisoned at Gratz, but in 1817 he was allowed to go to Trieste, a favorite if compulsory rendezvous of the Bonapartists at this time. In 1820 he returned to France, remaining watched by the police till 1830. In 1834 he took the office of Minister of the Interior and President of the Ministry under Louis

Philippe for a few days. He passed much of his time in furnishing information to writers defending Napoleon, such as Bignon, and he closed an honorable life in 1839, just too soon to welcome the arrival of the remains of his master.

Savary, the Duke of Rovigo, who had been Police Minister from Fouché's dismissal in 1810 to 1814, had behaved with some lukewarmness towards Napoleon on his first abdication. He had not staid with him to the end, and had remained in France, rather harassed by the same surveillance under which he had put many others, but protected by his former friend, Alexander, who seems to have been more constant in his personal likings than in other matters. On the arrival of Napoleon Savary went to him, and was graciously permitted to decline to resume the police, and instead to retake his original post in command of the *gendarmerie d'élite*, a corps too good for this sinful world, as he assures us, but much abused by less well-informed persons. This time Savary did not dare to remain after Napoleon left. He accompanied the Emperor on board the *Bellerophon*, but for some inscrutable reason the English Government refused to let him go to St. Helena. His wanderings are so curious as to be worth recording. He was first taken to Fort Manoel, Malta, and on the tiny peninsula on which that fort is built he remained till April, 1816. He then went to Smyrna, where, in 1817, he heard that he had been condemned to death for treason by the Bourbon Courts, and he moved to Trieste, and then to Gratz, where he met and was kindly received by Metternich. He returned to Smyrna in 1818, and went to London in 1819, crossing to France in December of that year to apply for a fresh trial, as the first bitter feelings had died away, and the Bonapartists were being allowed to return. He was treated with the same courtesy afterwards shown towards the journalists of the second Empire, being allowed to choose his own day for going to prison; and he was acquitted. In 1823 he bitterly attacked Talleyrand and the Duke Dalberg for their part in the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, but was silenced by the King. In 1831 Louis Philippe gave him the command of the Army of Algeria, in which post he died in 1833.

It can hardly be by accident that we find Savary concerned in the worst acts of Napoleon's reign, such as the murder of the Duc d'Enghien and the hoodwinking of the Spanish Royal Family. A dashing cavalry officer in his youth, he might have won a better name than he has left, though he has probably had to bear the blame of many an act he had nothing to do with. It is significant that he publicly raised the question of the responsibility of the Duc d'Enghien's death at a time when the Bonapartist party was in the dust, and when Talleyrand could have easily crushed him if Talleyrand himself had been free of blame in that matter. In any case courage and ability must be conceded to Savary.

During the last agony of the Empire in 1814 some of the Republicans had fully realized the danger the cause of liberty ran if Napoleon fell, and Carnot, the organizer of victory under the Republic, and who had been War Minister to Napoleon for a short time in 1800, had put his services at the disposal of the Emperor, who sent him to Antwerp, which Carnot defended well, only surrendering it to the orders of the Comte d'Artois after all hope for France was gone. In 1815 he thoroughly understood what the return of the Bourbons would imply, and he threw himself heartily into the cause of Napoleon, and accepted the Ministry of the Interior. He behaved with perfect loyalty to Napoleon, although the importance he attached to the characteristic theories of his party made Napoleon say that Carnot thought of improvements in the house while it was on fire. He was nominated one of the Provisional Government, leaving his Ministry to his brother; but, opposed as he was to the Bourbons, he was outwitted by Fouché, and, with his fellow-members, was practically helpless. The Czar attempted to get his name struck off the list of those to be exiled, but it was replied that he had been the author of a work in which it was sought to prove that Louis, when Comte de Provence, had had some secret connection with Robespierre with a view of hastening the fall or death of his unfortunate brother, Louis XVI., a libel the more dangerous as the conduct of the brothers of the murdered King had been before attacked. He retired to Warsaw and then to Magdeburg, dying in 1823.

The other Ministers of Napoleon require little mention. Gaudin, Duke of Gaeta, had retaken the Finances, which he had held for the whole reign of Napoleon, thus incurring the wrath of the Abbé Louis when he returned with the King like a bear robbed of her cubs, and found himself deprived of the millions spent by the Emperor. Gaudin cleared himself from the charges brought against him, and from 1820 to 1834 was governor of one of the best of his and his master's institutions, the Bank of France.

Mollien, whom the Bourbons had not employed, after some little hesitation went back to the Treasury, thus forfeiting his strong claim to it on the return from Ghent.

Decrés took his old post at the Marine, in which he had had such a uniformly disastrous tale to tell. Though he had not much affection for the Emperor, and though his language after Waterloo was rough and unfeeling, he seems to have really done his best for Napoleon's safety, and to have tried to insure the success of his flight to America.

Clarke, the Duke of Feltre, long Minister of War under Napoleon, had replaced Soult in that post just before the flight to Ghent, and he thought it wisest to throw in his lot with the Royalists and take what was called the "sentimental journey." St. Cyr took the War Office on the return from Ghent, but Clarke again held it from September, 1815, to September, 1817. He was made Marshal by Louis in 1816 (he was never a Marshal of the Empire), and died in 1818.

Those Ministers, past and present, who were in Paris on the arrival of the Allies seem to have been specially marked out for annoyance; thus poor Montalivet had some fifty men and fifty horses quartered on him. Molé, with his name honored in the annals of the French magistracy, the former Grand Judge, had accepted the return of Napoleon with but half-concealed reluctance, refusing to sign the law against the Bourbons, and only consenting to take a post unconnected with politics, which he had first held, — the Roads and Bridges. He was continued in it by the Bourbons, and even made a peer, but his sympathies with Parliamentary Government could not have been strong. Years afterwards, when he had been

repeatedly Minister, and even Chief Minister to the changing dynasties, in reply to some sneers from De Tocqueville, he nobly defended the brilliant band of men who under Napoleon undertook the task of establishing order, repressing crime and folly, and repairing the evils alike of the *ancien régime* and of the Revolution, believing themselves engaged in a holy and generous crusade. His words should be read. He at least did not believe that he had spent so many years in the service of a clever and unscrupulous adventurer. A Frenchman, he did not forget in his old age what Napoleon had done for France. As once more the wild theories and dreams of the sanguinary Revolutionists were urged on an excited people he remembered the great soldier and statesman who had put the whole noisy band under his heel, and had given France what so few rulers have given her, — internal peace.

Lavallette, who had for so many years directed the Posts, naturally retook his former office. On the second Restoration he was one of those exempted from the amnesty. Condemned to death, the Royalists were very anxious for his execution. According to them he had walked into the office, struck his stick on the floor — a great point was made of this stick — and taken possession in the name of the Emperor. It is difficult to see the peculiar wickedness of this; one is rather struck with the extraordinary weakness of an administration which could be thus at once upset. The King received Madame de Lavallette, for what reason it is hard to say, if he had determined on the death of her husband. The Duchesse d'Angoulême was inaccessible and inexorable. How Lavallette escaped should be read at length in his Memoirs. It is impossible here to do justice to the nerve of his wife and himself, especially when, expecting death at any moment, he delayed the enterprise for a day to improve the arrangements. Putting on the dress of his wife, he got past the gate into a sedan-chair, then from that to a *fiacre*, and, slipping out of that, was concealed by the family of a minor functionary in the hôtel of the Duc de Richelieu, the very head of the administration. Though his place of hiding was known to several people, it was preserved from the constant

search of the Government. So bloodthirsty were the Royalists that they accused the Prefect of Police of favoring the escape, the very King himself seeming to fear this charge, — a strange one, as Ney had already been shot.

Though the Duke of Wellington looked on with unconcern at the executions which were being carried out, the English army were not all satisfied at being employed to keep the French quiet while the men who had fled at the sight of Napoleon butchered the soldiers who had faced every army in Europe. A scheme which had been prepared to rescue Ney was now directed to save Lavallette. Sir Robert Wilson, Bruce, and Hutchinson, whose names should be honored by every Englishman, succeeded in snatching one prey from the Bourbons; and Lavallette, in the dress of an English officer, drove out of Paris by the side of Sir Robert, and again appeared at his side when Sir Robert canvassed Westminster. The Royalists were left to the poor satisfaction of badgering Madame de Lavallette out of her mind. Sir Robert returned to Paris, was arrested, tried, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with his associates. He himself had been loud in abuse of the Bonapartists in their days of success, but he was a gallant soldier, and having faced the French in the field, and having done his best to inspire the Court of Russia with his own zeal against them, he was not prepared to have even a passive share in the task of butchering men whose sole crime was having served an Emperor only kept from the undisputed possession of the throne of France by a million of foreign bayonets.

Bourrienne himself might fairly have expected to figure amongst the statesmen of the day. He almost under-represents his own part in affairs at this time, as he was really a conspicuous and busy figure, being much employed by Talleyrand in his numerous little plots. How he did not recover the Prefecture of Police which he held before the flight to Ghent we learn by chance, not from his Memoirs, but from De Vitrolles, who, finding Talleyrand complaining after his return of the manners of the new Prefect, Decazes, whom Talleyrand considered to resemble a young hairdresser, asked

him why he had not given the post to Bourrienne, who suited him. Talleyrand explained the matter with his usual nonchalance, and the reason is so characteristic of the Government which replaced Napoleon that it is worth giving. "Certainly," answered Talleyrand; "but how could it be done? Bourrienne was not there. He was returning from Hamburg" (where he had been sent by the King instead of staying at Ghent) "in a bad *calèche*. A wheel broke quite close to Paris, and he lost twenty-four hours in mending it. See what it is to be a *pauvre diable*. Now, if Bourrienne had £200,000 of rentes, he would always be a *pauvre diable*. You see nothing is so important as not to be a *pauvre diable*."[1] This is Talleyrand all over. As he explained, perhaps at the same time, he had always been rich even in the United States, and not to have a carriage was an absurd idea to him.

Talleyrand did not, however, forget Bourrienne altogether. In the Memoirs, as the reader will remember,[2] Bourrienne represents his appointment as "Ministre d'État" (practically member of the Privy Council) as a special act of the King. It really was one of the little tricks at which Talleyrand was so clever. By not inserting Bourrienne's name in the list prepared to be laid before the King, and then representing Bourrienne's case as Louis was about to sign, Talleyrand got the appointment made without the objections which would otherwise have been pressed. The speedy fall of Talleyrand's ministry probably prevented Bourrienne appearing in a more prominent position than that in which we have to leave him.

It should, by the way, be remarked that while Bourrienne criticises so severely the proceedings of Napoleon's police, his qualifications (disqualifications, according to some persons) for the Prefecture of Police under the Restoration were his knowledge of the modes of action of that very police and his tendency to adopt its violent methods. After his attack on Napoleon we cannot be sorry for the sharp lesson he, like so many others, received as to the inconstancy of the royal favor under the Restoration.

The ruin of Bourrienne's mental faculties is said to have

[1] *Vitrolles*, tome iii. p. 128. [2] See *ante*, p. 240.

been caused by the shock of the Revolution of July and the loss of his fortune. He died in an asylum at Caen in 1834. It will be seen that Napoleon in his Will alludes to Bourrienne as one of the possessors of important papers relating to his history. Bourrienne was a strange and melancholy instance of a man with every quality which would insure his holding high employment, throwing away all his advantages in his eagerness to snatch at the wealth which would have certainly come to him had he known how to wait.[1]

As for the Bourbons, when Napoleon landed the Duc d'Angoulême, the eldest son of the Comte d'Artois, and his wife were at Bordeaux in the midst of *fêtes* in their honor. The Royalists were strong in the south, and the Duke, placed in command of the five southern military divisions, threw himself in rear of Napoleon to try to undo the effect of his passage, but though he obtained some successes he had to capitulate to Generals Gilly and Grouchy. After some hesitation in allowing such a valuable prize to leave his hands, Napoleon gave the order to carry out the capitulation: and the Duke embarked at Cette for Spain, where he remained during the *Cent Jours*, and then only returned to Paris after some stay in the southern provinces. His wife, the daughter of Louis XVI., who had been imprisoned so long by the Convention, and who had been eventually exchanged in 1795 for the representatives arrested by Dumouriez when he went over to the Austrians, tried to excite a rising in Bordeaux, but General Clausel forced her to embark for England in an English frigate on the 1st of April; and she did not return to France till some weeks after the King had re-entered Paris.

The Duc de Bourbon, son of the Prince de Condé and father of the Duc d'Enghien, was sent to the west to raise La Vendée, but he had to fly almost immediately, and embarked at Nantes.

[1] For Napoleon's remarks on and inquiries about the peculations of Bourrienne at Hamburg, see *Bourrienne et ses Erreurs*, tome ii. pp. 225–246, already quoted, and Bingham's *Letters and Despatches of the first Napoleon* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1884), vol. iii. pp. 81 and 121.

The Comte d'Artois, the brother of the King, and later King himself as Charles X., was sent to Lyons, to which place the Duc d'Orléans followed him, and where the two Princes met Marshal Macdonald. The Marshal did all that man could do to keep the soldiers true to the Bourbons, but he had to advise the Princes to return to Paris, and he himself had to fly for his life when he attempted to stop Napoleon in person. The Duc d'Orléans was then sent to the north to hold Lille, where the King intended to take refuge, and the Comte d'Artois remained with the Court.

Louis himself, with Marshals Berthier and Macdonald, travelled to Lille, while the Comte d'Artois and his second son, the Duc de Berry, the father of the late Comte de Chambord, moved there with the so-called "Maison du Roi" or Royal Guard. The Duc de Berry had shown too much ardor and roughness in his dealings with the army and with the Bonapartists, and it will be remembered how he was silenced by one old private who, when the Duke turned on him with a snarl as to how little Napoleon had done for him, answered, "And if we chose to give him *credit?*"

At Lille the King found the Duc d'Orléans and Marshal Mortier, who had closed the gates and kept the garrison in some approach to fidelity to the Bourbons, scarcely, however, being able or perhaps willing to do more than get the King permission to enter on condition of not being accompanied by either the "Maison," or any foreign troops, — not a useless stipulation if we remember that De Vitrolles was at this very time trying to get the Spaniards to enter France to support the Government he was hoping to found in the south. Indeed, the Royalists had a shameful if natural longing for the entry of foreign troops. Marshals Macdonald and Mortier urged the King to remain in France and to go to Dunkirk, which could be held with a smaller garrison than Lille; but Louis was anxious to be safe, and he proceeded to Ghent, where he held a miniature Court with his Ministers Blacas, Clarke, Beugnot, Louis, Dambray, Chateaubriand, and other followers, such as de Vaublanc, Capelle, Anglès, Mounier, and Guizot. The Court was very badly off for money, the King,

and Clarke, Duke of Feltre, the War Minister, were the only happy possessors of carriages. They passed their time, as the Abbé Louis once bitterly remarked, in saying foolish things till they had a chance of doing them.

The Comte d'Artois, who, probably wisely, certainly cautiously, had refused to go with De Vitrolles to stir up the south until he had placed the King in safety, had ended by going to Ghent too, while the Duc de Berry was at Alost, close by, with a tiny army composed of the remains of the Maison du Roi, of which the most was made in reports. The Duc d'Orléans, always an object of suspicion to the King, had left France with the Royal party, but had refused to stay in Belgium, as he alleged that it was an enemy's country. He crossed to England where he remained, greatly adding to the anxiety of Louis by refusing to join him.

The end of these Princes is well known. Louis died in 1824, leaving his throne to his brother; but Charles only held it till 1830, when, after the rising called "the three glorious days of July," he was civilly escorted from France, and took shelter in England. The Duc d'Angoulême died without issue. The Duc de Berry was assassinated in 1820, but his widow gave birth to a posthumous son, the Duc de Bordeaux, or, to fervid Royalists, Henri V., though better known to us as the Comte de Chambord, who died in 1883 without issue, thus ending the then eldest line of Bourbons, and transmitting his claims to the Orleans family. On the fall of Charles X. the Duc d'Orléans became King of the French, but he was unseated by the Revolution of 1848, and died a refugee in England. As the three Princes of the House of Condé, the Prince de Condé, his son, the Duc de Bourbon, and his grandson, the Duc d'Enghien, all died without further male issue, that noble line is extinct.

When the news of the escape of Napoleon from Elba reached Vienna on the 7th of March, 1815, the three heads of the Allies, the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, were still there. Though it was said that the Congress danced but did not advance, still a great deal of

work had really been done, and the news of Napoleon's landing created a fresh bond of union between the Allies which stopped all further chances of disunion, and enabled them to practically complete their work by the 9th of June, 1815, though the treaties required cobbling for some years afterwards.

France, Austria, and England had snatched the greater part of Saxony from the jaws of Prussia, and Alexander had been forced to leave the King of Saxony to reign over half of his former subjects, without, as he wished, sparing him the pain of such a degradation by taking all from him. Russia had to be contented with a large increase of her Polish dominions, getting most of the Grand Duchy of Westphalia. Austria had, probably unwisely, withdrawn from her former outlying provinces in Swabia and the Netherlands, which had before the Revolution made her necessarily the guardian of Europe against France, preferring to take her gains in Italy, gains which she has gradually lost in our days; while Prussia, by accepting the Rhine provinces, completely stepped into the former post of Austria. Indeed, from the way in which Prussia was, after 1815, as it were, scattered across Germany, it was evident that her fate must be either to be crushed by France, or else, by annexing the States enclosed in her dominions, to become the predominating power in Germany. It was impossible for her to remain as she was left.

The Allies tightly bound France. They had no desire to have again to march on Paris to restore Louis to the subjects who had such unfortunate objections to being subjected to that desirable monarch. By the second Treaty of Paris, on the 20th of November, 1815, France was to be occupied by an Allied force, in military positions on the frontier, not to exceed 150,000 men, to be taken from all the Allied armies, under a commander who was eventually the Duke of Wellington. Originally the occupation was not to exceed five years, but in February, 1817, the army was reduced by 30,000 men, one-fifth of each contingent; and by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 9th October, 1818, France was to be evacuated by the 30th of November, 1818.

The three monarchs were probably not sorry to get the Congress over on any terms. Alexander had had his fill of displaying himself in the *salons* in his favorite part of an Agamemnon generous towards Troy, and he had worn out his first popularity. He was stung by finding some of his favorite plans boldly opposed by Talleyrand and by Metternich, and, indeed, was anxious to meet the last in open combat. Francis had required all the firmness of what he called his Bohemian head to resist the threats, entreaties, and cajoleries employed to get him to acquiesce in the dethronement of the King of Saxony, and the wiping out of the Saxon nationality by the very alliance which professed to fight only for the rights of nations and of their lawful sovereigns.

All three monarchs had again the satisfaction of entering Paris, but without enjoying the full glories of 1814. "Our friends the enemies" were not so popular then in France, and the spoliation of the Louvre was not pleasant even to the Royalists. The foreign monarchs soon returned to their own drained and impoverished States.

The Emperor Francis had afterwards a quiet reign to his death in 1835, having only to assist his Minister in snuffing out the occasional flashes of a love of freedom in Germany.

The King of Prussia returned in a triumph well won by his sturdy subjects, and, in the light of his new honors, the Countess Von Voss tells us he was really handsome. He was now at leisure to resume the discussions on uniform, and the work of fastening and unfastening the numerous buttons of his pantaloons, in which he had been so roughly interrupted by Jéna. The first institution of the Zollverein, or commercial union with several States, gradually extended, was a measure which did much for the unification of Germany. With his brother sovereigns he revisited Paris at the end of the military occupation in 1818, remaining there longer than the others, "because, said the Parisians, "he had discovered an actor at a small theatre who achieved the feat of making him laugh." He died in 1840. His Queen — heartbroken, it was said — had died in 1810.

Alexander was still brimming over with the best and most benevolent intentions towards every one. The world was to be free, happy, and religious; but he had rather vague ideas as to how his plans were to be carried out. Thus it is characteristic that when his successor desired to have a solemn coronation as King of Poland it was found that Alexander had not foreseen the difficulties which were met with in trying to arrange for the coronation of a sovereign of the Greek Church as King of a Roman Catholic State. The much-dreaded but very misty Holy Alliance was one of the few fruits of Alexander's visions. His mind is described as passing through a regular series of stages with each influence under which he acted. He ended his life tired out, disillusioned, "deceived in everything, weighed down with regret," obliged to crush the very hopes of his people he had encouraged, dying in 1825 at Taganrog, leaving his new Polish Kingdom to be wiped out by his successors.

The minor sovereigns require little mention. They retained any titles they had received from Napoleon, while they exulted, at being free from his heavy hand and sharp superintendence. Each got a share, small or great, of the spoil except the poor King of Denmark, who, being assured by Alexander on his departure that he carried away all hearts, answered, "Yes, but not any souls."

The re-introduction of much that was bad in the old system (one country even going so far as to re-establish torture), the steady attack on liberty and on all liberal ideas, Würtemberg being practically the only State which grumbled at the tightening of the reins so dear to Metternich, — all formed a fitting commentary on the proclamations by which the Sovereigns had hounded on their people against the man they represented as the one obstacle to the freedom and peace of Europe. In gloom and disenchantment the nations sat down to lick their wounds. The contempt shown by the monarchs for everything but the right of conquest, the manner in which they treated the lands won from Napoleon as a gigantic "pool" which was to be shared amongst them, so many souls to each, their total failure to fulfil their promises to their subjects of

granting liberty, — all these slowly bore their fruits in after years, and their effects are not even yet exhausted. The right of a sovereign to hold his lands was now, by the public law of Europe, to be decided by his strength. The rights of the people were treated as not existing. Truly, as our most gifted poetess has sung —

> "The Kings crept out — the peoples sat at home,
> And finding the long invocated peace
> (A pall embroidered with worn images
> Of rights divine) too scant to cover doom
> Such as they suffered, cursed the corn that grew
> Rankly to bitter bread, on Waterloo."

CHAPTER XIII.[1]

1815—1821.

Voyage to St. Helena — Personal traits of the Emperor — Arrival at James Town — Napoleon's temporary residence at the Briars — Removal to Longwood — The daily routine there — *The Campaign of Italy* — The arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe — Unpleasant relations between the Emperor and the new Governor — Visitors at St. Helena — Captain Basil Hall's interview with Napoleon — Anecdotes of the Emperor — Departure of Las Cases and O'Meara — Arrivals from Europe — Physical habits of the Emperor — Dr. Antommarchi — The Emperor's toilet — Creation of a new bishopric — The Emperor's energy with the spade — His increasing illness — Last days of Napoleon — His Death — Lying in state — Military funeral — Marchand's account of the Emperor's last moments — Napoleon's last bequests — The Watch of Rivoli.

The closing scenes in the life of the great Emperor only now remain to be briefly touched upon. In a previous chapter we have narrated the surrender of Napoleon, his voyage to England, and his transference from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*. The latter vessel was in great confusion from the short notice at which she had sailed, and for the two first days the crew was employed in restoring order. The space abaft the mizzen-mast contained a dining-room about ten feet broad, and extending the whole width of the ship, a saloon, and two cabins. The Emperor occupied the cabin on the left, in which his camp-bedstead had been put up; that on the right was appropriated to the Admiral. It was peremptorily enjoined that the saloon should be in common. The form of the dining-table resembled that of the dining-room. Napoleon sat with his back to the saloon, on his left sat Madame Bertrand, and on his right the Admiral, who, with Madame de Montholon, filled up one side of the table. Next that lady, but at the end of the table, was Captain Ross, who commanded the ship, and at the opposite end M. de Montholon, Madame Bertrand, and the Admiral's secretary. The side of the table

[1] This chapter, by the editor of the 1836 edition, is based upon the *Mémorial*, and O'Meara's and Antommarchi's works.

facing the Emperor was occupied by the Grand Marshal, the Colonel of the 53d Regiment,[1] Las Cases, and Gourgaud. The Admiral invited one or two of the officers to dinner every day, and the band of the 53d, newly formed, played during dinner time.

On the 10th of August the *Northumberland* cleared the Channel, and lost sight of land. The course of the ship was shaped to cross the Bay of Biscay and double Cape Finisterre. The wind was fair, though light, and the heat excessive. Napoleon breakfasted in his own cabin at irregular hours. He sent for one of his attendants every morning to know the distance run, the state of the wind, and other particulars connected with their progress. He read a great deal, dressed towards four o'clock, and then came into the public saloon; here he played at chess with one of the party: at five o'clock the Admiral announced that dinner was on the table. It is well known that Napoleon was scarcely ever more than fifteen minutes at dinner: here the two courses alone took up nearly an hour and a half. This was a serious annoyance to him, though his features and manner always evinced perfect equanimity. Neither the new system of cookery nor the quality of the dishes ever met with his censure. He was waited on by two valets, who stood behind his chair. At first the Admiral was in the habit of offering several dishes to the Emperor, but the acknowledgment of the latter was expressed so coldly that the practice was given up. The Admiral thenceforth only pointed out to the servants what was preferable. Napoleon was generally silent, as if unacquainted with the language, though it was French. If he spoke, it was to ask some technical or scientific question, or to address a few words to those whom the Admiral occasionally asked to dinner.

The Emperor rose immediately after coffee had been handed round, and went on deck, followed by the Grand Marshal and Las Cases. This disconcerted Admiral Cockburn, who expressed his surprise to his officers; but Madame Ber-

[1] The 53d Regiment, now the 1st Battalion of the King's (Shropshire Light Infantry).

trand, whose maternal language was English, replied with spirit, "Do not forget, sir, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world, and that kings once contended for the honor of being admitted to his table." — "Very true," rejoined the Admiral; and from that time he did his utmost to comply with Napoleon's habits. He shortened the time of sitting at table, ordering coffee for Napoleon and those who accompanied him even before the rest of the company had finished their dinner. The Emperor remained walking on deck till dark. On returning to the after-cabin he sat down to play *vingt-et-un* with some of his suite, and generally retired in about half an hour. On the morning of the 15th of August all his suite asked permission to be admitted to his presence. He was not aware of the cause of this visit; it was his birthday, which seemed to have altogether escaped his recollection.

On the following day they doubled Cape Finisterre, and up to the 21st, passing off the Straits of Gibraltar, continued their course along the coast of Africa towards Madeira. Napoleon commonly remained in his cabin the whole morning, and from the extreme heat he wore a very slight dress. He could not sleep well, and frequently rose in the night. Reading was his chief occupation. He often sent for Count Las Cases to translate whatever related to St. Helena or the countries by which they were sailing. Napoleon used to start a subject of conversation, or revive that of some preceding day, and when he had taken eight or nine turns the whole length of the deck he would seat himself on the second gun from the gangway on the larboard side. The midshipmen soon observed this habitual predilection, so that the cannon was thenceforth called the *Emperor's gun*. It was here that Napoleon often conversed for hours together.

On the 22d of August they came within sight of Madeira, and at night arrived off the port. They stopped for a day or two to take in provisions. Napoleon was indisposed. A sudden gale arose and the air was filled with small particles of sand and the suffocating exhalations from the deserts of Africa. On the evening of the 24th they got under weigh

again, and progressed smoothly and rapidly. The Emperor added to his amusements a game at piquet. He was but an indifferent chess-player, and there was no very good one on board. He asked jestingly, "How it was that he frequently beat those who beat better players than himself?" *Vingt-et-un* was given up, as they played too high at it; and Napoleon had a great aversion to gaming. One night a negro threw himself overboard to avoid a flogging, which occasioned a great noise and bustle. A young midshipman meeting Las Cases descending into the cabin, and thinking he was going to inform Napoleon, caught hold of his coat and in a tone of great concern exclaimed, "Ah, sir, do not alarm the Emperor! Tell him the noise is owing to an accident!" In general the midshipmen behaved with marked respect and attention to Bonaparte, and often by signs or words directed the sailors to avoid incommoding him. He sometimes noticed this conduct, and remarked that youthful hearts were always prone to generous instincts.

On the 1st of September they found themselves in the latitude of the Cape de Verd Islands. Everything now promised a prosperous passage, but the time hung heavily. Las Cases had undertaken to teach his son English, and the Emperor also expressed a wish to learn. He, however, soon grew tired and laid it aside, nor was it resumed until long afterwards. His manners and habits were always the same; he invariably appeared contented, patient, and good-humored. The Admiral gradually laid aside his reserve, and took an interest in his great captive. He pointed out the danger incurred by coming on deck after dinner, owing to the damp of the evening: the Emperor would then sometimes take his arm and prolong the conversation, talking sometimes on naval affairs, on the French resources in the south, and on the improvements he had contemplated in the ports and harbors of the Mediterranean, — to all which the Admiral listened with deep attention.

Meanwhile Napoleon observed that Las Cases was busily employed, and obtained a sight of his journal, with which he was not displeased. He, however, noticed that some of the military details and anecdotes gave but a meagre idea of

the subject of war. This first led to the proposal of his writing his own Memoirs. At length the Emperor came to a determination, and on Saturday, the 9th of September, he called his secretary into his cabin and dictated to him some particulars of the siege of Toulon. On approaching the line they fell in with the trade-winds that blow here constantly from the east. On the 16th there was a considerable fall of rain, to the great joy of the sailors, who were in want of water. The rain began to fall heavily just as the Emperor had got upon deck to take his afternoon walk. But this did not disappoint him of his usual exercise; he merely called for his famous gray great-coat, which the crew regarded with much interest.

On the 23d of September they passed the line. This was a day of great merriment and disorder among the crew: it was the ceremony which the English sailors call the "christening." No one is spared; and the officers are generally more roughly handled than any one else. The Admiral, who had previously amused himself by giving an alarming description of this ceremony, now very courteously exempted his guests from the inconvenience and ridicule attending it. Napoleon was scrupulously respected through the whole of this Saturnalian festivity. On being informed of the decorum which had been observed with regard to him he ordered a hundred Napoleons to be presented to the grotesque Neptune and his crew, which the Admiral opposed, perhaps from motives of prudence as well as politeness.

Owing to the haste with which they had left England the painting of the ship had been only lately finished, and this circumstance confined Napoleon, whose sense of smell was very acute, to his room for two days. They were now, in the beginning of October, driven into the Gulf of Guinea, where they met a French vessel bound for the Isle of Bourbon. They spoke with the captain, who expressed his surprise and regret when he learnt that Napoleon was on board. The wind was unfavorable, and the ship made little progress. The sailors grumbled at the Admiral, who had gone out of the usual course. At length they approached the termination of their voyage. On the 14th of October the Admiral had

informed them that he expected to come within sight of St. Helena that day. They had scarcely risen from table when their ears were saluted with the cry of "Land!" This was within a quarter of an hour of the time that had been fixed on. The Emperor went on the forecastle to see the island, but it was still hardly distinguishable. At daybreak next morning they had a tolerably clear view of it.

At length, about seventy days after his departure from England, and a hundred and ten after quitting Paris, Napoleon reached St. Helena. In the harbor were several vessels of the squadron which had separated from them, and which they thought they had left behind. Napoleon, contrary to custom, dressed early and went upon deck: he went forward to the gangway to view the island. He beheld a kind of village surrounded by numerous barren hills towering to the clouds. Every platform, every aperture, the brow of every hill was planted with cannon. The Emperor viewed the prospect through his glass. His countenance underwent no change. He soon left the deck; and sending for Las Cases, proceeded to his day's work. The Admiral, who had gone ashore very early, returned about six much fatigued. He had been walking over various parts of the island, and at length thought he had found a habitation that would suit his captives. The place stood in need of repairs, which might occupy two months. His orders were not to let the French quit the vessel till a house should be prepared to receive them. He, however, undertook, on his own responsibility, to set them on shore the next day.

On the 16th, after dinner, Napoleon, accompanied by the Admiral and the Grand Marshal, Bertrand, got into a boat to go ashore. As he passed, the officers assembled on the quarter-deck, and the greater part of the crew on the gangways. The Emperor, before he stepped into the boat, sent for the captain of the vessel, and took leave of him, desiring him at the same time to convey his thanks to the officers and crew. These words appeared to produce the liveliest sensation in all by whom they were understood, or to whom they were interpreted.

The remainder of his suite landed about eight. They found the Emperor in the apartments which had been assigned to him: a few minutes after he went upstairs to his chamber. He was lodged in a sort of inn in James Town which consists only of one short street, or row of houses, built in a narrow valley between two rocky hills.[1]

The next day the Emperor, the Grand Marshal, and the Admiral, riding out to visit Longwood, which had been chosen for the Emperor's residence, on their return saw a small villa, with a pavilion attached to it, about two miles from the town, the residence of Mr. Balcombe, a merchant of the island. This spot pleased Napoleon, and the Admiral was of opinion that it would be better for him to remain here than to return to the town, where the sentinels at his door, with the crowds collected round it, in a manner confined him to his chamber. The pavilion was a sort of summer-house on a pyramidal eminence, about thirty or forty paces from the house, where the family were accustomed to resort in fine weather: this was hired for the temporary abode of the Emperor, and he took possession of it immediately. There was a carriage-road from the town, and the valley was in this part less rugged in its aspect. Las Cases was soon sent for. As he ascended the winding path leading to the pavilion he saw Napoleon standing at the threshold of the door. His body was slightly bent, and his hands behind his back: he wore his usual plain and simple uniform and the well-known hat. The Emperor was alone. He took a fancy to walk a little, but there was no level ground on any side of the pavilion, which was surrounded by huge pieces of rock. Taking the arm of his companion, however, he began to converse in a cheerful strain. When Napoleon was about to retire to rest the servants found that one of the windows was open close to the bed: they barricaded it as well as they could, so as to exclude the air, to the effects of which the Emperor was very susceptible. Las Cases ascended to an upper room. The *valets de chambre* lay stretched in their cloaks across the threshold of the door. Such was the first night Napoleon passed at the Briars.

[1] Hazlitt.

An English officer was lodged with them in the house as their guard, and two non-commissioned officers were stationed near the house to watch their movements. Napoleon the next day proceeded with his dictation, which occupied him for several hours, and then took a walk in the garden, where he was met by the two Misses Balcombe, lively girls about fourteen years of age, who presented him with flowers, and overwhelmed him with whimsical questions. Napoleon was amused by their familiarity, to which he had been little accustomed. "We have been to a masked ball," said he, when the young ladies had taken their leave.

The next day a chicken was brought for breakfast, which the Emperor undertook to carve himself, and was surprised at his succeeding so well, it being a long time since he had done so much. The coffee he considered so bad that on tasting it he thought himself poisoned, and sent it away.

The mornings were passed in business; in the evening Napoleon sometimes strolled to the neighboring villa, where the young ladies made him play at whist. *The Campaign of Italy* was nearly finished, and Las Cases proposed that the other followers of Napoleon who were lodged in the town should come up every morning to assist in transcribing *The Campaign of Egypt*, the *History of the Consulate*, etc. This suggestion pleased the ex-Emperor, so that from that time one or two of his suite came regularly every day to write to his dictation, and staid to dinner. A tent, sent by the Colonel of the 53d Regiment, was spread out so as to form a prolongation of the pavilion. Their cook took up his abode at the Briars. The table-linen was taken from the trunks, the plate was set forth, and the first dinner after these new arrangements was a sort of *fête*.

One day at dinner Napoleon, casting his eye on one of the dishes of his own campaign-service, on which the arms of the King had been engraved, "How they have spoiled that!" he exclaimed; and he could not refrain from observing that the King was in great haste to take possession of the Imperial plate, which certainly did not belong to him. Amongst the baggage was also a cabinet in which were a number of medal-

lions, given him by the Pope and other potentates, some letters of Louis XVIII. which he had left behind him on his writing-table in the suddenness of his flight from the Tuileries on the 20th of March, and a number of other letters found in the portfolio of M. Blacas intended to calumniate Napoleon.

The Emperor never dressed until about four o'clock: he then walked in the garden, which was particularly agreeable to him on account of its solitude — the English soldiers having been removed at Mr. Balcombe's request. A little arbor was covered with canvas, and a chair and table placed in it, and here Napoleon dictated a great part of his Memoirs. In the evening, when he did not go out, he generally contrived to prolong the conversation till eleven or twelve o'clock.

Thus time passed with little variety or interruption. The weather in the winter became delightful. One day, his usual task being done, Napoleon strolled out towards the town, until he came within sight of the road and shipping. On his return he met Mrs. Balcombe [1] and a Mrs. Stuart, who was on her way back from Bombay to England. The Emperor conversed with her on the manners and customs of India, and on the inconveniences of a long voyage at sea, particularly to ladies. He alluded to Scotland, Mrs. Stuart's native country, expatiated on the genius of Ossian, and congratulated his fair interlocutor on the preservation of her clear northern complexion. While the parties were thus engaged some heavily burdened slaves passed near to them. Mrs. Balcombe motioned them to make a *détour;* but Napoleon interposed, exclaiming, "Respect the burden, madame!" As he said this the Scotch lady, who had been very eagerly scanning the features of Napoleon, whispered to her friend, "Heavens! what a character, and what an expression of countenance! How different to the idea I had formed of him!"

Napoleon shortly after repeated the same walk, and went into the house of Major Hudson. This visit occasioned considerable alarm to the constituted authorities. The Governor gave a ball, to which the French were invited; and Las Cases

[1] A daughter of Mrs. Balcombe, Mrs. Abell, has since published her Reminiscences of Napoleon at St. Helena (London, S. Low and Co., 1873).

about the same time rode over to Longwood to see what advance had been made in the preparations for their reception. His report on his return was not very favorable. They had now been six weeks at the Briars, during which Napoleon had been nearly as much confined as if on board the vessel. His health began to be impaired by it. Las Cases gave it as his opinion that the Emperor did not possess that constitution of iron which was usually ascribed to him, and that it was the strength of his mind, not of his body, that carried him through the labors of the field and of the cabinet. In speaking on this subject Napoleon himself observed that nature had endowed him with two peculiarities: one was the power of sleeping at any hour or in any place;[1] the other, his being incapable of

[1] Napoleon had the happy power, indispensable to a man bearing the enormous strain of his vast and centralized empire, of commanding sleep at will. He was believed to sleep but little: this was a mistake. At times of great excitement he became, as Bourrienne says, p. 280 of the first volume of this work, almost insensible to bodily wants; but ordinarily, if tired, he would snatch a few minutes' sleep in the intervals of a conversation or between any occurrences. No fears for the future, however hazardous his position, interfered with this power. Thus on the night before his *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire he loaded two pistols and put them by his bedside, telling the surprised Josephine something might happen in the night. After this he lay down and slept soundly till daylight (*Rémusat*, tome i. p. 149). On the night before Austerlitz, after sending off Savary to ascertain the cause of a night alarm, he fell asleep so heavily that Savary on his return had to shake him to get him to receive the report. Napoleon then mounted and rode along his line, and again returned, to sleep till daybreak, though unquiet about the movements of the enemy (*Savary*, tome ii. pp. 202–203). At Waterloo he threw himself on his camp-bed, telling Jérome, "It is ten o'clock, I shall sleep till eleven. I shall certainly wake of myself, but in any case rouse me yourself, for they" — pointing to the officers round him — "will not dare to disturb my repose" (*Thiers*, tome xx. pp. 190 and 194). For Napoleon's own remarks on his sleeping, even during a battle, see the *Mémorial*, tome ii. p. 364, for 21st to 22d March, 1816. Josephine made Napoleon retain the habit of sleeping with her for long after he was Consul by assuring him that she slept so lightly that he could trust to her arousing him if any attempt were made on him (*Rémusat*, tome i. p. 207). His habit of sometimes falling asleep at a pause in a conversation was often trying to his Ministers. During the 1807 campaign, when Talleyrand, much to his own disgust, was with the army, he was one night called to speak to Napoleon, who was in bed. Finding that Napoleon kept dozing off, but awaking and again beginning to talk each time Talleyrand touched the door-handle, the poor Minister, in despair of escaping, had to resort to the plan of passing the rest of the night in an arm-chair in the room. General Gourgaud, who was long with Napoleon, says, "Such was the special organization of this man, who was extraordinary in everything, that he could sleep an hour, be awakened to give an order, again go to sleep, and be again awakened, without either his repose or his health suffering. Six hours of sleep sufficed for him, whether he took them at a stretch, or whether he slept at intervals during the twenty-four hours" (*Examen critique de l'ouvrage de Comte de Ségur*, p. 125, and *Meneval*, tome i. p. 380). But this is to be taken as chiefly applying

committing any excess either in eating or drinking. "If," said he, "I go the least beyond my mark my stomach instantly revolts." He was subject to nausea from very slight causes, and to colds from any change of air.[1]

The prisoners removed to Longwood on the 10th of December, 1815. Napoleon invited Mr. Balcombe to breakfast with him that morning, and conversed with him in a very cheerful manner. About two Admiral Cockburn was announced; he entered with an air of embarrassment. In consequence of the restraints imposed upon him at the Briars, and the manner in which those of his suite residing in the town had been treated, Bonaparte had discontinued receiving the visits of the Admiral; yet on the present occasion he behaved towards him as though nothing had happened. At length they left the Briars and set out for Longwood. Napoleon rode the horse, a small, sprightly, and tolerably handsome animal, which had been brought for him from the Cape. He wore his uniform of the Chasseurs of the Guard, and his graceful manner and handsome countenance were particularly remarked. The Admiral was very attentive to him. At the entrance of Longwood they found a guard under arms, who rendered the prescribed honors to their illustrious captive.

to times of exertion. In ordinary times he seems to have gone to bed between ten and eleven, rising generally about seven (*Rémusat*, tome i. p. 187 and tome ii. p. 335). See also the note at p. 280 of the first volume of this work. Most great military commanders have had some similar power, few being like Wallenstein, who could not bear even the clink of spurs near him when resting. As for the Duke of Wellington, Larpent says in his Journal (Bentley, 1854), p. 199, in speaking of 1813, "Lord Wellington is not so easily aroused from his bed as he used to be. . . . I understand he was always naturally fond of his pillow. He had rather ride like an express for ten or fifteen leagues than be early and take time to his work. Upon the whole this may fatigue him less, as being a less time on horseback."

[1] The mode of life adopted by Napoleon when at Longwood was very regular. He usually rose early, and employed an hour or two either in dictating to one of his generals or in a ride on horseback. He generally took his breakfast about ten o'clock, sometimes in his own room, and sometimes with his suite. He devoted the early part of the day to reading or dictation, until about two or three o'clock, when he was in the habit of receiving visitors. After this he again took an airing, either on horseback or in his carriage, attended by the whole of his suite. On his return he either resumed his book or continued his dictation until dinner-time, which was eight o'clock. He preferred plain food, of which he ate plentifully and with appetite; his drink was claret, of which he took but little, very rarely more than a pint. After dinner chess, cards, a play or a romance read aloud, or general conversation, served to pass away the time until ten or eleven o'clock, at which hour he usually went to bed.

His horse, unaccustomed to parades, and frightened by the roll of the drum, refused to pass the gate till spurred on by Napoleon, while a significant look passed among the escort. The Admiral took great pains to point out the minutest details at Longwood. He had himself superintended all the arrangements, among which was a bathroom. Bonaparte was satisfied with everything, and the Admiral seemed highly pleased. He had anticipated petulance and disdain, but Napoleon manifested perfect good humor.[1]

The entrance to the house was through a room which had been just built to answer the double purpose of an antechamber and a dining-room. This apartment led to the drawing-room; beyond this was a third room running in a cross-direction and very dark. This was intended to be the depository of the Emperor's maps and books, but it was afterwards converted into the dining-room. The Emperor's chamber opened into this apartment on the right-hand side, and was divided into two equal parts, forming a cabinet and sleeping-room; a little external gallery served for a bathing-room. Opposite the Emperor's chamber, at the other extremity of the building, were the apartments of Madame Montholon, her husband, and her son, afterwards used as the Emperor's library. Detached from this part of the house was a little square room on the ground-floor, contiguous to the kitchen, which was

1 "Longwood," says Las Cases, "originally a farm belonging to the East India Company, and afterwards given as a country residence to the Deputy-Governor, is situated on one of the highest parts of the island. The difference between the temperature of this place and the valley below is very great. It stands on a plateau of some extent, and near the eastern coast. Continual and frequently violent winds blow regularly from the same quarter. The sun, though rarely seen, nevertheless exercises its influence on the atmosphere, which is apt to produce disorders in the liver. Heavy and sudden falls of rain inundate the ground, and there is no settled course of the seasons. The sun passes overhead twice a year. Notwithstanding the abundant rains the grass is either nipped by the wind or dried up by the heat. The water, which is conveyed up to Longwood by pipes, is so unwholesome as to be unfit for use till it has been boiled. The trees, which at a distance impart a smiling aspect to the country, are merely gum-trees, a wretched kind of shrub affording no shade. On one hand the horizon is bounded by the ocean, but the rest of the scene presents only a mass of huge barren rocks, deep gulfs, and desolate valleys; and in the distance appears the green and misty chain of mountains, above which towers Diana's Peak. In short, Longwood can be agreeable only to the traveller after the fatigues of a long voyage, to whom the sight of any country is a relief" (*Mémorial*, tome ii. pp. 39–40).

assigned to Las Cases.[1] The windows and beds had no curtains. The furniture was mean and scanty. Bertrand and his family resided at a distance of two miles, at a place called *Hut's Gate.* General Gourgaud slept under a tent, as well as Mr. O'Meara, and the officer commanding the guard. The house was surrounded by a garden. In front, and separated by a tolerably deep ravine, was encamped the 53d Regiment, different parties of which were stationed on the neighboring heights.

The domestic establishment of the Emperor consisted of eleven persons.[2] To the Grand Marshal was confided the general superintendence; to M. de Montholon the domestic details; Las Cases was to take care of the furniture and property, and General Gourgaud to have the management of the stables. These arrangements, however, produced discontent among Napoleon's attendants. Las Cases admits that they were no longer the members of one family, each using his best efforts to promote the advantage of all. They were far from practising that which necessity dictated. He says also, "The Admiral has more than once, in the midst of our disputes with him, hastily exclaimed that the Emperor was decidedly the most good-natured, just, and reasonable of the whole set."[3]

On his first arrival he went to visit the barracks occupied by some Chinese living on the island, and a place called Longwood Farm. He complained to Las Cases that they had been idle of late; but by degrees their hours and the employment of them became fixed and regular. *The Campaign of Italy* being now finished, Napoleon corrected it, and dictated on other subjects. This was their morning's work. They dined between eight and nine, Madame Montholon being seated on Napoleon's right, Las Cases on his left, and Gourgaud, Montholon, and Las Cases' son sitting opposite. The smell of the paint not being yet gone off, they remained not more than ten minutes at table, and the dessert was prepared in the adjoining

[1] For plan of Longwood, see *Mémorial*, tomes i. and viii., and Norvin's *Life of Napoleon.*

[2] For a list of Napoleon's establishment at St. Helena, see p. 219 of this volume.

[3] *Mémorial*, tome ii. p. 99.

apartment, where coffee was served up and conversation commenced. Scenes were read from Molière, Racine, and Voltaire; and regret was always expressed at their not having a copy of Corneille. They then played at *reversis*, which had been Bonaparte's favorite game in his youth. The recollection was agreeable to him, and he thought he could amuse himself at it for any length of time, but was soon undeceived. His aim was always to make the *reversis*, that is, to win every trick. Character is displayed in the smallest incidents.

Napoleon read a libel on himself, and contrasted the compliments which had passed between him and the Queen of Prussia with the brutal behavior ascribed to him in the English newspapers. On the other hand, two common sailors had at different times, while he was at Longwood and at the Briars, in spite of orders and at all risks, made their way through the sentinels to gain a sight of Napoleon. On seeing the interest they took in him he exclaimed, "This is fanaticism! Yes, imagination rules the world!"

The instructions of the English Ministers with regard to the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena had been prepared with the view completely to secure his person. An English officer was to be constantly at his table. This order, however, was not carried into effect. An officer was also to accompany Napoleon in all his rides; this order was dispensed with within certain prescribed limits, because Napoleon had refused to ride at all on such conditions. Almost every day brought with it some new cause of uneasiness and complaint. Sentinels were posted beneath Napoleon's windows and before his doors. This order was, however, doubtless given to prevent his being annoyed by impertinent curiosity. The French were certainly precluded from all free communication with the inhabitants of the island; but this precaution was of unquestionable necessity for the security of the Emperor's person. Las Cases complains that the passwords were perpetually changed, so that they lived in constant perplexity and apprehension of being subjected to some unforeseen insult. "Napoleon," he continues, "addressed a complaint to the Admiral, which obtained for him

no redress. In the midst of these complaints the Admiral wished to introduce some ladies (who had arrived in the *Doris*) to Napoleon; but he declined, not approving this alternation of affronts and civilities." He, however, consented, at the request of their Colonel, to receive the officers of the 53d Regiment. After this officer took his leave Napoleon prolonged his walk in the garden. He stopped a while to look at a flower in one of the beds, and asked his companion if it was not a lily. It was indeed a magnificent one. The thought that he had in his mind was obvious. He then spoke of the number of times he had been wounded; and said it had been thought he had never met with these accidents from his having kept them secret as much as possible.[1]

It was near the end of December. One day, after a walk and a *tumble* in the mud, Bonaparte returned and found a packet of English newspapers, which the Grand Marshal translated to him. This occupied him till late, and he forgot his dinner in discussing their contents. After dinner had been served Las Cases wished to continue the translation, but Napoleon would not suffer him to proceed, from consideration for the weak state of his eyes. "We must wait till to-morrow," said he. A few days afterwards the Admiral came in person to visit him, and the interview was an agreeable one. After some animated discussion it was arranged that Napoleon should henceforth ride freely about the island; that the officer should follow him only at a distance; and that visitors should be admitted to him, not with the permission of the Admiral as the Inspector of Longwood, but with that of the Grand Marshal, who was to do the honors of the establishment. These concessions were, however, soon recalled. On the 30th of this month Piontkowsky, a Pole, who had been left behind, but whose entreaties prevailed upon the English Government, joined Bonaparte. On New-Year's Day all their little party was collected together, and Napoleon, entering into the feelings of the occasion, begged that they might

[1] See footnote in vol. iii. p. 166, also p. 358 of this volume.

breakfast and pass it together. Every day furnished some new trait of this kind.

On the 14th of April, 1816, Sir Hudson Lowe, the new Governor, arrived at St. Helena. This epoch is important, as marking the beginning of a continued series of accusations, and counter-accusations, by which the last five years of Napoleon's life were constantly occupied, to the great annoyance of himself and all connected with him, and possibly to the shortening of his own existence.[1] It would be tedious to detail the progress of this petty war, but, as a subject which has formed so great a portion of the life of Napoleon, it must not be omitted. To avoid anything which may appear like a bias against Napoleon, the details, unless when otherwise mentioned, will be derived from Las Cases, his devoted admirer.

On the first visit of the new Governor, which was the 16th of April, Napoleon refused to admit him, because he himself was ill, and also because the Governor had not asked beforehand for an audience. On the second visit the Governor was admitted to an audience, and Napoleon seems to have taken a prejudice at first sight, as he remarked to his suite that the Governor was "hideous, and had a most ugly countenance," though he allowed he ought not to judge too hastily. The spirit of the party was shown by a remark made, that the first two days had been days of battle.

The Governor saw Napoleon again on the 30th April, and the interview was stormy. Napoleon argued with the Governor on the conduct of the Allies towards him, said they had

[1] Although there is no doubt that many of the complaints made against Sir Hudson Lowe came from the peevishness of the staff and servants of Napoleon, still it was but natural that both the Emperor and the others, accustomed to luxury or at least comfort, and suddenly deprived of all employment, should feel deeply the treatment they received. If there was any possible reason for the petty annoyances about the title of Emperor, there could have been none for not giving Napoleon the income at least of an English peer. The English Government might easily have learnt, if they did not know, that Napoleon had the same disease from which his father died, and there was therefore the less reason for denying him anything he wished for. In all the conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe and of the Government there is a total forgetfulness that Napoleon had been for fifteen years the chosen ruler of France, and that he would have so remained except for the whole strength of Europe being brought to bear against him. He had done enormous service to France and Europe in ending the cruel follies of the Revolution, and in re-establishing religion in France. Our fathers had fought gallantly enough against him to have afforded to be generous.

THE KING OF ROME.

no right to dispose of him, who was their equal and sometimes their master. He then declaimed on the eternal disgrace the English had inflicted on themselves by sending him to St. Helena; they wished to kill him by a lingering death: their conduct was worse than that of the Calabrians in shooting Murat. He talked of the cowardliness of suicide, complained of the small extent and horrid climate of St. Helena, and said it would be an act of kindness to deprive him of life at once. Sir H. Lowe said that a house of wood, fitted up with every possible accommodation, was then on its way from England for his use. Napoleon refused it at once, and exclaimed that it was not a house but an executioner and a coffin that he wanted; the house was a mockery, death would be a favor. A few minutes after Napoleon took up some reports of the campaigns of 1814, which lay on the table, and asked Sir H. Lowe if he had written them. Las Cases, after saying that the Governor replied in the affirmative, finishes his account of the interview, but according to O'Meara, Napoleon said they were full of folly and falsehood. The Governor, with a much milder reply than most men would have given, retired, and Napoleon harangued upon the sinister expression of his countenance, abused him in the coarsest manner, and made his servant throw a cup of coffee out of the window because it had stood a moment on a table near the Governor.

It was required that all persons who visited at Longwood or at Hut's Gate should make a report to the Governor, or to Sir Thomas Reade, of the conversations they had held with the French. Several additional sentinels were posted around Longwood House and Grounds.

During some extremely wet and foggy weather Napoleon did not go out for several days. Messengers and letters continually succeeded one another from Plantation House. The Governor appeared anxious to see Napoleon, and was evidently distrustful, although the residents at Longwood were assured of his actual presence by the sound of his voice. He had some communications with Count Bertrand on the necessity that one of his officers should see Napoleon daily.

He also went to Longwood frequently himself, and finally, after some difficulty, succeeded in obtaining an interview with Napoleon in his bedchamber, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. Some days before he sent for Mr. O'Meara, asked a variety of questions concerning the captive, walked round the house several times and before the windows, measuring and laying down the plan of a new ditch, which he said he would have dug in order to prevent the cattle from trespassing.

On the morning of the 5th of May Napoleon sent for his surgeon O'Meara to come to him. He was introduced into Napoleon's bedchamber, a description of which is thus given: "It was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering-paper, and destitute of skirting. Two small windows, without pulleys, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood, looked towards the camp of the 53d Regiment. There were window-curtains of white long-cloth, a small fireplace, a shabby grate and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantelpiece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantelpiece hung the portrait of Maria Louisa, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of his mother. A little more to the right hung also the portrait of the Empress Josephine; and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederick the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right the Consular watch, engraved with the cipher **B**, hung, by a chain of the plaited hair of Maria Louisa, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. In the right-hand corner was placed the little plain, iron camp-bedstead, with green silk curtains, on which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a chest of drawers, and a bookcase with green blinds stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs painted green were standing here and there about the room. Before the back door there was a screen covered with nankeen, and between that and the fireplace an old-fashioned sofa covered

with white long-cloth, on which Napoleon reclined, dressed in his white morning-gown, white loose trousers and stockings all in one, a checkered red handkerchief upon his head, and his shirt-collar open without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay in confusion upon the carpet a heap of those which he had already perused, and at the opposite side of the sofa was suspended Isabey's portrait of the Empress Maria Louisa, holding her son in her arms. In front of the fireplace stood Las Cases with his arms folded over his breast and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty Emperor of France nothing remained but a superb wash-hand-stand containing a silver basin and water-jug of the same metal, in the left-hand corner." The object of Napoleon in sending for O'Meara on this occasion was to question him whether in their future intercourse he was to consider him in the light of a spy and a tool of the Governor or as his physician? The doctor gave a decided and satisfactory answer on this point.

"During the short interview that this Governor had with me in my bedchamber, one of the first things he proposed was to send you away," said Napoleon to O'Meara, "and that I should take his own surgeon in your place. This he repeated, and so earnest was he to gain his object that, though I gave him a flat refusal, when he was going out he turned about and again proposed it."

On the 11th a proclamation was issued by the Governor, "forbidding any persons on the island from sending letters to or receiving them from General Bonaparte or his suite, on pain of being immediately arrested and dealt with accordingly." Nothing escaped the vigilance of Sir Hudson Lowe. "The Governor," said Napoleon, "has just sent an invitation to Bertrand for General Bonaparte to come to Plantation House to meet Lady Moira. I told Bertrand to return no answer to it. If he really wanted me to see her he would have put Plantation House within the limits, but to send such an invitation, knowing I must go in charge of a guard if I wished to avail myself of it, was an insult."

Soon after came the *Declaration of the Allies* and the *Acts of Parliament* authorizing the detention of Napoleon Bonaparte as a prisoner of war and disturber of the peace of Europe.[1] Against the Bill, when brought into the House of Lords, there were two protests, those of Lord Holland and of the Duke of Sussex. These official documents did not tend to soothe the temper or raise the spirits of the French to endure their captivity.

In addition to the misery of his own captivity, Napoleon had to contend with the unmanageable humors of his own followers. As often happens with men in such circumstances, they sometimes disagreed among themselves, and part of their petulance and ill temper fell upon their Chief.[2] He took these little incidents deeply to heart. On one occasion he said in bitterness, "I know that I am fallen; but to feel this among you! I am aware that man is frequently unreasonable and susceptible of offence. Thus, when I am mistrustful of myself I ask, should I have been treated so at the Tuileries? This is my test."

A great deal of pains has been taken by Napoleon's adherents and others to blacken the character of Sir Hudson Lowe, and to make it appear that his sole object was to harass Napoleon and to make his life miserable. Now, although it may be questioned whether Sir Hudson Lowe was the proper person to be placed in the delicate situation of guard over the fallen Emperor, there is no doubt that quarrels and complaints began long before that officer reached the island; and the character of those complaints will show that at best the prisoners were persons very difficult to satisfy. Their detention at the Briars was one of the first causes of complaint. It was stated that the Emperor was very ill there, that he was confined "in a cage" with no attendance, that his suite was kept from him, and that he was deprived of exercise. A few pages farther in the journal of Las Cases we find the Emperor in

[1] See Forsyth's *Lowe*, vol. i. pp. 449–453.

[2] General Gourgaud left St. Helena from jealousy of the favor shown to others. Bertrand writes, "Le Général Gourgaud vient de nous quitter, à ce qu'il parait d'assez mauvaise humeur" (*Du Casse*, tome x. p. 250). See also Forsyth's *Lowe*, vol. ii. p. 246.

good health, and as soon as it was announced that Longwood was ready to receive him, then it was urged that the *jailers* wished to compel him to go against his will, that they desired to push their authority to the utmost, that the smell of the paint at Longwood was very disagreeable, etc. Napoleon himself was quite ready to go, and seemed much vexed when Count Bertrand and General Gourgaud arrived from Longwood with the intelligence that the place was as yet uninhabitable. His displeasure, however, was much more seriously excited by the appearance of Count Montholon with the information that all was ready at Longwood within a few minutes after receiving the contrary accounts from Bertrand and Gourgaud. He probably perceived that he was trifled with by his attendants, who endeavored to make him believe that which suited their own convenience. We may also remark that the systematic opposition which was carried to such a great length against Sir Hudson Lowe had begun during the stay of Admiral Cockburn. His visits were refused; he was accused of caprice, arrogance, and impertinence, and he was nicknamed "the Shark" by Napoleon himself; his own calmness alone probably prevented more violent ebullitions.

The wooden house arrived at last, and the Governor waited on Napoleon to consult with him how and where it should be erected. Las Cases, who heard the dispute in an adjoining room, says that it was long and clamorous.[1] He gives the details in Napoleon's own words, and we have here the advantage of comparing his statement with the account transmitted by Sir Hudson Lowe to the British Government, dated 17th May, 1816. The two accounts vary but little. Napoleon admits that he was thrown quite out of temper, that he received the Governor with his stormy countenance, looked furiously at him, and made no reply to his information of the arrival of the house but by a significant look. He told him that he wanted nothing, nor would receive anything at his hands; that he supposed he was to be put to death by poison or the sword; the poison would be difficult to

[1] *Mémorial*, tome iii. pp. 298–303. Forsyth's *Lowe*, vol. i. p. 171.

administer, but he had the means of doing it with the sword. The sanctuary of his abode should not be violated, and the troops should not enter his house but by trampling on his corpse. He then alluded to an invitation sent to him by Sir Hudson Lowe to meet Lady Loudon at his house, and said there could not be an act of more refined cruelty than inviting him to his table by the title of "General," to make him an object of ridicule or amusement to his guests. What right had he to call him "General" Bonaparte? He would not be deprived of his dignity by him, nor by any one in the world. He certainly should have condescended to visit Lady Loudon had she been within his limits, as he did not stand upon strict etiquette with a woman, but he should have deemed that he was conferring an honor upon her. He would not consider himself a prisoner of war, but was placed in his present position by the most horrible breach of trust. After a few more words he dismissed the Governor without once more alluding to the house which was the object of the visit. The fate of this unfortunate house may be mentioned here. It was erected after a great many disputes, but was unfortunately surrounded by a sunk fence and ornamental railing. This was immediately connected in Napoleon's mind with the idea of a fortification; it was impossible to remove the impression that the ditch and palisade were intended to secure his person. As soon as the objection was made known, Sir Hudson Lowe ordered the ground to be levelled and the rails taken away. But before this was quite completed Napoleon's health was too much destroyed to permit his removal, and the house was never occupied.

Napoleon seems to have felt that he had been too violent in his conduct. He admitted, when at table with his suite a few days after, that he had behaved very ill, and that in any other situation he should blush for what he had done. "I could have wished, for his sake," he said, "to see him evince a little anger, or pull the door violently after him when he went away." These few words let us into a good deal of Napoleon's character: he liked to intimidate, but his vehement language was received with a calmness and resolute forbear-

ance to which he was quite unaccustomed, and he consequently grew more angry as his anger was less regarded.

The specimens here given of the disputes with Sir Hudson Lowe may probably suffice: a great many more are furnished by Las Cases, O'Meara, and other partisans of Napoleon, and even they always make him the aggressor. Napoleon himself in his cooler moments seemed to admit this; after the most violent quarrel with the Governor, that of the 18th of August, 1816, which utterly put an end to anything like decent civility between the parties, he allowed that he had used the Governor very ill, that he repeatedly and purposely offended him, and that Sir Hudson Lowe had not in a single instance shown a want of respect, except perhaps that he retired too abruptly.

Great complaints were made of the scanty way in which the table of the exiles was supplied; and it was again and again alleged by them that they had scarcely anything to eat. The wine, too, was said to be execrable, so bad that in fact it could not be drunk; and, of such stuff as it was, only one bottle a day was allowed to each person — an allowance which Las Cases calls ridiculously small. Thus pressed, but partly for effect, Napoleon resolved to dispose of his plate in monthly proportions; and as he knew that some East India captains had offered as much as a hundred guineas for a single plate, in order to preserve a memorial of him, he determined that what was sold should be broken up, the arms erased, and no trace left which could show that they had ever been his. The only portions left uninjured were the little eagles with which some of the dish-covers were mounted. These last fragments were objects of veneration for the attendants of Napoleon; they were looked upon as relics, with a feeling at once melancholy and religious. When the moment came for breaking up the plate Las Cases bears testimony to the painful emotions and real grief produced among the servants. They could not, without the utmost reluctance, bring themselves to apply the hammer to those objects of their veneration.

The island of St. Helena was regularly visited by East India ships on the return voyage, which touched there to take in water, and to leave gunpowder for the use of the garrison.

On such occasions there were always persons anxious to pay a visit to the renowned captive. The regulation of those visits was calculated to protect Napoleon from being annoyed by the idle curiosity of strangers, to which he professed a great aversion. Such persons as wished to wait upon him were, in the first place, obliged to apply to the Governor, by whom their names were forwarded to Count Bertrand. This gentleman, as Grand Marshal of the household, communicated the wishes of those persons to Napoleon, and in case of a favorable reply fixed the hour for an interview.

Those visitors whom Napoleon admitted were chiefly persons of rank and distinction, travellers from distant countries, or men who had distinguished themselves in the scientific world, and who could communicate interesting information in exchange for the gratification they received. Some of those persons who were admitted to interviews with him have published narratives of their conversation, and all agree in extolling the extreme grace, propriety, and appearance of benevolence manifested by Bonaparte while holding these levees. His questions were always put with great tact, and on some subject with which the person interrogated was well acquainted, so as to induce him to bring forth any new or curious information of which he might be possessed.

Captain Basil Hall, in August, 1817, when in command of the *Lyra*, had an interview with the Emperor, of whom he says: "Bonaparte struck me as differing considerably from the pictures and busts[1] I had seen of him. His face and figure looked much broader and more square — larger, indeed, in every way than any representation I had met with. His corpulency, at this time universally reported to be excessive, was by no means remarkable. His flesh looked, on the contrary, firm and muscular. There was not the least trace of color in his cheeks; in fact his skin was more like marble than ordinary flesh. Not the smallest trace of a wrinkle was discernible on his brow, nor an approach to a furrow on any part of his countenance. His health and spirits, judging from

[1] One of the best known of which is perhaps the fine bust by Canova, now at Chatsworth.

appearances, were excellent, though at this period it was generally believed in England that he was fast sinking under a complication of diseases, and that his spirits were entirely gone. His manner of speaking was rather slow than otherwise, and perfectly distinct; he waited with great patience and kindness for my answers to his questions, and a reference to Count Bertrand was necessary only once during the whole conversation. The brilliant and sometimes dazzling expression of his eye could not be overlooked. It was not, however, a permanent lustre, for it was only remarkable when he was excited by some point of particular interest. It is impossible to imagine an expression of more entire mildness, I may almost call it of benignity and kindness, than that which played over his features during the whole interview. If, therefore, he were at this time out of health and in low spirits, his power of self-command must have been even more extraordinary than is generally supposed, for his whole deportment, his conversation, and the expression of his countenance indicated a frame in perfect health and a mind at ease."

The manner assumed by Napoleon in the occasional interviews he had with such visitors was so very opposite to that which he constantly maintained towards the authorities in whose custody he was placed, that we can scarcely doubt he was acting a part in one of those situations. It was suggested by Mr. Ellis that he either wished, by means of his continual complaints, to keep alive his interest in England, where he flattered himself there was a party favorable to him, or that his troubled mind found an occupation in the annoyance which he caused to the Governor. Every attempt at conciliation on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe furnished fresh causes for irritation. He sent fowling-pieces to Longwood, and the thanks returned were a reply from Napoleon that it was an insult to send fowling-pieces where there was no game. An invitation to a ball was resented vehemently, and descanted upon by the French party as a great offence. Sir Hudson Lowe at one time sent a variety of clothes and other articles received from England which he imagined might be useful at Longwood. Great offence was taken at this; they were

treated, they said, like paupers; the articles ought to have been left at the Governor's house, and a list sent respectfully to the household, stating that such things were at their command if they wanted them.

An opinion has already been expressed that much of this annoyance was due to the offended pride of Napoleon's attendants, who were at first certainly far more captious than himself. He admitted as much himself on one occasion in a conversation with O'Meara. He said, "Las Cases certainly was greatly irritated against Sir Hudson, and contributed materially towards forming the impressions existing in my mind." He attributed this to the sensitive mind of Las Cases, which he said was peculiarly alive to the ill treatment Napoleon and himself had been subjected to. Sir Hudson Lowe also felt this, and remarked, like Sir George Cockburn, on more than one occasion, that he always found Napoleon himself more reasonable than the persons about him.[1]

A fertile source of annoyance was the resolution of Napoleon not upon any terms to acknowledge himself a prisoner, and his refusal to submit to such regulations as would render his captivity less burdensome. More than once the attendance of an officer was offered to be discontinued if he would

[1] The claim put forth by Napoleon to be still addressed by his title of Emperor was another great source of annoyance both to himself and all around him. This was adhered to with great tenacity, and insisted upon on occasions which would hardly have been imagined calculated to give rise to such a claim. Napoleon owned to O'Meara that one-half of his vexations at St. Helena arose from it. He seemed to impute an almost sacred character to the title: majesty was not to be profaned, it was not to be used but to himself, even in jest. A curious instance of his feeling on this point is given by Las Cases. "In his moments of good-humored familiarity the Emperor was accustomed to salute me with all sorts of titles, such as, 'Good-morning, Monseigneur; how is your Excellency?' etc. One evening when I was about to enter the drawing-room the usher opened the door for me, and at the same moment the door of the Emperor's apartment also opened and he came out. We both met together, and in a fit of abstraction he stopped me, and seizing me by the ear said playfully, 'Well, where is your Majesty going?' But the words had no sooner been uttered than he immediately let go my ear and, assuming a grave expression of countenance, began to talk to me on some serious topic. I had, it is true, learned to close my ears when it was necessary, but the Emperor was evidently sorry for having suffered the expression 'your Majesty' to escape him. He seemed to think that, though other titles might be used in jest, yet the case was very different with the one he had just employed, both on account of its own peculiar nature and the circumstances in which we were placed" (*Mémorial,* tome vii. p. 36).

allow himself to be seen once every day, and promise to take no means of escaping. "If he were to give me the whole of the island," said Napoleon, "on condition that I would pledge my word not to attempt an escape, I would not accept it; because it would be equivalent to acknowledging myself a prisoner, although at the same time I would not make the attempt. I am here by force, and not by right. If I had been taken at Waterloo perhaps I might have had no hesitation in accepting it, although even in that case it would be contrary to the law of nations, as now there is no war. If they were to offer me permission to reside in England on similar conditions I would refuse it." The very idea of exhibiting himself to an officer every day, though but for a moment, was repelled with indignation. He even kept loaded pistols to shoot any person who should attempt an intrusion on his privacy. It is stated in a note in O'Meara's journal that "the Emperor was so firmly impressed with the idea that an attempt would be made forcibly to intrude on his privacy, that from a short time after the departure of Sir George Cockburn he always kept four or five pairs of loaded pistols and some swords in his apartment, with which he was determiued to despatch the first who entered against his will." It seems this practice was continued to his death.

Napoleon continued to pass the mornings in dictating his Memoirs and the evenings in reading or conversation. He grew fonder of Racine, but his favorite was Corneille. He repeated that, had he lived in his time, he would have made him a prince. He had a distaste to Voltaire, and found considerable fault with his dramas, perhaps justly, as conveying opinions rather than sentiments. He criticised his *Mahomet*, and said he had made him merely an impostor and a tyrant, without representing him as a great man. This was owing to Voltaire's religious and political antipathies; for those who are free from common prejudices acquire others of their own in their stead, to which they are equally bigoted, and which they bring forward on all occasions. When the evening passed off in conversation without having recourse to books he considered it a point gained.

Some one having asked the Emperor which was the greatest battle that he had fought, he replied it was difficult to answer that question without inquiring what was implied by the greatest battle. "Mine," continued he, "cannot be judged of separately: they formed a portion of extensive plans. They must therefore be estimated by their consequences. The battle of Marengo, which was so long undecided, procured for us the command of all Italy. Ulm annihilated a whole army; Jena laid the whole Prussian monarchy at our feet; Friedland opened the Russian empire to us; and Eckmühl decided the fate of a war. The battle of the Moskwa was that in which the greatest talent was displayed, and by which we obtained the fewest advantages. Waterloo, where everything failed, would, had victory crowned our efforts, have saved France and given peace to Europe."

Madame Montholon having inquired what troops he considered the best, "Those which are victorious, madam," replied the emperor. "But," added he, "soldiers are capricious and inconstant, like you ladies. The best troops were the Carthaginians under Hannibal, the Romans under the Scipios, the Macedonians under Alexander, and the Prussians under Frederick." He thought, however, that the French soldiers were of all others those which could most easily be rendered the best, and preserved so. "With my complete guard of 40,000 or 50,000 men I would have undertaken to march through Europe. It is perhaps possible to produce troops as good as those that composed my army of Italy and Austerlitz, but certainly none can ever surpass them."

The anniversary of the battle of Waterloo produced a visible impression on the Emperor. "Incomprehensible day!" said he dejectedly; "concurrence of unheard-of fatalities! Grouchy, Ney, D'Erlon — was there treachery or was it merely misfortune? Alas! poor France!" Here he covered his eyes with his hands. "And yet," said he, "all that human skill could do was accomplished! All was not lost until the moment when all had succeeded." A short time afterwards, resuming the subject, he exclaimed, "In that extraordinary

campaign, thrice, in less than a week, I saw the certain triumph of France slip through my fingers. Had it not been for a traitor I should have annihilated the enemy at the outset of the campaign. I should have destroyed him at Ligny if my left wing had only done its duty. I should have destroyed him again at Waterloo if my right had seconded me. Singular defeat, by which, notwithstanding the most fatal catastrophe, the glory of the conquered has not suffered!"[1]

We shall here give Napoleon's own opinion of the battle of Waterloo.

"The plan of the battle," said he, "will not in the eyes of the historian reflect any credit on Lord Wellington as a general. In the first place, he ought not to have given battle with the armies divided. They ought to have been united and encamped before the 15th. In the next, the choice of ground was bad; because if he had been beaten he could not have retreated, as there was only one road leading through the forest in his rear. He also committed a fault which might have proved the destruction of all his army, without its ever having commenced the campaign, or being drawn out in battle; he allowed himself to be surprised. On the 15th I was at Charleroi, and had beaten the Prussians without his knowing anything about it. I had gained forty-eight hours of manœuvres upon him, which was a great object; and if some of my generals had shown that vigor and genius which they had displayed on other occasions, I should have taken his army in cantonments without ever fighting a battle. But they were discouraged, and fancied that they saw an army of 100,000 men everywhere opposed to them. I had not time enough myself to attend to the minutiæ of the army. I counted upon surprising and cutting Wellington up in detail. I knew of Bulow's arrival at eleven o'clock, but I did not regard it. I had still eighty chances out of a hundred in my favor. Notwithstanding the great superiority of force against me I was convinced that I should obtain the victory. I had about 70,000 men, of whom 15,000 were cavalry. I had also 250 pieces of

[1] *Mémorial*, tome iv. p. 272.

cannon; but my troops were so good that I esteemed them sufficient to beat 120,000. Of all those troops, however, I only reckoned the English as being able to cope with my own. The others I thought little of. I believe that of English there were from 35,000 to 40,000. These I esteemed to be as brave and as good as my own troops; the English army was well known latterly on the Continent, and besides, your nation possesses courage and energy. As to the Prussians, Belgians, and others, half the number of my troops were sufficient to beat them. I only left 34,000 men to take care of the Prussians. The chief causes of the loss of that battle were, first of all, Grouchy's great tardiness and neglect in executing his orders; next, the *grenadiers à cheval* and the cavalry under General Guyot, which I had in reserve, and which were never to leave me, engaged without orders and without my knowledge; so that after the last charge, when the troops were beaten and the English cavalry advanced, I had not a single corps of cavalry in reserve to resist them, instead of one which I esteemed to be equal to double their own number. In consequence of this the English attacked, succeeded, and all was lost. There was no means of rallying. The youngest general would not have committed the fault of leaving an army entirely without reserve, which, however, occurred here, whether in consequence of treason or not I cannot say. These were the two principal causes of the loss of the battle of Waterloo.

"If Lord Wellington had intrenched himself," continued Napoleon, "I would not have attacked him. As a general, his plan did not show talent. He certainly displayed great courage and obstinacy; but a little must be taken away even from that when you consider that he had no means of retreat, and that had he made the attempt not a man of his army would have escaped. First, to the firmness and bravery of his troops, for the English fought with the greatest courage and obstinacy, he is principally indebted for the victory, and not to his own conduct as a general; and next, to the arrival of Blucher, to whom the victory is more to be attributed than to Wellington, and more credit is due as a general; because he,

although beaten the day before, assembled his troops, and brought them into action in the evening. I believe, however," continued Napoleon, "that Wellington is a man of great firmness. The glory of such a victory is a great thing; but in the eye of the historian his military reputation will gain nothing by it."[1]

"I always had a high opinion of your seamen," said Napoleon one day to O'Meara, in a conversation arising out of the expedition to Algiers. "When I was returning from Holland along with the Empress Maria Louisa we stopped to rest at Givet. During the night a violent storm of wind and rain came on, which swelled the Meuse so much that the bridge of boats over it was carried away. I was very anxious to depart, and ordered all the boatmen in the place to be assembled that I might be enabled to cross the river. They said that the waters were so high that it would be impossible to pass before two or three days. I questioned some of them, and soon discovered that they were fresh-water seamen. I then recollected that there were English prisoners in the barracks, and ordered that some of the oldest and best seamen among them should be brought before me to the banks of the river. The waters were very high, and the current rapid and dangerous. I asked them if they could join a number of boats together so that I might pass over. They answered that it was possible, but hazardous. I desired them to set about it instantly. In the course of a few hours they succeeded in effecting what the others had pronounced to be impossible, and I crossed before the evening was over. I ordered those who had worked at it to receive a sum of money each, a suit of clothes, and their liberty. Marchand was with me at the time."

In December, 1816, Las Cases was compelled to leave St. Helena. He had written a letter to Lucien Bonaparte, and intrusted it to a mulatto servant to be forwarded to Europe. He was detected; and as he was thus endeavoring to carry on (contrary to the regulations of the island) a clandestine correspondence with Europe, Las Cases and his son were sent off, first to the Cape and then to England, where they were

[1] O'Meara's Journal for 26th March, 1817. Compare *Sir W. Gomm*, p. 365.

only allowed to land to be sent to Dover and shipped off to Ostend.

Not long after their arrival at St. Helena Madame Bertrand gave birth to a son, and when Napoleon went to visit her she said, "I have the honor of presenting to your Majesty the first French subject who has entered Longwood without the permission of Lord Bathurst."

It has been generally supposed that Napoleon was a believer in the doctrine of predestination. The following conversation with Las Cases clearly decides that point. "Pray," said he, "am I not thought to be given to a belief in predestination?" — "Yes, Sire; at least by many people." — "Well, well! let them say what they please, one may sometimes be tempted to act a part, and it may occasionally be useful. But what are men? How much easier is it to occupy their attention and to strike their imaginations by absurdities than by rational ideas! But can a man of sound sense listen for one moment to such a doctrine? Either predestination admits the existence of free-will, or it rejects it. If it admits it, what kind of predetermined result can that be which a simple resolution, a step, a word, may alter or modify *ad infinitum?* If predestination, on the contrary, rejects the existence of free-will it is quite another question; in that case a child need only be thrown into its cradle as soon as it is born, there is no necessity for bestowing the least care upon it, for if it be irrevocably decreed that it is to live, it will grow though no food should be given to it. You see that such a doctrine cannot be maintained; predestination is but a word without meaning. The Turks, themselves the professors of predestination, are not convinced of the doctrine, for in that case medicine would not exist in Turkey, and a man residing in a third floor would not take the trouble of going downstairs, but would immediately throw himself out of the window. You see to what a string of absurdities that will lead?"

The following traits are characteristic of the man. In the common intercourse of life, and his familiar conversation, Napoleon mutilated the names most familiar to him, even French names; yet this would not have occurred on any

public occasion. He has been heard many times during his walks to repeat the celebrated speech of Augustus in Corneille's tragedy, and he has never missed saying, "Take a seat, Sylla," instead of Cinna. He would frequently create names according to his fancy, and when he had once adopted them they remained fixed in his mind, although they were pronounced properly a hundred times a day in his hearing; but he would have been struck if others had used them as he had altered them. It was the same thing with respect to orthography; in general he did not attend to it, yet if the copies which were made contained any faults of spelling he would have complained of it. One day Napoleon said to Las Cases, "Your orthography is not correct, is it?" This question gave occasion to a sarcastic smile from a person who stood near, who thought it was meant to convey a reproach. The Emperor, who saw this, continued, "At least I suppose it is not, for a man occupied with important public business, a minister, for instance, cannot and need not attend to orthography. His ideas must flow faster than his hand can trace them, he has only time to dwell upon essentials; he must put words in letters, and phrases in words, and let the scribes make it out afterwards." Napoleon indeed left a great deal for the copyists to do; he was their torment; his handwriting actually resembled hieroglyphics — he often could not decipher it himself. Las Cases's son was one day reading to him a chapter of *The Campaign of Italy;* on a sudden he stopped short, unable to make out the writing. "The little blockhead," said Napoleon, "cannot read his own handwriting." — "It is not mine, Sire." — "And whose, then?" — "Your Majesty's." — "How so, you little rogue; do you mean to insult me?" The Emperor took the manuscript, tried a long while to read it, and at last threw it down, saying, "He is right; I cannot tell myself what is written." He has often sent the copyists to Las Cases to read what he had himself been unable to decipher.

We are now approaching the last melancholy epoch of Napoleon's life, when he first felt the ravages of that malady which finally put a period to his existence. Occasional mani-

festations of its presence had been exhibited for some years, but his usual health always returned after every attack, and its fatal nature was not suspected, although Napoleon himself had several times said that he should die of a scirrhus in the pylorus, the disease which killed his father, and which the physicians of Montpelier declared would be hereditary in his family. About the middle of the year 1818 it was observed that his health grew gradually worse, and it was thought proper by O'Meara to report to the Governor the state in which he was. Even on these occasions Napoleon seized the opportunity for renewing his claim to the title of Emperor. He insisted that the physician should not send any bulletin whatever unless he named him in it by his Imperial designation. O'Meara explained that the instructions of his Government and the orders of Sir Hudson Lowe prohibited him from using the term; but it was in vain. After some difficulty it was agreed upon that the word "patient" should be used instead of the title of General, which caused so much offence, and this substitution got rid of the difficulty.

O'Meara afterwards proposed to call in the assistance of Dr. Baxter, the principal medical officer of the island, but this offer Napoleon refused at once, alleging that, although "it was true he looked like an honest man, he was too much attached to that hangman" (Lowe), he also persisted in rejecting the aid of medicine, and determined to take no exercise out of doors as long as he should be subjected to the challenge of sentinels. To a representation that his determination might convert a curable to a fatal malady, he replied, "I shall at least have the consolation that my death will be an eternal dishonor to the English nation who sent me to this climate to die under the hands of . . ."

An important incident in Napoleon's monotonous life was the removal of O'Meara, who had attended him as his physician from the time of his arrival on the island. The removal of this gentleman was occasioned by the suspicion of similar conduct to that which brought about the dismissal of Las Cases twenty months previously, namely, the carrying on secret cor-

respondence with persons out of the island.[1] Napoleon complained bitterly of the loss of his medical attendant, though he had most assuredly very seldom attended to his advice, and repelled as an insult the proffered assistance of Dr. Baxter, insinuating that the Governor wished to have his life in his power. Some time after Dr. Stokoe, a naval surgeon, was called in, but withdrawn and eventually tried by court-martial for furnishing information to the French at Longwood. After this Napoleon expressed his determination to admit no more visits from any English physician whatever, and Cardinal Fesch was requested by the British Ministry to select some physician of reputation in Italy who should be sent to St. Helena to attend on Napoleon. The choice fell on Dr. Antommarchi, a young surgeon, who was accordingly sent to St. Helena in company with two Catholic priests, the Abbés Buonavita and Vignale, and two domestics, in compliance with the wish of Napoleon to that effect. The party reached the island on 10th September, 1819.[2]

On his first visit the Emperor overwhelmed Antommarchi with questions concerning his mother and family, the Princess Julie (wife of Joseph), and Las Cases, whom Antommarchi had seen in passing through Frankfort, expatiated with satisfaction on the retreat which he had at one time meditated in Corsica, entered into some discussions with the doctor on his profession, and then directed his attention to the details of his disorder. While he examined the symptoms the Emperor continued his remarks. They were sometimes serious, sometimes lively; kindness, indignation, gayety, were expressed by turns in his words and in his countenance. "Well, doctor!" he exclaimed, "what is your opinion? Am I to trouble much longer the digestion of Kings?" — "You will survive them, Sire." — "Ay, I believe you; they will not be able to subject to the ban of Europe the fame of our victories, it will traverse ages, it will proclaim the conquerors and the conquered, those who were generous and those who were not so; posterity will

[1] On 25th July, 1818, O'Meara was prohibited from attending Napoleon, and was soon afterwards removed from the island.

[2] See *Last Days of Napoleon*, by Antommarchi (London, Colburn, 1826), vol. i. p. 86.

judge, I do not dread its decision." — "This after-life belongs to you of right. Your name will never be repeated with admiration without recalling those inglorious warriors so basely leagued against a single man. But you are not near your end, you have yet a long career to run." — "No, Doctor! I cannot hold out long under this frightful climate." — "Your excellent constitution is proof against its pernicious effects." — "It once did not yield to the strength of mind with which nature has endowed me, but the transition from a life of action to a complete seclusion has ruined all. I have grown fat, my energy is gone, the bow is unstrung." Antommarchi did not try to combat an opinion but too well founded, but diverted the conversation to another subject. "I resign myself," said Napoleon, "to your direction. Let medicine give the order, I submit to its decisions. I intrust my health to your care. I owe you the detail of the habits I have acquired, of the affections to which I am subject.

"The hours at which I obey the injunctions of nature are in general extremely irregular. I sleep, I eat according to circumstances or the situation in which I am placed; my sleep is ordinarily sound and tranquil. If pain or any accident interrupt it I jump out of bed, call for a light, walk, set to work, and fix my attention on some subject; sometimes I remain in the dark, change my apartment, lie down in another bed, or stretch myself on the sofa. I rise at two, three, or four in the morning; I call for some one to keep me company, amuse myself with recollections or business, and wait for the return of day. I go out as soon as dawn appears, take a stroll, and when the sun shows itself I re-enter and go to bed again, where I remain a longer or shorter time, according as the day promises to turn out. If it is bad, and I feel irritation and uneasiness, I have recourse to the method I have just mentioned. I change my posture, pass from my bed to the sofa, from the sofa to the bed, seek and find a degree of freshness. I do not describe to you my morning costume; it has nothing to do with the sufferings I endure, and besides, I do not wish to deprive you of the pleasure of your surprise when you see it. These ingenious contrivances carry me on to

nine or ten o'clock, sometimes later. I then order the breakfast to be brought, which I take from time to time in my bath, but most frequently in the garden. Either Bertrand or Montholon keep me company, often both of them. Physicians have the right of regulating the table; it is proper that I should give you an account of mine. Well, then, a basin of soup, two plates of meat, one of vegetables, a salad when I can take it, compose the whole service; half a bottle of claret, which I dilute with a good deal of water, serves me for drink; I drink a little of it pure towards the end of the repast. Sometimes, when I feel fatigued, I substitute champagne for claret, it is a certain means of giving a fillip to the stomach."

The doctor having expressed his surprise at Napoleon's temperance, he replied, "In my marches with the army of Italy I never failed to put into the bow of my saddle a bottle of wine, some bread, and a cold fowl. This provision sufficed for the wants of the day, — I may even say that I often shared it with others. I thus gained time. I eat fast, masticate little, my meals do not consume my hours. This is not what you will approve the most, but in my present situation what signifies it? I am attacked with a liver complaint,[1] a malady which is general in this horrible climate."

Antommarchi, having gained his confidence, now became companion as well as physician to the Emperor, and sometimes read with him. He eagerly turned over the newspapers when they arrived, and commented freely on their contents. "It is amusing," he would say, "to see the sage measures resorted to by the Allies to make people forget my tyranny!" On one occasion he felt more languid than ordinary, and lighting on the *Andromache* of Racine, he took up the book, began to read, but soon let it drop from his hands. He had come to the famous passage where the mother describes her being allowed to see her son once a day:

> "Je passais jusqu'aux lieux où l'on garde mons fils,
> Puisqu'une fois le jour vous souffrez que je voie:
> Le seul bien qui me reste et d'Hector et de Troye:
> J'allais, Seigneur, pleurer un moment avec lui;
> Je ne l'ai point encore embrassé d'aujourd'hui."[2]

[1] This afterwards proved to be an error. [2] *Andromaque*, Act I. Scene IV.

He was moved, covered his face with his hands, and, saying that he was too much affected, desired to be left alone. He grew calmer, fell asleep, and when he awoke, desired Antommarchi to be called again. He was getting ready to shave, and the doctor was curious to witness the operation. He was in his shirt, his head uncovered, with two valets at his side, one holding the glass and a towel, the other the rest of the apparatus. The Emperor spread the soap over one side of his face, put down the brush, wiped his hands and mouth, took a razor dipped in hot water and shaved the right side with singular dexterity. "Is it done, Noverraz?" — "Yes, Sire." — "Well, then, face about. Come, villain, quick, stand still." The light fell on the left side, which, after applying the lather, he shaved in the same manner and with the same dexterity. He drew his hand over his chin. "Raise the glass. Am I quite right?" — "Quite so." — "Not a hair has escaped me: what say you?" — "No, Sire," replied the *valet de chambre.* "No! I think I perceive one. Lift up the glass, place it in a better light. How, rascal! Flattery! You deceive me at St. Helena? On this rock? You, too, are an accomplice." With this he gave them both a box on the ear, laughed, and joked in the most pleasant manner possible.

An almost incredible instance of the determination of the exiles to make as many enemies as they possibly could was exhibited to Antommarchi on his arrival at Longwood. He states that before he was permitted to enter on his functions as surgeon he was required to take an oath that he would not communicate with the English, and that he would more especially avoid giving them the least information respecting the progress of Napoleon's disorder. He was not allowed to see his illustrious patient until the oath was taken. After exacting such an oath from his physician the attendants of Bonaparte had little right to complain, as they did, that the real state of his disorder was purposely concealed from the world by the English Government. It is more than probable that the constant attempts observed to throw mystery and secrecy around them must have tended to create the suspicion

of escape, and to increase the consequent rigor of the regulations maintained by the Governor.[1]

Soon after the arrival of the priests Napoleon determined, we may suppose partly in jest, to elevate one of them to the dignity of bishop, and he chose for a diocese the Jumna. "The last box brought from Europe had been broken open," says Antommarchi; "it contained the vases and church ornaments. 'Stop,' said Napoleon, 'this is the property of St. Peter; have a care who touches it; send for the abbés — but talking of the abbés, do you know that the Cardinal [Fesch] is a poor creature? He sends me missionaries and propagandists, as if I were a penitent, and as if a whole string of their Eminences had not always attended at my chapel. I will do what he ought to have done; I possess the right of investiture, and I shall use it. Abbé' (Buonavita was just entering the room), 'I give you the episcopal mitre.' — 'Sire!' — 'I restore it to you; you shall wear it in spite of the heretics; they will not again take it from you.' — 'But, Sire!' — 'I cannot add to it so rich a benefice as that of Valencia, which Suchet had given you, but at any rate your see shall be secure from the chances of battles. I appoint you Bishop of — let me see — of the Jumna. The vast countries through which that river flows were on the point of entering into alliance with me — all was in readiness, all were going to march. We were about to give the finishing blow to England.'"[2] The speech concluded with an order to Count Montholon to procure the necessary dress for the abbé, in order to strike with awe all the heretics. The upshot of the whole was, that the scarlet and violet colored clothes necessary to furnish the new bishop with the only valuable portion of his temporalities, his dress, could not be

[1] Thus the editor of the 1836 edition; but it is fair to remember that Napoleon still had a party and a family to be considered, and also a possible future. As he himself explained to Las Cases (*Mémorial*, tome iii. pp. 71–72), he might be recalled as a leader either in the case of fresh revolutionary movements, or to oppose Russia; and with such hopes he might well wish to be considered either better or worse, according to circumstances, than he really was. In any case it was not unnatural to wish to withhold news of his illness from the English. Our fathers were not generous. See Croker's *Papers* (vol i. p. 88) for a brutal regret at Napoleon not being likely to die.

[2] *Antommarchi*, vol. i. p. 101.

procured in the island, and the abbé remained an abbé in spite of the investiture, and the whole farce was forgotten.

We occasionally see the Exile in better moods, when he listened to the voice of reason, and thought less of the annoyances inseparable from the state to which his ambition, or as he himself always averred, his destiny, had reduced him. He had for a long time debarred himself from all exercise, having, as he expressed it, determined not to expose himself to the insult of being accompanied on his ride by a British officer, or the possibility of being challenged by a sentinel. One day when he complained of his inactive life his medical attendant recommended the exercise of digging the ground; the idea was instantly seized upon by Napoleon with his characteristic ardor. Noverraz, his *chasseur*, who had been formerly accustomed to rural occupations, was honored with the title of head gardener, and under his directions Napoleon proceeded to work with great vigor. He sent for Antommarchi to witness his newly acquired dexterity in the use of the spade. "Well, Doctor," said he to him, "are you satisfied with your patient — is he obedient enough? This is better than your pills, Dottoraccio; you shall not physic me any more." At first he soon got fatigued, and complained much of the weakness of his body and delicacy of his hands; "but never mind," said he, "I have always accustomed my body to bend to my will, and I shall bring it to do so now, and inure it to the exercise." [1] He soon grew fond of his new employment, and pressed all the inhabitants of Longwood into the service. Even the ladies had great difficulty to avoid being set to work. He laughed at them, urged them, entreated them, and used all his arts of persuasion, particularly with Madame Bertrand. He assured her that the exercise of gardening was much better than all the doctor's prescriptions — that it was in fact one of his prescriptions. But in this instance his eloquence failed in its effect, and he was obliged, though with much reluctance, to desist from his attempts to make lady gardeners.

But in recompense he had willing laborers on the part of

[1] *Antommarchi*, vol. i. p. 261.

the gentlemen. Antommarchi says, "The Emperor urged us, excited us, and everything around us soon assumed a different aspect. Here was an excavation, there a basin or a road. We made alleys, grottos, cascades; the appearance of the ground had now some life and diversity. We planted willows, oaks, peach-trees, to give a little shade round the house. Having completed the ornamental part of our labors we turned to the useful. We divided the ground, we manured it, and sowed it with abundance of beans, peas, and every vegetable that grows in the island." In the course of their labors they found that a tank would be of great use to hold water, which might be brought by pipes from a spring at a distance of 3000 feet. For this laborious attempt it was absolutely necessary to procure additional forces, and a party of Chinese, of whom there are many on the island, was engaged to help them. These people were much amused with Napoleon's working-dress, which was a jacket and large trousers, with an enormous straw hat to shield him from the sun, and sandals. He pitied those poor fellows who suffered from the heat of the sun, and made each of them a present of a large hat like his own. After much exertion the basin was finished, the pipes laid, and the water began to flow into it. Napoleon stocked his pond with gold-fish, which he placed in it with his own hands. He would remain by the pond for hours together, at a time when he was so weak that he could hardly support himself. He would amuse himself by following the motion of the fishes, throwing bread to them, studying their ways, taking an interest in their loves and their quarrels, and endeavoring with anxiety to find out points of resemblance between their motives and those of mankind. He often sent for his attendants to communicate his remarks to them, and directed their observations to any peculiarities he had observed. His favorites at last sickened, they struggled, floated on the water, and died one after another. He was deeply affected by this, and remarked to Antommarchi, "You see very well that there is a fatality attached to me. Everything I love, everything that belongs to me, is immediately struck: heaven and mankind unite to persecute me." From this time

he visited them daily in spite of sickness or bad weather, nor did his anxiety diminish until it was discovered that a coppery cement, with which the bottom of the basin was plastered, had poisoned the water. The fish which were not yet dead were then taken out and put into a tub.

Napoleon appears to have taken peculiar interest in observing the instincts of animals, and comparing their practices and propensities with those of men. A rainy day, during which the digging of the tank could not be proceeded with, gave occasion for some observations on the actions of a number of ants, which had made a way into his bedroom, climbed upon a table on which some sugar usually stood, and taken possession of the sugar-basin. He would not allow the industrious little insects to be disturbed in their plans; but he now and then moved the sugar, followed their manœuvres, and admired the activity and industry they displayed until they had found it again; this they had been sometimes two or three days in effecting, though they always succeeded at last. He then surrounded the basin with water, but the ants still reached it; he finally employed vinegar, and the insects were unable to get through the new obstacle.

But the slight activity of mind that now remained to him was soon to be exchanged for the languor and gloom of sickness, with but few intervals between positive suffering and the most distressing lowness of spirits. Towards the end of the year 1820 he walked with difficulty, and required assistance even to reach a chair in his garden. He became nearly incapable of the slightest action; his legs swelled; the pains in his side and back were increased; he was troubled with nausea, profuse sweats, loss of appetite, and was subject to frequent faintings. "Here I am, Doctor," said he one day, "at my last cast. No more energy or strength left: I bend under the load. . . . I am going. I feel that my hour is come."

Some days after, as he lay on his couch, he feelingly expressed to Antommarchi the vast change which had taken place within him. He recalled for a few moments the vivid recollection of past times, and compared his former energy with the weakness which he was then sinking under.

The news of the death of his sister Elisa[1] also affected him deeply. After a struggle with his feelings, which had nearly overpowered him, he rose, supported himself on Antommarchi's arm, and regarding him steadfastly, said, "Well, Doctor! you see Elisa has just shown me the way. Death, which seemed to have forgotten my family, has begun to strike it; my turn cannot be far off. What think you?" — "Your Majesty is in no danger: you are still reserved for some glorious enterprise." — "Ah, Doctor, I have neither strength nor activity nor energy; I am no longer Napoleon. You strive in vain to give me hopes, to recall life ready to expire. Your care can do nothing in spite of fate: it is immovable: there is no appeal from its decisions. The next person of our family who will follow Elisa to the tomb is that great Napoleon who hardly exists, who bends under the yoke, and who still, nevertheless, keeps Europe in alarm. Behold, my good friend, how I look on my situation! As for me, all is over: I repeat it to you, my days will soon close on this miserable rock." "We returned," says Antommarchi, "into his chamber. Napoleon lay down in bed. 'Close my windows,' he said; 'leave me to myself; I will send for you by and by. What a delightful thing rest is! I would not exchange it for all the thrones in the world! What an alteration! How I am fallen! I, whose activity was boundless, whose mind never slumbered, am now plunged into a lethargic stupor, so that it requires an effort even to raise my eyelids. I sometimes dictated to four or five secretaries, who wrote as fast as words could be uttered: but then I was NAPOLEON — now I am no longer anything. My strength — my faculties forsake me. I do not live — I merely exist.'"[2]

From this period the existence of Napoleon was evidently drawing to a close — his days were counted. Whole hours, and even days, were either passed in gloomy silence or spent in pain, accompanied by distressing coughs, and all the melancholy signs of the approach of death. He made a last effort to ride a few miles round Longwood on the 22d of January,

[1] Elisa (Marianne Elisa) Bonaparte, formerly Grand Duchess of Tuscany, the wife of Bacciochi, died in August, 1820.

[2] *Antommarchi*, vol. i. p. 371.

1821, but it exhausted his strength, and from that time his only exercise was in the calash. Even that slight motion soon became too fatiguing.

He now kept his room, and no longer stirred out. His disorder and his weakness increased upon him. He still was able to eat something, but very little, and with a worse appetite than ever. "Ah! doctor," he exclaimed, "how I suffer! Why did the cannon-balls spare me only to die in this deplorable manner? I that was so active, so alert, can now scarcely raise my eyelids!"

His last airing was on the 17th of March. The disease increased, and Antommarchi, who was much alarmed, obtained with some difficulty permission to see an English physician. He held a consultation, on the 26th of March, with Dr. Arnott of the 20th Regiment; but Napoleon still refused to take medicine, and often repeated his favorite saying: "Everything that must happen is written down: our hour is marked, and it is not in our power to take from time a portion which nature refuses us." He continued to grow worse, and at last consented to see Dr. Arnott, whose first visit was on the 1st of April. He was introduced into the chamber of the patient, which was darkened, and into which Napoleon did not suffer any light to be brought, examined his pulse and the other symptoms, and was requested to repeat his visit the next day. Napoleon was now within a month of his death, and although he occasionally spoke with the eloquence and vehemence he had so often exhibited, his mind was evidently giving way. The reported appearance of a comet was taken as a token of his death. He was excited, and exclaimed with emotion, "A comet! that was the precursor of the death of Cæsar."

On the 3d of April the symptoms of the disorder had become so alarming that Antommarchi informed Bertrand and Montholon he thought Napoleon's danger imminent, and that Napoleon ought to take steps to put his affairs in order. He was now attacked by fever and by violent thirst, which often interrupted his sleep in the night. On the 14th, Napoleon found himself in better spirits, and talked with Dr.

Arnott on the merits of Marlborough, whose *Campaigns* he desired him to present to the 20th Regiment,[1] learning that they did not possess a copy in their library.

On the 15th of April, Napoleon's doors were closed to all but Montholon and Marchand, and it appeared that he had been making his Will. On the 19th he was better, was free from pain, sat up, and ate a little. He was in good spirits, and wished them to read to him. As General Montholon with the others expressed his satisfaction at this improvement he smiled gently, and said, "You deceive yourselves, my friends: I am, it is true, somewhat better, but I feel no less that my end draws near. When I am dead you will have the agreeable consolation of returning to Europe. One will meet his relations, another his friends; and as for me, I shall behold my brave companions-in-arms, in the Elysian Fields. Yes," he went on, raising his voice, "Kléber, Desaix, Bessières, Duroc, Ney, Murat, Masséna, Berthier, all will come to greet me; they will talk to me of what we have done together. I will recount to them the latest events of my life. On seeing me they will become once more intoxicated with enthusiasm and glory. We will discourse of our wars with the Scipios, Hannibal, Cæsar, and Frederick — there will be a satisfaction in that; unless," he added, laughing bitterly, "they should be alarmed below to see so many warriors assembled together!"

He addressed Dr. Arnott, who came in while he was speaking, on the treatment he had received from England; said that she had violated every sacred right in making him prisoner, that he should have been much better treated in Russia, Austria, or even Prussia; that he was sent to the horrible rock of St. Helena on purpose to die; that he had been purposely placed on the most uninhabitable spot of that inhospitable island, and kept six years a close prisoner, and that Sir Hudson Lowe was his executioner. He concluded with these words: "You will end like the proud republic of Venice; and I dying upon this dreary rock, away from those I hold dear, and deprived of everything, bequeath the oppro-

[1] Now the Lancashire Fusileers.

brium and horror of my death to the reigning family of England."

On the 21st Napoleon gave directions to the priest who was in attendance as to the manner in which he would be placed to lie in state after his death; and finding his religious attendant had never officiated in such a solemnity he gave the most minute instructions for the mode of conducting it. He afterwards declared that he would die, as he was born, a Catholic, and desired that mass should be said by his body, and the customary ceremonies should be performed every day until his burial.[1] The expression of his face was earnest and convulsive; he saw Antommarchi watching the contractions which he underwent, when his eye caught some indication that displeased him. "You are above these weaknesses; but what would you have? I am neither philosopher nor physician. I believe in God; I am of the religion of my fathers; every one cannot be an atheist who pleases." Then turning to the priest — "I was born in the Catholic religion. I wish to fulfil the duties which it imposes, and to receive the succor which it administers. You will say mass every day in the adjoining chapel, and you will expose the Holy Sacrament for forty hours. After I am dead you will place your altar at my head in the funeral chamber; you will continue to celebrate mass, and perform all the customary ceremonies; you will not cease till I am laid in the ground." The Abbé (Vignale) withdrew; Napoleon reproved his fellow-countryman for his supposed incredulity. "Can you carry it to this point? Can you disbelieve in God? Everything proclaims His existence; and, besides, the greatest minds have thought so." — "But, Sire, I have never called it in question. I was attending to the progress of the fever: your Majesty fancied you saw in my features an expression which they had not." — "You are a physician, Doctor," he replied laughingly; "these folks," he added, half to himself,

[1] Removed at an early age from home influences, Napoleon's youth had coincided with the worst and most irreligious age of France, — a time of revolt against religion, morality and decency. Although his own life was not a pure one, few men of the time came through the furnace more unscathed.

"are conversant only with matter; they will believe in nothing beyond."[1]

In the afternoon of the 25th he was better; but being left alone, a sudden fancy possessed him to eat. He called for fruits, wine, tried a biscuit, then swallowed some champagne, seized a bunch of grapes, and burst into a fit of laughter as soon as he saw Antommarchi return. The physician ordered away the dessert, and found fault with the *maître d'hôtel;* but the mischief was done, the fever returned and became violent. The Emperor was now on his death-bed, but he testified concern for every one. He asked Antommarchi if 500 guineas would satisfy the English physician, and if he himself would like to serve Maria Louisa in quality of a physician? "She is my wife, the first Princess in Europe, and after me you should serve no one else." Antommarchi expressed his acknowledgments. The fever continued unabated, with violent thirst and cold in the feet. On the 27th he determined to remove from the small chamber into the *salon.* They were preparing to carry him. "No," he said, "not until I am dead; for the present it will be sufficient if you support me."

Between the 27th and 28th the Emperor passed a very bad night; the fever increased, coldness spread over his limbs, his strength was quite gone. He spoke a few words of encouragement to Antommarchi; then in a tone of perfect calmness and composure he delivered to him the following instructions: "After my death, which cannot be far off, I wish you to open my body: I wish also, nay, I require, that you will not suffer any English physician to touch me. If, however, you find it indispensable to have some one to assist you, Dr. Arnott is the only one I am willing you should employ. I am desirous, further, that you should take out my heart, that you put it in spirits of wine, and that you carry it to Parma to my dear Maria Louisa: you will tell her how tenderly I have loved her, that I have never ceased to love her; and you will report to her all that you have witnessed, all that relates to my situation and my death. I

[1] *Antommarchi,* vol. ii. p. 121.

recommend you, above all, carefully to examine my stomach, to make an exact detailed report of it, which you will convey to my son. The vomitings which succeed each other without intermission lead me to suppose that the stomach is the one of my organs which is the most deranged, and I am inclined to believe that it is affected with the disease which conducted my father to the grave, — I mean a cancer in the lower stomach. What think you?" His physician hesitating, he continued — "I have not doubted this since I found the sickness become frequent and obstinate. It is nevertheless well worthy of remark that I have always had a stomach of iron, that I have felt no inconvenience from this organ till latterly, and that whereas my father was fond of high-seasoned dishes and spirituous liquors, I have never been able to make use of them. Be it as it may, I entreat, I charge you to neglect nothing in such an examination, in order that when you see my son you may communicate the result of your observations to him, and point out the most suitable remedies. When I am no more you will repair to Rome; you will find out my mother and my family. You will give them an account of all you have observed relative to my situation, my disorder, and my death on this remote and miserable rock; you will tell them that the great Napoleon expired in the most deplorable state, wanting everything, abandoned to himself and his glory." It was ten in the forenoon; after this the fever abated, and he fell into a sort of doze.

The Emperor passed a very bad night, and could not sleep. He grew light-headed and talked incoherently; still the fever had abated in its violence. Towards morning the hiccough began to torment him, the fever increased, and he became quite delirious. He spoke of his complaint, and called upon Baxter (the Governor's physician) to appear, to come and see the truth of his reports. Then all at once fancying O'Meara[1] present, he imagined a dialogue between them, throwing a weight of odium on the English policy. The fever having

[1] It will be remembered that even the poor satisfaction of retaining a surgeon — O'Meara — of his own choice, had been denied to Napoleon.

subsided, his hearing became distinct; he grew calm, and entered into some further conversation on what was to be done after his death. He felt thirsty, and drank a large quantity of cold water. "If fate should determine that I shall recover, I would raise a monument on the spot where this water gushes out: I would crown the fountain in memory of the comfort which it has afforded me. If I die, and they should not proscribe my remains as they have proscribed my person, I should desire to be buried with my ancestors in the cathedral of Ajaccio, in Corsica. But if I am not allowed to repose where I was born, why, then, let them bury me at the spot where this fine and refreshing water flows." This request was afterwards complied with.[1]

He remained nearly in the same state for some days. On the 1st of May he was delirious nearly all day, and suffered dreadful vomitings. He took two small biscuits and a few drops of red wine. On the 2d he was rather quieter, and the alarming symptoms diminished a little. At 2 P.M., however, he had a paroxysm of fever, and became again delirious. He talked to himself of France, of his dear son, of some of his old companions-in-arms. At times he was evidently in imagination on the field of battle. "Stengel!" he cried; "Desaix! Masséna! Ah! victory is declaring itself! run — rush forward — press the charge! — they are ours!"

"I was listening," says Dr. Antommarchi, "and following the progress of that painful agony in the deepest distress when Napoleon, suddenly collecting his strength, jumped on the floor, and would absolutely go down into the garden to take a walk. I ran to receive him in my arms, but his legs bent under the weight of his body; he fell backwards, and I had the mortification of being unable to prevent his falling. We raised him up and entreated him to get into bed again; but he did not recognize anybody, and began to storm and fall

[1] The place determined on for his grave was a verdant spot about three miles from Longwood — a place pointed out by himself a short time before his death. It was a small secluded recess, where his Chinese servants used to draw the water which they carried to Longwood for his use. It was more green and shady than any other in the neighborhood, and it was here that Napoleon was accustomed to repose, under the beautiful willows which overhung the spring. — *Editor of* 1836 *edition.*

into a violent passion. He was unconscious, and anxiously desired to walk in the garden. In the course of the day, however, he became more collected, and again spoke of his disease, and the precise anatomical examination he wished to be made of his body after death. He had a fancy that this might be useful to his son." "The physicians of Montpelier," he said to Antommarchi, "announced that the scirrhosis in the pylorus would be hereditary in my family; their report is, I believe, in the hands of my brother Louis; ask for it and compare it with your own observations on my case, in order that my son may be saved from this cruel disease. You will see him, Doctor, and you will point out to him what is best to do, and will save him from the cruel sufferings I now experience. This is the last service I ask of you." Later in the day he said, "Doctor, I am very ill — I feel that I am going to die."

The last time Napoleon spoke, except to utter a few short unconnected words, was on the 3d of May. It was in the afternoon, and he had requested his attendants, in case of his losing consciousness, not to allow any English physician to approach him except Dr. Arnott. "I am going to die," said he, "and you to return to Europe; I must give you some advice as to the line of conduct you are to pursue. You have shared my exile, you will be faithful to my memory, and will not do anything that may injure it. I have sanctioned all proper principles, and infused them into my laws and acts; I have not omitted a single one. Unfortunately, however, the circumstances in which I was placed were arduous, and I was obliged to act with severity, and to postpone the execution of my plans. Our reverses occurred; I could not unbend the bow! and France has been deprived of the liberal institutions I intended to give her. She judges me with indulgence; she feels grateful for my intentions; she cherishes my name and my victories. Imitate her example, be faithful to the opinions we have defended, and to the glory we have acquired: any other course can only lead to shame and confusion."

From this moment it does not appear that Napoleon showed any signs of understanding what was going forward around him. His weakness increased every moment, and a harassing

hiccough continued until death took place. The day before that event a fearful tempest threatened to destroy everything about Longwood.[1] The plantations were torn up by the roots, and it was particularly remarked that a willow, under which Napoleon usually sat to enjoy the fresh air, had fallen. "It seemed," says Antommarchi, "as if none of the things the Emperor valued were to survive him." On the day of his death Madame Bertrand, who had not left his bedside, sent for her children to take a last farewell of Napoleon. The scene which ensued was affecting: the children ran to the bed, kissed the hands of Napoleon, and covered them with tears. One of the children fainted and all had to be carried from the spot. "We all," says Antommarchi, "mixed our lamentations with theirs: we all felt the same anguish, the same cruel foreboding of the approach of the fatal instant, which every minute accelerated." The favorite valet, Noverraz, who had been for some time very ill, when he heard of the state in which Napoleon was, caused himself to be carried downstairs, and entered the apartment in tears. He was with great difficulty prevailed upon to leave the room: he was in a delirious state, and he fancied his master was threatened with danger, and was calling upon him for assistance: he said he would not leave him but would fight and die for him. But Napoleon was now insensible to the tears of his servants; he had scarcely spoken for two days; early in the morning he articulated a few broken sentences, among which the only words distinguishable were, '*tête d'armée*,' the last that ever left his lips, and which indicated the tenor of his fancies. The day passed in convulsive movements and low moanings, with occasionally a loud shriek, and the dismal scene closed just before six in the evening. A slight froth covered his lips, and he was no more.

After he had been dead about six hours Antommarchi had the body carefully washed and laid out on another bed. The executors then proceeded to examine two codicils which were

[1] ". . . Heaven his great soul does claim
In storms, as loud as his immortal fame:
His dying groans, his last breath shakes our isle."
WALLER, *Upon the death of the Lord Protector.*

directed to be opened immediately after the Emperor's decease. The one related to the gratuities which he intended out of his private purse for the different individuals of his household, and to the alms which he wished to be distributed among the poor of St. Helena; the other contained his last wish that "his ashes should repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom he had loved so well." The executors notified this request to the Governor, who stated that his orders were that the body was to remain on the island. On the next day, after taking a plaster cast of the face of Napoleon, Antommarchi proceeded to open the body in the presence of Sir Thomas Reade, some staff officers, and eight medical men.

The Emperor had intended his hair (which was of a chestnut color) for presents to the different members of his family, and it was cut off and kept for this purpose. He had grown considerably thinner in person during the last few months. After his death his face and body were pale, but without alteration or anything of a cadaverous appearance. His physiognomy was fine, the eyes fast closed, and you would have said that the Emperor was not dead, but in a profound sleep. His mouth retained its expression of sweetness, though one side was contracted into a bitter smile. Several scars were seen on his body. On opening it it was found that the liver was not affected, but that there was that cancer of the stomach which he had himself suspected, and of which his father and two of his sisters died. This painful examination having been completed, Antommarchi took out the heart and placed it in a silver vase filled with spirits of wine; he then directed the *valet de chambre* to dress the body as he had been accustomed in the Emperor's lifetime, with the *grand cordon* of the Legion of Honor across the breast, in the green uniform of a colonel of the Chasseurs of the Guard, decorated with the orders of the Legion of Honor and of the Iron Crown, long boots with little spurs, finally, his three-cornered hat. Thus habited, Napoleon was removed in the afternoon of the 6th out of the hall, into which the crowd rushed immediately. The linen which had been employed in the dissection of the body, though stained with blood, was

eagerly seized, torn in pieces, and distributed among the by-standers.

Napoleon lay in state in his little bedroom which had been converted into a funeral chamber. It was hung with black cloth brought from the town. This circumstance first apprised the inhabitants of his death. The corpse, which had not been embalmed, and which was of an extraordinary whiteness, was placed on one of the camp-beds, surrounded with little white curtains, which served for a sarcophagus. The blue cloak which Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo covered it. The feet and the hands were free; the sword on the left side, and a crucifix on the breast. At some distance was the silver vase containing the heart and stomach, which were not allowed to be removed. At the back of the head was an altar, where the priest in his stole and surplice recited the customary prayers. All the individuals of Napoleon's suite, officers and domestics, dressed in mourning, remained standing on the left. Dr. Arnott had been charged to see that no attempt was made to convey away the body.

For some hours the crowd had besieged the doors; they were admitted, and beheld the inanimate remains of Napoleon in respectful silence. The officers of the 20th and 66th[1] Regiments were admitted first, then the others. The following day (the 7th) the throng was greater. Antommarchi was not allowed to take the heart of Napoleon to Europe with him; he deposited that and the stomach in two vases, filled with alcohol and hermetically sealed, in the corners of the coffin in which the corpse was laid. This was a shell of zinc lined with white satin, in which was a mattress furnished with a pillow. There not being room for the hat to remain on his head, it was placed at his feet, with some eagles, pieces of French money coined during his reign, a plate engraved with his arms, etc. The coffin was closed, carefully soldered up, and then fixed in another case of mahogany, which was enclosed in a third made of lead, which last was fastened in a fourth of mahogany, which was sealed up and fastened with screws. The

[1] The 66th Regiment, now briefly called the Second Battalion of the Princess Charlotte of Wales (Berkshire Regiment).

coffin was exhibited in the same place as the body had been, and was also covered with the cloak that Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo. The funeral was ordered for the morrow, 8th May, and the troops were to attend in the morning by break of day.

This took place accordingly; the Governor arrived first, the Rear-Admiral soon after, and shortly all the authorities, civil and military, were assembled at Longwood. The day was fine, the people crowded the roads, music resounded from the heights; never had spectacle so sad and solemn been witnessed in these remote regions. At half-past twelve the grenadiers took hold of the coffin, lifted it with difficulty, and succeeded in removing it into the great walk in the garden, where the hearse awaited them. It was placed in the carriage, covered with a pall of violet-colored velvet, and with the cloak which the hero wore at Marengo. The Emperor's household were in mourning. The cavalcade was arranged by order of the Governor in the following manner: The Abbé Vignale in his sacerdotal robes, with young Henry Bertrand at his side, bearing an aspersorium; Doctors Arnott and Antommarchi, the persons intrusted with the superintendence of the hearse, drawn by four horses, led by grooms, and escorted by twelve grenadiers without arms, on each side; these last were to carry the coffin on their shoulders as soon as the ruggedness of the road prevented the hearse from advancing; young Napoleon Bertrand, and Marchand, both on foot, and by the side of the hearse; Counts Bertrand and Montholon on horseback close behind the hearse; a part of the household of the Emperor; Countess Bertrand with her daughter Hortense, in a calash drawn by two horses led by hand by her domestics, who walked by the side of the precipice; the Emperor's horse led by his *piqueur* Archambaud; the officers of marine on horseback and on foot; the officers of the staff on horseback; the members of the council of the island in like manner; General Coffin and the Marquis Montchenu [1] on horseback; the Rear-Admiral and the Governor on horseback; the inhabitants of the island.

[1] The Marquis Montchenu, a former *émigré*, was the representative sent by the French Government to St. Helena. See O'Meara's *Diary*, under

The train set out in this order from Longwood, passed by the barracks, and was met by the garrison, about 2500 in number, drawn up on the left of the road as far as *Hut's Gate*. Military bands placed at different distances added still more, by the mournful airs which they played, to the striking solemnity of the occasion. When the train had passed the troops followed and accompanied it to the burying-place. The dragoons marched first. Then came the 20th Regiment of infantry, the marines, the 66th, the volunteers of St. Helena, and lastly, the company of Royal Artillery, with fifteen pieces of cannon. Lady Lowe and her daughter were at the roadside at Hut's Gate, in an open carriage drawn by two horses. They were attended by some domestics in mourning, and followed the procession at a distance. The fifteen pieces of artillery were ranged along the road, and the gunners were at their posts ready to fire. Having advanced about a quarter of a mile beyond Hut's Gate the hearse stopped, the troops halted and drew up in line of battle by the roadside. The grenadiers then raised the coffin on their shoulders and bore it thus to the place of interment, by the new route which had been made on purpose on the declivity of the mountain. All the attendants alighted, the ladies descended from their carriages, and the procession followed the corps without observing any regular order.

Counts Bertrand and Montholon, Marchand and young Napoleon Bertrand, carried the four corners of the pall. The coffin was laid down at the side of the tomb, which was hung with black. Near were seen the cords and pulleys which were to lower it into the earth. The coffin was then uncovered, the Abbé Vignale repeated the usual prayers, and the body was let down into the grave with the feet to the east. The artillery then fired three salutes in succession of fifteen discharges each. The Admiral's vessel had fired during the procession twenty-five minute guns from time to time. A

dates 18th June, 27th August, 13th and 22d November, and 31st December, 1816, and 14th and 31st March, 1817, etc., for some mention of him; also *Wonters*, pp. 1026 and 1030. Baron Sturmer, sent by Austria, and Count Balmain, sent by Russia, arrived at St. Helena with Montchenu, 17th June, 1816, and left, Sturmer in 1818, and Balmain in 1820.

huge stone, which was to have been employed in the building of the new house of the Emperor, was now used to close his grave, and was lowered till it rested on a strong stone wall so as not to touch the coffin. While the grave was closed the crowd seized upon the willows, which the former presence of Napoleon had already rendered objects of veneration. Every one was ambitious to possess a branch or some leaves of these trees which were henceforth to shadow the tomb of this great man, and to preserve them as a precious relic of so memorable a scene. The Governor and Admiral endeavored to prevent this outrage, but in vain. The Governor, however, surrounded the spot afterwards with a barricade, where he placed a guard to keep off all intruders. The tomb of the Emperor was about a league from Longwood. It was of a quadrangular shape, wider at top than at bottom; the depth about twelve feet. The coffin was placed on two strong pieces of wood, and was detached in its whole circumference.[1]

The companions of Napoleon returned to France, and the island gradually resumed its former quiet state, while the willows weeping over the grave guarded the ashes of the man for whom Europe had been all too small.

[*ANNEX TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.*]

The following is the account of the last moments of Napoleon by Marchand, who succeeded Constant as *valet de chambre* to the Emperor, at the moment of his quitting Fontainebleau to retire to the island of Elba. He was recommended to Napoleon by Constant: —

On the 27th of April, 1821, eight days before his death, the Emperor had passed several hours in forming an inventory of his snuff-boxes and other articles destined for his son, enclosing the whole in three mahogany cases, numbered I., II., III. He deposited them with me to place them in the hands of his son when he should become of age.

This day was the most fatiguing which the Emperor had experienced during his illness, and one of the most painful to us his followers, as his approaching end was no longer doubtful. At various intervals sickness

[1] *Antommarchi*, vol. ii. pp. 185–186.

compelled him to suspend for a time the expression of his last wishes. All our efforts to induce him to desist from a labor which produced such serious consequences were unsuccessful. "I am very much exhausted," said he, "but am convinced that I have little time left, and that I must complete my task. Give me a little of that Constantia which Las Cases sent me; a little excitement will do me no harm." I ventured to remark that that wine was very different from that which Dr. Antommarchi had prescribed for him. "Bah!" said he, striking his forehead, "neither he nor you understand anything about it: we want every support in this country. Why should you wish to see me remain here? give me some of that wine; it will restore me. I do not desire to shorten my life, but I would do nothing to prolong it. Ah!" said he, placing his hand upon his right side, "I feel here as if a razor were cutting me."

Everything that was said by the Emperor was full of dignity, of resignation, and of goodness; the bed upon which he sat was covered with articles carefully sealed up and destined for his son and family. Among the number was a gold snuff-box, with a very beautiful cameo, which he bequeathed to Lady Holland, as a token of regard and grateful acknowledgment of the solicitude which this lady had manifested for the illustrious captive, in sending those little trifles always so well appreciated, and of which we are doubly sensible in the hour of misfortune. There was also a plain gold snuff-box which he intended for Dr. Arnott, upon which he scratched with a pen-knife the letter N. A small sheet of pasteboard which he held in his left hand served him for a writing-desk. Count Montholon stood near his bed with an inkstand. Near him was a diamond necklace. Napoleon took it up, and giving it to me said, "Keep this; I do not know what may be the state of my pecuniary affairs in Europe; that amiable creature Hortense gave it to me when I left Malmaison, thinking that it might be useful to me.[1] Its value is, I believe, 200,000 francs; conceal it about your person. When you return to France it will enable you to wait for what I desire to give you by my Will and Codicils. Make an honorable marriage: choose your wife from among the families of officers or soldiers of my old Guard. There are many of those brave fellows who are not in good circumstances; better fortune awaited them but for the reverses which France has experienced. Posterity will give me credit for what I would have done to serve them if events had taken another course." After a short pause he sealed up his various Wills and Codicils to the number of nine separate packets, all nearly of a similar form, but of different thickness, folded at one of the four corners, tied up

[1] This collar had a curious history. Given by Hortense to Napoleon when he left Malmaison, Napoleon had privately handed it to Las Cases while on the passage to St. Helena, telling him to take care of it. Las Cases kept it always under his clothing (Napoleon several times telling him to retain it), and he got so accustomed to wearing it that, when removed from Longwood in 1816, he forgot to give it back to the Emperor, and it was only by means of a kindly Englishman that Las Cases got it secretly conveyed to Napoleon (*Mémorial de St. Hélène*, tome i. pp. 80–82 note).

with red ribbon, to which he annexed his signature and seal. About nine o'clock in the evening wrapped up in his dressing-gown, and sitting in an easy-chair with a little table before him, the Emperor caused the signatures and seals of his three executors to be affixed to his Will and Codicils — Count Bertrand, Count Montholon, and myself, also the Abbé Vignale, who was called for the same purpose.

The Emperor having thus, as he wished, put his affairs in order, employed himself for a long time in considering what our condition and employments would be on our return to Europe. He conversed with his executors upon the course they would have to adopt upon their arrival in England and France in order that his ashes might not remain in exile at St. Helena. I extract in this place, from the verbal instructions that he gave, those which related to the King of Rome : "You will induce him to resume the name of Napoleon as soon as he shall have attained the age of discretion and can do it opportunely. If fortune should be propitious to him, and he should ascend the throne of France, it is the duty of my executors to call his attention to the debt of gratitude I owe to my old officers and soldiers, and to my faithful adherents. The recollection of me should form the glory of his life; you will do everything to encourage this feeling in him; you will direct his ideas to facts and events; you ought to find in the possession of Albe, Fain, Meneval, and Bourrienne[1] many papers and documents of the highest interest to him. Unless fortune should restore France to my family I desire that my nephews and nieces should form marriages amongst themselves, and settle either in the Roman States,[2] in America, or in Switzerland, so that my blood should not mingle in the Courts of Kings. To the Empress Maria Louisa you will, either by letter or in a personal interview, express the esteem and high sentiments I entertain for her; recommend to her my son, whose only resource and chance of success is on her side. Make a collection of paintings, of books, and of medals such as can give to my son true ideas, and destroy those false ones which foreign policy has been able, no doubt,

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[1] These four persons had been long employed in the private cabinet of the Emperor. Colonel Baron Bacler d'Albe, sometimes printed "Dalbe," had been the secretary in charge of all the maps, — an important post, bringing him into the most constant contact with Napoleon, especially during the campaigns. See Baron d'Odleben's *Relation de la Campagne de* 1813 (Paris, Plancher, 1817), p. 155, copied by Alison, chap. lxxviii. para. 45–47. Colonel Baron Fain had been the Archivist of the cabinet from February, 1806, to 1814. In his *Manuscripts* he afterwards published important accounts of the events of several of those years. Meneval had succeeded Bourrienne as secretary in 1802, and held that post till after the retreat from Moscow, when he was placed with the Empress Maria Louisa. The reference to Bourrienne after so many years of estrangement is curious. The reader will recollect the box of documents carefully buried by Bourrienne (vol. ii. pp. 172-173), and his subsequent denial of its existence in vol. iii. p. 253.

[2] See in *Du Casse*, tome x. pp. 262–269, a detailed account given by Bertrand to Joseph Bonaparte of how Napoleon wished his family to obtain a firm hold on Rome and Switzerland by a series of marriages, and his advice as to their proceedings. See also Bingham's *Marriages of the Bonapartes* (Longmans, 1881).

to inculcate, in order that he may learn the real state of things. When my campaigns of Italy and of Egypt, as well as those manuscripts which I leave, shall be printed, I desire they may be dedicated to my son; I wish also that to these may be added the letters from sovereigns; they may be procured in the Archives: the national vanity will gain much by the publication of them, so that the permission to obtain them will not be refused." [1]

The last desire of Napoleon was executed by the publication of a part only of those manuscripts which were dictated by him to the Generals Gourgaud and Montholon; the remainder are in the possession of General Bertrand, to whom I have been indebted for permission to print the *Notes upon the Commentaries of Cæsar* which have been in my hands during the last eighteen months. The nature of my service obliged me to be near the person of the Emperor, for he constantly did me the honor to desire I would read to him, or write from his dictation. It was in this manner that the *Notes on the Commentaries of Cæsar* were written by me, and dictated by Napoleon, during his long and sleepless nights, "during which," he would say, "study and occupation bring some alleviation to my sufferings, and strew a few flowers on the path that conducts me to the grave."

The hours which preceded the death of Napoleon were employed in serious conversation, or in reading aloud, more than in the care of his health. The two last readings which were made to the Emperor by his desire were *The Campaigns of Hannibal*, read to him by Count Bertrand, and *The Campaigns of Dumouriez*, which I had the honor to read. The last dictation that he undertook was to Count Montholon, in the night of the 29th of April: it was a project of a military organization for France, and entitled "PREMIÈRE RÊVERIE." From four to five o'clock in the morning he continued to dictate to me the same subject, after the Count had retired, desiring me to call it "SECONDE RÊVERIE," and to annex it to the other part.

When he had finished he told me that he felt capable of riding fifteen leagues. Alas! this state was not to last long.

Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening of the 2d of May, being much occupied with testamentary matters, and expressing often a tender anxiety for his son, the Emperor dictated to me the following paper: —

"*I leave to my son the house I occupied at Ajaccio with its accessories, two other houses near the Salines, with their gardens, also all my property in the territory of Ajaccio, which, united, will furnish him with an annual income of 50,000 francs.*

"*I leave* ——" He now found himself so much fatigued that he could dictate no more; he postponed the remainder until the morrow;

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[1] See *Du Casse*, tome x. pp. 229–306, for an account of the disappearance of this correspondence, in which we should have read the depth of servility to which the Sovereigns had descended towards Napoleon in his days of power.

his memory also seemed to fail. I knew the property that belonged to the Emperor in Corsica, and was perfectly aware while he dictated this last legacy that he possessed nothing of the kind he specified, and could not, therefore, leave it to his son. I perceived several times during this day great incoherency in his manner, both in speaking and dictating. This aberration of mind continued at intervals until the 5th of May.

During the night of the 4th he was much agitated. Amidst a long and continued delirium the words, "France, army," [1] were frequently though indistinctly uttered by him; and these were the last sounds we heard from his lips. The Emperor spoke no more!

At four o'clock in the morning a comparative calm succeeded the troubles of the night; it was the serenity of courage, the peace of resignation. The eyes of the Emperor became fixed, his mouth remained open; a few drops of saccharine water given to him by Dr. Antommarchi seemed to animate his pulse, a sigh escaped him: we still had hope.

At six o'clock all the French who were attached to the service of Napoleon were permitted to enter his room. They endeavored to stifle the grief that oppressed them: they approached the bed on which he lay; the silence of the chamber of death chilled our very souls.

At half-past six o'clock in the evening a gun from the fort announced "the retreat," the sun sunk below the horizon; it was also the moment that this great man who had commanded the world was enveloped in immortal glory. The anxiety of Dr. Antommarchi increased. That hand which had so often commanded victory was now arrested by death. Dr. Arnott, holding his watch, looked on it with fixed attention, to count the intervals of pulsation, and the moments between the lingering sighs. Fifteen seconds — then thirty; now a minute intervenes. We waited: we hoped. Alas! the Emperor was dead!

His lips were colorless; his mouth was slightly contracted; his eyes were open, but fixed; his countenance was calm and serene.

In a few minutes Captain Crokat was introduced by Dr. Arnott to verify the hour of the Emperor's death: his countenance indicated the feelings of his heart. He immediately retired with much respect, and expressed his sorrow at the obligation imposed on him. Directly afterwards two English doctors entered, and having placed their hands on the heart of the Emperor withdrew to certify to Sir Hudson Lowe the report of Dr. Arnott.

Thus perished the Emperor Napoleon, surrounded by only a few faithful and devoted servants, exiled beyond the reach of those natural objects

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[1] Thiers (tome xx. p. 706) makes Napoleon's last words "Mon fils . . . l'armée . . . Desaix." Wouters (p. 1033), writing under the eye of Prince Pierre Napoleon Bonaparte, makes the last words, "Tête . . . armée . . . France." Antommarchi (London, Colburn, 1826, vol. ii. p. 152) only gives "Head . . . army."

of affection which man seeks in the last and most trying moments of need — a mother, a wife, and a child.

. . . . . .

I have read in the last work published relating to St. Helena that the Emperor, after having eulogized the Duke of Marlborough, and after presenting to Dr. Arnott, for the 20th Regiment, a copy of that General's campaigns, turned the Duke into ridicule after he had dismissed the English doctor, and sang the first verse of the well-known ballad written on Marlborough.[1] I declare that I have no knowledge of any such circumstance. I was present, as well as the author of the work alluded to (the Emperor having sent for me), when the present of the books in question took place. Napoleon had passed in a sort of critical review the great generals, and stopping at the name of Marlborough applauded his tactics and courage. With that solemn tone of voice which Napoleon knew so well how to assume when he wished to stamp his munificence with an imposing character, he said, "Doctor, I love the brave of every nation; I wish to make a present to the 20th Regiment; take these volumes and place them from me in their library."

When at St. Helena the Emperor honored General Bertrand with an exchange of his own watch for that of the Count; he attached even to this act a glorious recollection; "Take this, Bertrand," said he: "it struck two in the morning when I ordered Joubert to attack Rivoli." It was thus the Emperor knew how to add a value to his gifts.[2]

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[1] See *Antommarchi*, vol. ii. p. 96. Napoleon only laughed when reminded of the air "Marlbrook," saying, "Such is the effect of ridicule; it casts a stigma upon everything, even victory."

[2] The remark made the gift priceless! It must have been strange for Napoleon at St. Helena to recall that bright clear cold night in 1797 when, amidst mountains blazing with the Austrian fires, he threw himself on Alvinzi with the weary divisions of Joubert, Masséna, and Rey; and, outnumbered and surrounded, won a victory, the account of which reads like the tale of some hero of romance. See Thiers's *Revolution*, vol. iv. pp. 604–610. There were few among his soldiers who would not have risked their lives for such a gift! See *History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena from the Letters and Journals of Sir Hudson Lowe*, by William Forsyth, Q.C. (Murray, 1853, 3 vols.), in which a worse case is made for Lowe and the English Government than might have been expected from the account of the French writers. Note especially the objection to allowing the Foreign Commissioners to communicate freely with Napoleon and his staff (vol. iii. pp. 239–240, 492–493); Lowe's alarm at Montchenu receiving the dangerous present of some French beans (vol. iii. p. 223); and the refusal to allow an inscription on the coffin unless the name "Bonaparte" figured there (vol. iii. p. 295). But Sir Hudson Lowe must have been adequately punished in living to read the accounts of the second funeral in 1840.

CHAPTER XIV.[1]

1840.

THE SECOND FUNERAL OF NAPOLEON.

From the time of its burial in 1821 the body of Napoleon lay in its quiet grave under the willows at St. Helena, the solitude only broken by the visit of many English and a few French passengers from the ships then taking the Cape route to India and calling at the Island. In 1830 the elder branch of the Bourbons fell, and Louis Philippe succeeded Charles X. The new monarchy professed to be liberal and national enough not to fear reviving the memories of the great Emperor. The tri-color once more waved over France, and at last it seemed impossible to let the body of the Emperor rest in its distant grave.

M. Thiers, the then head of the French Ministry, determined to apply to England for the restoration of the corpse. It was thought right to ask the opinion of the old Duke of Wellington, and the Duke, as ungenerous to his dead foe as he had been to him when alive, advised the retention of the body to prevent its cession being considered as due to fear. Nobler counsels prevailed, and Lord Palmerston in generous words gave an affirmative answer. "The Government of Her Majesty hope that the promptness of this response will be considered in France as a proof of their desire to efface all traces of those national animosities which, during the life of the Emperor, armed against each other the French and

[1] This chapter is added by the editor of the 1885 edition.

English nations. The Government of Her Majesty is confident that if such sentiments still exist anywhere, they will be buried in the tomb in which the remains of Napoleon are to be laid,"[1] — a generous wish in which every Englishman must join; but the title of Emperor given at last to Napoleon casts odium on the men whose petty spite in refusing it gave, as was intended, such annoyance to the dying captive of St. Helena.

> "'Take back thy dead! and when thou buriest it,
> Throw in all former strifes 'twixt thee and me!'
> Amen, mine England! 'tis a courteous claim:
> But ask a little room too — for thy shame!
> . . . . .
> . . . . .
> But since it *was* done — in sepulchral dust
> We fain would pay back something of our debt
> To France, if not to honor, and forget
> How through much fear we falsified the trust
> Of a fallen foe and exile. We return
> Orestes to Electra — in his urn."[2]

The intention of the French Government was communicated to the Chambers by the Minister of the Interior, M. Charles de Rémusat, the son of the writer of the well-known Memoirs, and the plan was cordially approved. The Prince de Joinville, the third son of Louis Philippe, was put in charge of the expedition to receive the relics, and the frigate *La Belle Poule* and the corvette *La Favorite* sailed from Toulon on the 7th of July, 1840.[3]

A special Commission accompanied the Prince. The Comte de Rohan-Chabot was nominated as Commissary of the King, and he and the Abbé

[1] *History of France*, by Guizot (Sampson Low, 1882), vol. viii. p. 388.

[2] Mrs. Browning, *Crowned and Buried*.

[3] Wouters' *Annales Napoléoniennes* (Bruxelles, Wouters, 1847), pp. 1076-1078, is mainly followed here.

Coquereau were the only members who had not accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena. The remainder of the Commission were — Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud, M. Emmanuel de Las Cases (son of the writer of the *Mémorial*), M. Marchand (the former valet), M. Arthur Bertrand, and four old servants of the Emperor, who had only left St. Helena after his death, and whose names, with those already given, will all be found in the Will of Napoleon — Saint-Denis, Novarre, Peyron, and Archambaud.

On the 8th of October the expedition anchored at James Town, and on the 15th of October the tomb where the Emperor had so long slept was opened in the presence of the English and French authorities. The work was commenced at one o'clock in the morning, and it was only at eight that the coffin was uncovered, when, under heavy rain, it was carried by the men of the 91st Regiment to a tent placed at hand. At last the different enclosing coffins were opened, and the face of the Emperor was exposed to view. The body had remained intact. "Some of the eyelashes still remained. The cheeks were a little swollen, the beard had grown after death, as had the nails of the fingers and toes. The hands had preserved the colors of life; a burst boot had allowed the toes of one dull white foot to escape. The nose alone had decayed, but only its lower part. The uniform of the Chasseurs of the Guard was easily recognizable, though the epaulets had lost their brightness, as had some of the small decorations placed on the breast. The two vases holding the heart and the entrails were also found intact and perfectly preserved."[1] The effect was most striking. The coffins had been opened in dead silence; and when the Emperor was revealed as if alive among

[1] *Wouters*, p. 1077.

his kneeling and weeping followers the scene must have been such as we read of in olden days at the opening of the shrine of some loved Saint. The body was placed in three coffins, the outer one of lead, and then in a fourth, brought from France, a magnificent one of ebony.

At three o'clock the coffin was placed on a car drawn by four horses and covered by an imperial pall with golden eagles and bees. The corners of the pall were held by Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud and the young Las Cases and Marchand, who must have then been repaid for the devotion which had first taken them to St. Helena. The procession began to move at half-past three in heavy rain, the batteries of the *Belle Poule* and of the island firing minute guns, and the English garrison with reversed arms lining the street through which it passed. On the Quay the Governor, General Middlemore, handed the body formally over to the French. The Prince de Joinville received the body on the *Belle Poule*, where it was placed in a *Chapelle ardente*, while the imperial standard flew from the main.

On the 18th of October the expedition sailed for France. The journey was uneventful, being only broken by rumors of a breach between England and France, when the Prince, with perhaps natural but to English minds somewhat theatrical emotion, made his sailors swear never to deliver the precious relics to the English.

On the 29th of November, 1840, the *Belle Poule* anchored at Cherbourg, and the next day it entered the basin amongst the salutes of the forts and ships. On the 8th of December the coffin was transferred to the steamer *Normandie*, a thousand guns being fired when the body left the *Belle Poule* and another thousand when the *Normandie* left the

basin. On the 9th of December the *Normandie* entered the Seine. At Val de la Haie the coffin had to be removed to a smaller vessel, the *Dorade*, which carried it to Courbevoie, which was reached on the 14th of December. On the 15th of December, 1840, the body was carried through Paris to the Invalides. It was placed on a splendid car drawn by sixteen horses.[1] Marshals Oudinot and Molitor,[2] Admiral Roussin, and General Bertrand, mounted, held the corners of the pall. Gérard, recovered from his wounds at Wavre, and now a Marshal, commanded the escort, which included the other Marshals.[3] Covered with all the insignia of his rank, surrounded by every detail of ceremonial with which the Army, the State, and the Church ever seek to honor their greatest dead, encircled by his old comrades, met by the priests of the religion to which he had restored France, amidst the solemn thunder of the guns which had sounded so often throughout his stormy life, — the body of the great Emperor moved under the arch which told of his triumphs, through a double row of eagles to the Church of the Invalides. The Royal family, the Ministers, the Peers, the Deputies, the Great Dignitaries, were there assembled to meet it. Marshal Moncey, the Governor of the Invalides, too feeble to stand, was brought in to receive the ashes of his old Chief.

"Sire," said the Prince de Joinville, standing at the head of the coffin, to the King, "I present to you the body of the Emperor Napoleon." — "I receive it in the name of France," answered the Sovereign.

[1] See the frontispiece of the eighth volume of Guizot's *History of France*.

[2] Molitor had been made Marshal under the second Restoration.

[3] The Marshals of Napoleon then alive were Grouchy, Oudinot, Moncey, Soult, and Victor, besides Bernadotte, and Marmont, who was out of France. Of Napoleon's brothers and sisters Joseph, Louis, and Jérôme alone were living.

Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud placed on the coffin the sword and hat of the Emperor, and in 1843 Joseph Bonaparte[1] sent the great collar, ribbon, and badge of the Legion of Honor which his brother had worn.

Napoleon had again and finally conquered. He had died an exile, an outlaw, denied title, wealth, comfort, and even the family rights common to the lowest. Now all that affection, gratitude, and honor could give were lavished on his corpse. "Slowly wise," France had claimed her great dead. While every throne in Europe was shaking, the Great Conqueror came to claim and receive from posterity the crown for which he had sacrificed so much. In the Invalides the Emperor had at last found a fitting resting-place, "by the banks of the Seine, amongst the French people whom he had loved so well."

. . . . . .

France to-day — beaten in the great contest for the supremacy in Europe, weak from loss of blood, drained by the tribute to Germany, faint-hearted from the loss of her sons, distracted by factions, given up to men whose highest idea of statesmanship is worrying priests, or winning barren triumphs against weak nations abroad — lies exhausted, and apparently nearly as helpless as she was in 1793. But by her side still hangs the sword on which are engraven the names of Rivoli, Jena, Friedland, and Austerlitz. The sons of the men who fought at Rosbach avenged that disaster at Jena and Auerstadt. The sons or the grandsons of the gallant men who died, outnumbered, round Metz may write fresh triumphs on that sword; and another and happier Bonaparte may restore to France her lost children, may obtain for a grateful and satisfied land her natural and rightful boundaries; and then, while "freedom crowns the edifice," may unite the

[1] Joseph and Jérôme were in time laid by his side.

glories of the first Empire with the eventual and permanent peace which the first Napoleon could not give his country.

As for Germany — and so with Italy, — it is strange to reflect how much she owes her present almost achieved unity to the work, for her and against her, of the first Napoleon. With the inherent impatience of a good workman with a bad machine, he had in 1803 forced her to discard much of her antique framework; and by his influence he facilitated the work of crushing the petty States, or rather holdings, which stood in the way of the formation of all national spirit. As for the so-called "glorious uprising of 1813," the first beginnings of that spirit (which only manifested itself when the Grand Army had disappeared in the snows of Russia) may be traced not only to the effect of his blows, but also to the result of his busy and all-embracing administration, which, as in Italy, and as with the English rule in our day in India, by bringing all under one yoke for subjection, taught the rival tribes to regard themselves as one nation for freedom.

Posterity will remember more of the great Emperor than his military glory. We may leave in the grave of Napoleon his many faults and sins. All that was bad and all that was vile in his nature is in no need of fresh historians: we have had enough and to spare of the seamy side of his life from the pens of those who ate his bread and flattered him in his time of power. But the present generation is too likely to ignore his good qualities. With him "despotism was a means, not an end." He sought power for no ignoble purposes. The contempt for sloth, lucre, disorder, and empty theories, the eye so quick to see the decisive point of any question, the power of mind and determination of brain which gave the world the Codes, the far-reaching ambition, the constant looking forward to the judgment of posterity, the noble sacrifice of the present for the future, — all these are qualities too rare for the world to afford to overlook.

Standing by the grave where the great Emperor sleeps, an Englishman may well ponder over a character alien to the English mind in its virtues as in its faults. England did not fear to face him when alive; the sneers of the courtier states-

men who found themselves and their petty policies swept by his strong hand forever from the scene, the shrieks of the vile revolutionary rabble on whom he set his heel, need not make Englishmen shrink now from doing him justice in his glorious grave.

APPENDIX.

The Will of Napoleon.

This 15*th of April*, 1821, *at Longwood, Island of St. Helena. This is my Testament, or Act of my last Will.*

1. I die in the Apostolical and Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born more than fifty years ago.

2. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom I have loved so well.[1]

3. I have always had reason to be pleased with my dearest wife, Maria Louisa. I retain for her, to my last moment, the most tender sentiments. I beseech her to watch, in order to preserve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy.

4. I recommend to my son never to forget that he was born a French Prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the nations of Europe: he ought never to fight against France, or to injure her in any manner; he ought to adopt my motto: — *Everything for the French people.*

5. I die prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy and its tool. The English nation will not be slow in avenging me.

6. The two unfortunate results of the invasions of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and Lafayette.[2] I forgive them. — May the posterity of France forgive them as I do!

7. I thank my good and most excellent mother, the Cardinal, my brothers Joseph, Lucien, Jérôme, Pauline, Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catherine, Eugène, for the interest they have continued to feel for

[1] This wish remained unfulfilled till 1840, when the Government of Louis Philippe brought back Napoleon's body and deposited it in the Invalides; see the last chapter of this volume.

[2] Marmont had destroyed all hopes of resistance in 1814 by taking over his corps to the enemy. Augereau had resisted the enemy in the south without any energy. Talleyrand had assumed the government in 1814, and had handed over all the foreign fortresses still held by France to the Allies. Lafayette in 1815 had stirred up the Chambers against the Emperor; see *Du Casse*, tome x. p. 234.

me.[1] I pardon Louis for the libel he published in 1820; it is replete with false assertions and falsified documents.

8. I disavow the *Manuscript of St. Helena*, and other works, under the title of *Maxims, Sayings*, etc., which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. Such are not the rules which have guided my life. I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honor of the French people, when the Comte d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances I should act in the same way.[2]

II.

1. I bequeath to my son the boxes, orders, and other articles, such as my plate, field-bed, arms, saddles, spurs, chapel-plate, books, linen which I have been accustomed to wear and use, according to the list annexed (A). It is my wish that this slight bequest may be dear to him, as recalling the memory of a father of whom the universe will discourse to him.

2. I bequeath to Lady Holland[3] the antique cameo which Pope Pius VI. gave me at Tolentino.

3. I bequeath to Count Montholon[4] two millions of francs, as a proof of my satisfaction for the filial attentions he has paid me during six years, and as an indemnity for the losses his residence at St. Helena has occasioned him.

4. I bequeath to Count Bertrand[5] five hundred thousand francs.

[1] "The Cardinal" was Fesch, half-brother of Napoleon's mother (by a second marriage of her mother). "Julie" was Julie Clary, the wife of Joseph Bonaparte. "Catharine" was the daughter of the King of Würtemberg and wife of Jérôme Bonaparte. The end of all these persons is given in the chapter of this work headed the "Cent Jours."

[2] This work, *Manuscrit Venu de Sainte Hélène d'une manière inconnue* (London, Murray; Bruxelles, De Mat, 1817), was really written by the Marquis Lullin de Chateauvieux (*Metternich*, vol. i. p. 312). See Savary (tome ii. pp. 377–378) as to the view that this statement about the Duc d'Enghien is not to be taken literally, but rather as a protest against the idea of any of Napoleon's functionaries daring such an act without his orders. His judgment might be deceived, but his power could not be trifled with.

[3] Lord and Lady Holland had been perseveringly kind in sending to St. Helena all that could alleviate the weariness of Napoleon's captivity.

[4] Count Montholon afterwards accompanied the nephew of Napoleon, Prince (afterwards the Emperor) Louis Napoleon, in his attempt on Boulogne in 1840. When tried the Count declared that he who had received the last sigh of the martyr of St. Helena, and who had closed his eyes, could not abandon his nephew; he was sentenced to twenty years' detention, but pardoned after the escape of the Prince. He only died in 1853, seeing Louis Napoleon Emperor of the French.

[5] General Comte Henri Gratien Bertrand, a distinguished engineer officer, had taken the post of Grand Maréchal du Palais when Duroc was killed in 1813. He accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena, and in 1840 was one of the

5. I bequeath to Marchand, my chief *valet de chambre*, four hundred thousand francs. The services he has rendered me are those of a friend; it is my wish that he should marry the widow, sister, or daughter of an officer or soldier of my Old Guard.

6. Item. To Saint-Denis one hundred thousand francs.

7. Item. To Novarre (Noverraz) one hundred thousand francs.

8. Item. To Peyron one hundred thousand francs.

9. Item. To Archambaud fifty thousand francs.

10. Item. To Corsor twenty-five thousand francs.

11. Item. To Chandell the same.[1]

12. To the Abbé Vignale[2] one hundred thousand francs. It is my wish that he should build his house near the Ponte Novo de Rostino.

13. Item. To Count Las Cases[3] one hundred thousand francs.

14. Item. To Count Lavallette[4] one hundred thousand francs.

15. Item. To Larrey,[5] surgeon-in-chief, one hundred thousand francs. He is the most virtuous man I have known.

Commission sent out by the French Government to bring back the body of Napoleon. His body now lies close to that of the master to whom he was alike faithful in good and bad fortune.

[1] Marchand, Saint-Denis, Novarre, Peyron, Archambaud, and Corsor had all accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena, and were sent in 1840 as part of the expedition to bring back the body of the Emperor to France. Chandell came out as cook with the Abbés and Antommarchi in 1820; see note at p. 219.

[2] The young Abbé Vignale had been sent out in 1820 by Cardinal Fesch with the Abbé Buonavita, who had returned to Europe in March, 1821. Vignale had performed the last rites for Napoleon.

[3] The Comte (Dieudonné) de Las Cases, originally a naval officer, had retired to England during the Revolution, where he composed his historical *Atlas*, under the name of "Le Sage" (*Mémorial*, tome iii. p. 279), but re-entered France during the Consulate and became one of the Chamberlains of Napoleon. He accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena, but was ordered away by Sir Hudson Lowe in 1816, when he himself was anxious to return to Europe, partly for the health of his son and partly to plead the cause of Napoleon. Arrived in Europe he tried to induce the Sovereigns of the Alliance to intervene in the treatment of Napoleon, but failed. He wrote the *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*, not to be confused with the *Manuscrit* mentioned in the note on p. 377. His son, Emmanuel, who was with him at St. Helena, was the Las Cases who accompanied the expedition to bring back the body in 1840.

[4] Lavallette had married a niece of Josephine, but the mention of him here is due to his condemnation by the Bourbons; see p. 297 of this volume.

[5] Baron Jean Dominique Larrey served as surgeon with Napoleon for many years, earning a high reputation with the army for his skill, courage, and devotion. This gift is due to the fact mentioned in the *Mémorial*, tome vi. pp. 371–374. Napoleon in 1813 became uneasy at the number of conscripts who were found after the battles injured in their hands, and who were believed to have maimed themselves purposely to avoid service. Larrey opposed this belief, and eventually, braving Napoleon's anger at his interference, proved that the injuries were caused by the inexperience of the men who, when in the rear ranks, fired against the hands of those in front, — a thing easy to do in the three and four deep formation of the French.

16. Item. To General Brayer[1] one hundred thousand francs.

17. Item. To General Lefebvre-Desnouettes[2] one hundred thousand francs.

18. Item. To General Drouot[3] one hundred thousand francs.

19. Item. To General Cambronne[4] one hundred thousand francs.

20. Item. To the children of General Mouton Duvernet[5] one hundred thousand francs.

21. Item. To the children of the brave Labédoyère[6] one hundred thousand francs.

22. Item. To the children of General Girard,[7] killed at Ligny, one hundred thousand francs.

23. Item. To the children of General Chartran[8] one hundred thousand francs.

[1] General Brayer, with General Travôt, had been employed in 1815 in putting down the Royalist insurrection in La Vendée, and was exempted from the amnesty. He was condemned to death on the 18th of September, 1816, but he had escaped abroad. See Vaulabelle's *Histoire des deux Restaurations*, tome iii. p. 3, and tome iv. p. 210.

[2] General Comte Charles Lefebvre-Desnouettes, with the Lallemands, had attempted an *émeute* before Napoleon reached Paris, and was exempted from the amnesty and condemned to death. After fighting at Waterloo he fled to America, helped to form the Champ d'Asile in Texas (see p. 286), and perished in 1822 in a shipwreck on his passage to England.

[3] Drouot had accompanied Napoleon to and from Elba, and after Waterloo was retained by Davoust with the army as his influence with the Guard was important to keep that body in subjection to the Bourbons. He was tried by the Bourbons on 6th April, 1816, but as he had never taken service under them three members out of seven of the Court acquitted him, and the charge thus, by French military law, dropped (*Vaulabelle*, tome iv. pp. 193–195). See Napoleon's remarks on him in the *Mémorial*, tome ii. p. 369 and tome iv. p. 309; also the note in Alison, chap. lxxv. para. 51, on Drouot's religious character. He took no further part in affairs. Lacordaire himself pronounced his funeral sermon.

[4] General Baron de Cambronne, a rough old soldier, was in the same position as Drouot, and was tried on 20th April, 1816, but the Court acquitted him (*Vaulabelle*, tome iv. pp. 195–197).

[5] General Baron Mouton Duvernet, a distinguished General of Division, exempted from the amnesty, after remaining a year in concealment gave himself up, and was tried on 15th July and shot at Lyons on 29th July, 1816 (*Vaulabelle*, tome iv. p. 207).

[6] Charles Huchet, Comte de Labédoyère, Colonel of the 7th Regiment, at garrison in Grenoble in 1815, brought his regiment over on the approach of Napoleon. He was tried on 14th August and shot on 19th August, 1815, his widow having to pay the men who shot him; see *Vaulabelle*, tome iii. pp. 455–466.

[7] Napoleon said to Girard's widow at Malmaison, "If all my generals had acted like the brave Girard I should not be here" (*Du Casse*, tome vii. p. 15).

[8] General Chartran had been sent by Napoleon, when he returned from Elba, to the south, where he stopped the efforts of De Vitrolles to form a Royalist Government and centre of resistance, and escorted Vitrolles to Vincennes; see *Vitrolles*, tome ii. pp. 407, 435. Although not exempted from the amnesty he was tried at Lille on 9th May and shot there on 22d May, 1816 (*Vaulabelle*, tome iv. p. 199). It is strange that he should have been then in France, as when Napoleon was at Malmaison Chartran had gone to him to get funds for leaving France; see *Vaulabelle*, tome iii. p. 160.

24. Item. To the children of the virtuous General Travôt[1] one hundred thousand francs.

25. Item. To General Lallemand, the elder,[2] one hundred thousand francs.

26. Item. To Count Réal [3] one hundred thousand francs.

27. Item. To Costa de Bastilica,[4] in Corsica, one hundred thousand francs.

28. Item. To General Clausel [5] one hundred thousand francs.

29. Item. To Baron de Meneval [6] one hundred thousand francs.

[1] General Travôt had been employed in 1815 in putting down the insurrection in La Vendée, as he had been also in the earlier insurrections there. His name did not appear in any of the exemptions from the amnesties; indeed he practically had the protection of three amnesties. But just before the publication of the last amnesty, covering the cases of those against whom no suit had been begun, Clarke, the Minister of War, telegraphed, using the old signal posts (or telephores), to begin immediately a suit against Travôt. The former Royalist Vendéean officers were now in the ascendant, and one of them, Canuel, who in the days of the Republic had fought in the ranks of the "Bleus" against the Vendéeans, and in 1815 in the Vendéean ranks against Travôt, was now appointed President of the Court which tried Travôt on 18th March and on 20th March condemned him to death, after which Canuel commenced an attack on the lawyers who had defended his victim. Travôt owed his life to the population of Rennes, who threatened to rescue him: only a weak military force was available, so, at sixty years of age, his sentence was reduced to twenty years' imprisonment. He became insane; see *Vaulabelle*, tome iv. pp. 189–212.

[2] General Baron Charles François Antoine Lallemand (with his brother, General Baron Henri Dominique Lallemand, and Lefebvre-Desnouettes) had attempted a military *émeute* before Napoleon reached Paris. He accompanied Napoleon to Plymouth, but not being allowed to go to St. Helena he fled to America, and formed the Champ d'Asile in Texas; see p. 286. He eventually returned, and was made a peer by Louis Philippe.

[3] Comte Pierre François Réal, employed under the Empire in the higher police functions. His non-receipt of Napoleon's order to go to Vincennes was one of the causes of the death of the Duc d'Enghien. He was Préfet of Police during the *Cent Jours*, but fled. He was exiled by the Bourbons, but eventually returned to France.

[4] Costa de Bastilica had protected the flight of Napoleon's mother and family on 23d May, 1793, when their house was burnt by the partisans of Paoli, — an event which brought all the Bonapartes permanently to France (Iung's *Bonaparte*, tome ii. p. 262). Truly, as his bitter critic has it, Napoleon had a memory.

[5] General Comte Bertrand Clausel would have been made a Marshal by Napoleon had it not been for the disasters of 1814. Clausel in 1813 commanded the Army of the North in Spain when his conduct, blamed by Joseph, was approved by Napoleon; see *Du Casse*, tome ix. In 1815 he forced the Duchesse d'Angoulême to abandon Bordeaux. He was sentenced to death on 11th September, 1816 (*Vaulabelle*, tome iv. p. 210), but the sentence was remitted by the interposition of the Duchess d'Angoulême (Lacretelle, *Histoire de France depuis la Restauration*, tome ii. p. 18). Clausel had, however, got to America. He commanded in Algeria under Louis Philippe in 1830, and from 1835 to 1837. He was made Marshal in 1831.

[6] Meneval, the successor of Bourrienne as Secretary to Napoleon from 1802 to 1812, when he became Chief Secretary to Maria Louisa. He accompanied the Empress to Austria, but was allowed to rejoin Napoleon in 1815.

30. Item. To Arnault,[1] the author of *Marius*, one hundred thousand francs.

31. Item. To Colonel Marbot one hundred thousand francs. I recommend him to continue to write in defence of the glory of the French armies, and to confound their calumniators and the apostates.

32. Item. To Baron Bignon[2] one hundred thousand francs. I recommend him to write the history of French diplomacy from 1792 to 1815.

33. Item. To Poggi de Talaro one hundred thousand francs.

34. Item. To Surgeon Emmery one hundred thousand francs.

35. These sums will be raised from the six millions which I deposited on leaving Paris in 1815, and from the interest at the rate of 5 per cent since July, 1815. The account thereof will be settled with the banker by Counts Montholon, and Bertrand, and Marchand.

36. Whatever that deposit may produce beyond the sum of five millions six hundred thousand francs which have been above disposed of, shall be distributed as a gratuity amongst the wounded at the battle of Waterloo, and amongst the officers and soldiers of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, according to a scale to be determined upon by Montholon, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambronne, and the surgeon Larrey.

37. These legacies, in case of death, shall be paid to the widows and children; and in default of such, shall revert to the bulk of my property.

III.

1. My private domain being my property, of which I am not aware that any French law has deprived me, an account of it will be required from the Baron de la Bouillerie, the treasurer thereof: it ought to amount to more than two hundred millions of francs: — namely, 1. The portfolio, containing the savings which I made during fourteen years out of my civil list, which savings amounted

[1] Antoine Vincent Arnault, author of several tragedies, at one time an *émigré*, accompanied Napoleon to Egypt, and was made member of the Institute. He sat in the Chamber of Representatives during the *Cent Jours*. On the second Restoration he was exiled, and was deprived of his Chair on the purgation of the Institute by Vaublanc, the Minister of the Interior under Richelieu's Ministry. He happily apologized for his bitter epigrams by comparing himself to a flint. "If sparks fly from me, the fault is not mine, but that of the striker." See Merlet's *Tableau de la Littérature Française*, 1800–1815 (Paris, Didier, 1883), tome i. p. 414. He is described as wishing to praise Napoleon only after his fall. He lived to regain his Chair.

[2] Baron Louis Pierre Edouard Bignon, long engaged in the Emperor's diplomatic service, and who was Under-Secretary of State during the *Cent Jours*. He signed the capitulation of Paris in 1815, as in temporary charge of the Foreign Office. He commenced this contemplated history, in which he would have been assisted by Maret, Duc de Bassano (see Ernouf's *Life of Maret*, p. 194), but he died in 1841, leaving it incomplete.

to more than twelve millions per annum: my memory is good. 2. The produce of this portfolio. 3. The furniture of my palaces, such as it was in 1814, including the palaces of Rome, Florence, and Turin. All this furniture was purchased with moneys accruing from the civil list. 4. The proceeds of my houses in the kingdom of Italy, such as money, plate, jewels, furniture, equipages; the accounts of which will be rendered by Prince Eugène and the intendant of the crown, Compagnoni. NAPOLEON.

2. I bequeath my private domain, one-half to the surviving officers and soldiers of the French army who have fought since 1792 to 1815 for the glory and the independence of the nation, the distribution to be made in proportion to their appointments upon active service, and one-half to the towns and districts of Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Burgundy, the Isle of France, Champagne, Forez, Dauphiné, which may have suffered by either of the invasions. There shall be previously set apart from this sum one million for the town of Brienne, and one million for that of Méry.

I appoint Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and Marchand, the executors of my Will.

This present Will, wholly written with my own hand, is signed and sealed with my own arms.

(L.S.) NAPOLEON.

List (A).

Annexed to my Will.

I.

1. The consecrated vessels which have been in use at my chapel at Longwood.

2. I direct Abbé Vignale to preserve them, and to deliver them to my son when he shall reach the age of sixteen years.

II.

1. My arms; that is to say, my sword, that which I wore at Austerlitz, the sabre of Sobieski, my dagger, my sword, my hunting-knife, my two pairs of Versailles pistols.

2. My gold dressing-case, that which I made use of on the morning of Ulm and of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Eylau, of Friedland, of the Island of Lobau, of the Moskwa, of Montmirail. In this point of view it is my wish that it may be precious in the eyes of my son. (It has been deposited with Count Bertrand since 1814.)

3. I charge Count Bertrand with the care of preserving these objects, and of conveying them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

III.

1. Three small mahogany boxes, containing, the first, thirty-three snuff-boxes or *bonbonnières;* the second, twelve boxes with the imperial arms, two small eye-telescopes, and four boxes found on the table of Louis XVIII. in the Tuileries on the 20th of March, 1815; the third, three snuff-boxes, ornamented with silver medals habitually used by the Emperor, and sundry articles for the use of the toilet, according to the list numbered I. II. III.

2. My field-bed, which I used in all my campaigns.

3. My field-telescope.

4. My dressing-case, one of each of my uniforms, a dozen of shirts, and a complete set of each of my dresses, and generally of everything used in my toilet.

5. My wash-hand-stand.

6. A small clock which is in my bedchamber at Longwood.

7. My two watches, and the chain of the Empress's hair.

8. I intrust the care of these articles to Marchand, my principal *valet de chambre*, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

IV.

1. My cabinet of medals.

2. My plate and my Sèvres china, which I used at St. Helena. (Lists B and C.)

3. I request Count Montholon to take care of these articles, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

V.

1. My three saddles and bridles, my spurs which I used at St. Helena.

2. My fowling-pieces, to the number of five.

3. I charge my *chasseur*, Novarre, with the care of these articles, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

VI.

1. Four hundred volumes, selected from those in my library which I have been accustomed to use the most.

2. I direct Saint-Denis to take care of them, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

NAPOLEON.

VII.

1. None of the articles which have been used by me shall be sold; the residue shall be divided amongst the executors of my Will and my brothers.

2. Marchand shall preserve my hair, and cause a bracelet to be made of it, with a little gold clasp, to be sent to the Empress Maria Louisa, to my mother, and to each of my brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, the Cardinal, and one of larger size for my son.

3. Marchand will send one pair of my gold shoe-buckles to Prince Joseph.

4. A small pair of gold knee-buckles to Prince Lucien.

5. A gold collar-clasp to Prince Jérôme.

Inventory of my Effects which Marchand will take care of and convey to my son.

1. My silver dressing-case, that which is on my table, furnished with all its utensils, razors, etc.

2. My alarm-clock: it is the alarm-clock of Frederick II., which I took at Potsdam. (In box No. III.)

3. My two watches, with the chains of the Empress's hair, and a chain of my own hair for the other watch: Marchand will get it made at Paris.

4. My two seals (one the seal of France, contained in box No. III.).

5. The small gold clock which is now in my bedchamber.

6. My wash-hand-stand, its water-jug, foot-bath, etc.

7. My night-tables, those I used in France, and my silver-gilt bidet.

8. My two iron bedsteads, my mattresses, and my coverlets, if they can be preserved.

9. My three silver flasks, which held my *eau de vie*, and which my *chasseurs* carried in the field.

10. My French telescope.

11. My spurs, two pairs.

12. Three mahogany boxes, Nos. I. II. III., containing my snuff-boxes and other articles.

13. A silver-gilt perfuming-pan.

Body Linen.

Six shirts. Six handkerchiefs. Six cravats. Six napkins. Six pairs of silk stockings. Four black stocks. Six pairs of under-stockings. Two pairs of cambric sheets. Two pillow-cases. Two dressing-gowns. Two pairs of night-drawers. One pair of braces. Four pairs of white kerseymere breeches and vests. Six Madras handkerchiefs. Six flannel waistcoats. Four pairs of drawers. Six pairs of gloves. One small box filled with my snuff.

One gold neck-buckle, one pair gold knee-buckles, one pair gold shoe-buckles, contained in the little box No. III.

Clothes.

One uniform of the Chasseurs. One uniform of the Grenadiers. One uniform of the National Guard. One green and gray great-coat. One blue cloak (that which I had at Marengo). One sable-green pelisse. Two pairs of shoes. Two pairs of boots. One pair of slippers. Six belts.

Inventory of the Effects which I left in the possession of Monsieur le Comte de Turenne.[1]

The sabre of Sobiesky. [It is, by mistake, inserted in list (A), that being the sabre which the Emperor wore at Aboukir, and which is in the hands of Count Bertrand.]

The Grand Collar of the Legion of Honor.

One sword of silver-gilt.

One Consular sword.

One sword of iron.

One velvet belt.

The Collar of the Golden Fleece.

One small dressing-case of steel.

One night-lamp of silver.

One handle of an antique sabre.

One hat *à la* Henri IV., and a *toque*.[2] The lace of the Emperor.

One small cabinet of medals.

Two Turkey carpets.

Two mantles of crimson velvet, embroidered, with vests, and small-clothes.

[1] Grand-Maître de la Garde Robe.

[2] A velvet hat, with a flat crown, and brims turned up.

1. I give to my son the sabre of Sobiesky.
Do. the Collar of the Legion of Honor.
Do. the silver-gilt sword.
Do. the Consular sword.
Do. the iron sword.
Do. the Collar of the Golden Fleece.
Do. the hat *à la* Henry IV., and the *toque*.
Do. the golden dressing-case for the teeth which is in the hands of the dentist.

2. To the Empress Maria Louisa my lace.
To Madame the silver night-lamp.
To the Cardinal the small steel dressing-case.
To Prince Eugène the wax-candlestick, silver gilt.
To the Princess Pauline the small cabinet of medals.
To the Queen of Naples a small Turkey carpet.
To the Queen Hortense a small Turkey carpet.
To Prince Jérôme the handle of the antique sabre.
To Prince Joseph an embroidered mantle, vest, and small-clothes.
To Prince Lucien an embroidered mantle, vest, and small-clothes.

NAPOLEON.

16*th April*, 1821, LONGWOOD.

This is a Codicil to my Will.

1. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom I loved so well.

2. I bequeath to Counts Bertrand, Montholon, and to Marchand, the money, jewels, plate, china, furniture, books, arms, and generally everything that belongs to me in the Island of St. Helena.

This Codicil, entirely written with my own hand, is signed and sealed with my own arms. (L.S.) NAPOLEON.[1]

This 24*th of April*, 1821, LONGWOOD.

This is my Codicil, or Note of my last Will.

Out of the settlement of my civil list of Italy, such as money, jewels, plate, linen, equipages, of which the Viceroy is the depositary,

[1] In the *Réfutation de la Relation du Capitaine Maitland*, by Barthe (Bruxelles, De Mat, 1828), p. 95 (*Mémorial*, tome ix.), there is a note to this Codicil, saying that it is often omitted in copies of the Will, as it appears to be only a repetition. "The Will was the real and secret document intrusted to the care of the testamentary executors. This Codicil was the fictitious and apparent document which, when presented to Sir Hudson Lowe, left the executors in full liberty to carry out their instructions. Without this necessary precaution the Governor would not have failed to place seals on all which belonged to Napoleon, and would have transmitted it to Europe to his Government.

BESSIÈRES.

DUC D'ISTRIE.

and which belonged to me, I dispose of two millions, which I bequeath to my most faithful servants. I hope that, without availing himself of any reason to the contrary, my son, Eugène Napoleon,[1] will pay them faithfully. He cannot forget the forty millions which I gave him in Italy, and in the distribution of the inheritance of his mother.

1. Out of these two millions I bequeath to Count Bertrand five hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be applied according to my dispositions in payment of legacies of conscience.

2. To Count Montholon two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

3. To Count Las Cases two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

4. To Marchand one hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit fifty thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

5. To Count Lavallette one hundred thousand francs.

6. To General Hogendorf, of Holland, my *aide de camp*, who has retired to the Brazils, fifty thousand francs.

7. To my *aide de camp*, Corbinau, fifty thousand francs.

8. To my *aide de camp*, Caffarelli, fifty thousand francs.

9. To my *aide de camp*, Dejean, fifty thousand francs.

10. To Percy, surgeon-in-chief at Waterloo, fifty thousand francs.

11. Fifty thousand francs, that is to say:

Ten thousand to Peyron, my *maître d'hôtel*.

Ten thousand to Saint-Denis, my head *chasseur*.

Ten thousand to Novarre.

Ten thousand to Corsor, my clerk of the kitchen.

Ten thousand to Archambaud, my *piqueur*.

12. To Baron de Meneval fifty thousand francs.

13. To the Duke of Istria, son of Bessières, fifty thousand francs.

14. To the daughter of Duroc fifty thousand francs.

15. To the children of Labédoyère fifty thousand francs.

16. To the children of Mouton Duvernet fifty thousand francs.

17. To the children of the brave and virtuous General Travôt fifty thousand francs.

18. To the children of Chartran fifty thousand francs.

19. To General Cambronne fifty thousand francs.

[1] Napoleon had adopted Eugène Beauharnais, the son of Josephine.

20. To General Lefebvre-Desnouettes fifty thousand francs.

21. To be distributed amongst such proscribed persons as wander in foreign countries, whether they be French, Italians, Belgians, Dutch, Spanish, or inhabitants of the departments of the Rhine, under the directions of my executors, one hundred thousand francs.

22. To be distributed amongst those who suffered amputation, or were severely wounded at Ligny or Waterloo, who may be still living, according to lists drawn up by my executors to whom shall be added Cambronne, Larrey, Percy, and Emmery. The Guards shall be paid double, those of the Island of Elba quadruple, two hundred thousand francs.

This Codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

[On the back was written:]

This is my Codicil, or Act of my last Will, the exact execution of which I recommend to my son, Eugène Napoleon. It is all written by myself.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821, AT LONGWOOD.

This is a third Codicil to my Will of the 15th of April.

1. Amongst the diamonds of the crown which were delivered up in 1814 there were some to the value of fifty million livres not belonging to it, but which formed part of my private property; repossession shall be obtained of them in order to discharge my legacies.

2. I had in the hands of the banker Torlonia, at Rome, bills of exchange to the amount of two or three hundred thousand livres, in bills of exchange, the product of my revenues of the Island of Elba since 1815. The Sieur de la Peyrusse,[1] although no longer my treasurer, and not invested with any such office, possessed himself of this sum. He shall be compelled to refund it.

3. I bequeath to the Duke of Istria[2] three hundred thousand francs, of which only one hundred thousand francs shall be reversible to his widow, should the Duke be dead before payment of the legacy. It is my wish, should there be no inconvenience in it, that the Duke may marry Duroc's daughter.

[1] Baron Peyrusse had been treasurer to Napoleon at Elba. In 1829 General Bertrand, with the other executors of this Will, certified that Peyrusse had properly accounted for the funds in question, and that this paragraph had been dictated in ignorance of the facts of the case; see *Meneval*, tome ii. p. 95.

[2] This refers to the son of Marshal Bessières; the Marshal had been killed in 1813; his son married a daughter of Joseph, Comte de Lagrange.

4. I bequeath to the Duchess of Frioul, the daughter of Duroc,[1] two hundred thousand francs: should she be dead before the payment of this legacy none of it shall be given to the mother.

5. I bequeath to General Rigaud[2] (to him who was proscribed) one hundred thousand francs.

6. I bequeath to Boisnod, the Intendant-Commissary, one hundred thousand francs.

7. I bequeath to the children of General Letort,[3] who was killed in the campaign of 1815, one hundred thousand francs.

8. These eight hundred thousand francs of legacies shall be considered as inserted at the end of article thirty-six of my Testament, which will make the legacies I have disposed of by Will amount to the sum of six millions four hundred thousand francs, without including the donations I have made by my second Codicil.

This is written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms. (L.S.) NAPOLEON.

[On the outside, nearly in the centre, is written:]

This is my third Codicil to my Will, entirely written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

[The words are intermixed with the signatures of Bertrand, Montholon, Marchand, and Vignale, with their respective seals; and a piece of green silk runs through the centre. On the upper left corner are the following directions:]

To be opened the same day, and immediately after the opening of my Will. NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821, LONGWOOD.

This is a fourth Codicil to my Testament.

By the dispositions we have heretofore made we have not fulfilled all our obligations, which has decided us to make this fourth Codicil.

1. We bequeath to the son or grandson of Baron Dutheil, Lieutenant-General of Artillery, and formerly Lord of St. André, who

[1] Duroc, the Grand Maréchal du Palais, had been killed in 1813. His widow, a daughter of the Spanish banker and Minister, Hervas d'Almenara, after Duroc's death married a M. Fabvier. The Duchy was given by Napoleon to Duroc's daughter.

[2] General Rigaud had been tried at Paris and sentenced to be shot on 16th May, 1816, but had escaped abroad (*Vaulabelle*, tome iv. p. 210).

[3] General Letort, who was mortally wounded on 15th June, 1815, when ordered by the Emperor to charge the Prussians with his escort, some squadrons of cavalry of the Guard. "No officer," said Napoleon, "possessed in a higher degree the art of leading a charge and communicating an electric spark to men and horses. At his voice and example the most timid became the most intrepid" (Auvergne's *Waterloo*, p. 69).

commanded the school of Auxonne before the Revolution, the sum of one hundred thousand francs, as a memento of gratitude for the care which that brave General took of us when we were lieutenant and captain under his orders.[1]

2. Item. To the son or grandson of General Dugomier, who commanded in chief the army of Toulon, the sum of one hundred thousand francs. We, under his orders, directed that siege, and commanded the artillery; it is a testimonial of remembrance for the marks of esteem, affection, and friendship which that brave and intrepid General gave us.[2]

3. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the son or grandson of the deputy of the Convention, Gasparin, representative of the people to the army of Toulon, for having protected and sanctioned with his authority the plan we had given, which procured the capture of that city, and which was contrary to that sent by the Committee of Public Safety. Gasparin, by his protection, sheltered us from the persecution and ignorance of the staff officers who commanded the army before the arrival of my friend Dugomier.[3]

4. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the widow, son, or grandson of our *aide de camp*, Muiron, killed at our side at Arcola, covering us with his body.

5. Item. Ten thousand francs to the subaltern officer, Cantillon who has undergone a trial upon a charge of having endeavored to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that *oligarchist* as the latter had to send me to perish upon the rock of St. Helena. Wellington, who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify it by pleading the interest of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he had really assassinated

[1] The Baron Dutheil or Duteil commanded the School of Artillery at Auxonne when Lieutenant Bonaparte rejoined his regiment there in May, 1788. General Duteil was at Nice when Bonaparte, then Captain of Artillery, joined there in June, 1793, and he had the young Captain attached to one of the companies of artillery.

[2] General Jean Francis Coquille Dugomier, highly praised by Napoleon, was nominated by the influence of the two Robespierres and of Barras to supersede Carteaux (or rather nominally Doppet) in the attack of Toulon in 1793. After his arrival the siege rapidly progressed. He was killed in 1794, while in command of the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees.

[3] Gasparin and Salicetti, the two representatives of the Assembly with Carteaux' army when it attacked Toulon, nominated Bonaparte to succeed the head of the artillery, Donmartin, wounded on the 7th of September, 1793. Gasparin was much taken with Bonaparte, and patronized him and his family, then in distress in France. Gasparin, writing to Salicetti on 30th September, 1793, says, "Bonna Parte [*sic*], the only captain fit to plan operations, has already too much work in the management of all details of the artillery" (Iung's *Bonaparte*, tome ii. pp. 380–386). Napoleon at St. Helena said that Gasparin got his plan for taking Toulon adopted, and opened his career (*Mémorial*, tome i. pp. 164–166).

that lord, would have pleaded the same excuse, and been justified by the same motive — the interest of France — to get rid of this General, who, moreover, by violating the capitulation of Paris, had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs, Ney, Labédoyère, etc., and for the crime of having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties.[1]

6. These four hundred and ten thousand francs shall be added to the six million four hundred thousand of which we have disposed, and will make our legacies amount to six million eight hundred and ten thousand francs; these four hundred and ten thousand are to be considered as forming part of our Testament, article thirty-six, and to follow in every respect the same course as the other legacies.

7. The nine thousand livres sterling which we gave to Count and Countess Montholon should, if they have been paid, be deducted and carried to the account of the legacies which we have given him by our Testament. If they have not been paid, our notes of hand shall be annulled.

8. In consideration of the legacy given by our Will to Count Montholon, the pension of twenty thousand francs granted to his wife is annulled. Count Montholon is charged with the payment of it to her.

9. The administration of such an inheritance, until its final liquidation, requiring expenses of offices, journeys, missions, consultations, and lawsuits, we allow that our testamentary executors retain three per cent upon all the legacies, as well upon the six million eight hundred thousand francs as upon the sums contained in the Codicils, and upon the two hundred million francs of the private domain.

10. The amount of the sums thus retained shall be deposited in the hands of a treasurer, and disbursed by drafts from our testamentary executors.

11. Should the sums arising from the aforesaid deductions not be sufficient to defray the expenses, provision shall be made to that effect at the expense of the three testamentary executors and the treasurer, each in proportion to the legacy which we had bequeathed to them in our Will and Codicils.

[1] On the 11th of February, 1818, a pistol-shot was fired at the Duke of Wellington as he entered his hôtel at Paris. A retired officer, Cantillon, or Catillon, and a M. Marinet, *avocat au conseil d'État* (already under the sentence of the law), were tried for this but acquitted (*Lacretelle*, tome ii. p. 238). This item of the Will must be taken as dictated merely by irritation produced by ill health and confinement, as it is at complete variance with Napoleon's ordinary sentiments and actions. We have it on the authority of Henry Greville (Second Series, p. 216) that the legacy to Cantillon was paid by Louis Napoleon in 1855.

12. Should the sums arising from the before-mentioned subtractions be more than necessary, the surplus shall be divided amongst our three testamentary executors and the treasurer, in the proportion of their respective legacies.

13. We nominate Count Las Cases, and in default of him his son, and in default of the latter General Drouot, to be treasurer.

This present Codicil is entirely written with our hand, signed, and sealed with our arms. NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821. LONGWOOD.

This is my Codicil, or Act of my last Will.

Upon the funds remitted in gold to the Empress Maria Louisa, my very dear and well-beloved spouse, at Orleans, in 1814, she remains in my debt two millions, of which I dispose by the present codicil, for the purpose of recompensing my most faithful servants, whom moreover I recommend to the protection of my dear Maria Louisa

1. I recommend to the Empress to cause the income of thirty thousand francs which Count Bertrand possessed in the Duchy of Parma, and upon the Mont-Napoléon at Milan, to be restored to him, as well as the arrears due.

2. I make the same recommendation to her with regard to the Duke of Istria, Duroc's daughter, and others of my servants who have continued faithful to me, and who have never ceased to be dear to me: she knows them.

3. Out of the above mentioned two millions I bequeath three hundred thousand francs to Count Bertrand, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be employed in legacies of conscience, according to my dispositions.

4. I bequeath two hundred thousand francs to Count Montholon, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

5. Item. Two hundred thousand francs to Count Las Cases, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

6. Item. To Marchand one hundred thousand francs, of which he will place fifty thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

7. To Jean Jérôme Lewie,[1] the Mayor of Ajaccio at the commencement of the Revolution, or to his widow, children, or grandchildren, one hundred thousand francs.

8. To Duroc's daughter one hundred thousand francs.

[1] Jean Jérôme Lewie or Levie, a connection of the Bonapartes, installed by their party as Mayor of Ajaccio, in 1789; see Iung's *Bonaparte*, tome i. p. 238.

9. To the son of Bessières, Duke of Istria, one hundred thousand francs.

10. To General Drouot one hundred thousand francs.

11. To Count Lavallette one hundred thousand francs.

12. Item. One hundred thousand francs; that is to say:
Twenty-five thousand to Peyron, my *maître d'hôtel*.
Twenty-five thousand to Novarre, my *chasseur*.
Twenty-five thousand to Saint-Denis, the keeper of my accounts.
Twenty-five thousand to Santini,[1] my former usher.

13. Item. One hundred thousand francs; that is to say:
Forty thousand to Planat,[2] my orderly officer.
Twenty thousand to Hébert, lately *concierge* of Rambouillet, and who belonged to my chamber in Egypt.
Twenty thousand to Lavigne, who was lately *concierge* of one of my stables, and who was my *piqueur* in Egypt.
Twenty thousand to Jeanet Dervieux, who was overseer of the stables, and served me in Egypt.

14. Two hundred thousand francs shall be distributed in alms to the inhabitants of Brienne-le-Château who have suffered most.

15. The three hundred thousand francs remaining shall be distributed to the officers and soldiers of the battalion of my guard at the Island of Elba who may be now alive, or to their widows and children, in proportion to their appointments, and according to an estimate which shall be fixed by my testamentary executors; those who have suffered amputation, or have been severely wounded, shall receive double; the estimate to be fixed by Larrey and Emmery.

This Codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms. NAPOLEON.

[On the back of the Codicil is written:]

This is my Codicil, or Act of my last Will, the execution of which I recommend to my dearest wife, the Empress Maria Louisa.

(L.S.) NAPOLEON.

[Attested by the following witnesses, whose seals are respectively affixed:]

MONTHOLON
BERTRAND
MARCHAND
VIGNALE
} Attached to a piece of green silk.

[1] For the later adventures of Santini see the *Mémorial*, tome viii. p. 104.

[2] Planat, who had accompanied Napoleon to the *Bellerophon*, but who had been left at Plymouth, had suffered much distress until relieved by Jérôme. He had, too late, received permission to go out to St Helena; see the *Mémorial*, tome viii. pp. 348, 392.

Letter to M. Lafitte.

Monsieur Lafitte, I remitted to you in 1815, at the moment of my departure from Paris, a sum of near six millions, for which you have given me a receipt in duplicate. I have cancelled one of the receipts, and I charge Count Montholon to present you with the other receipt, in order that you may pay to him, after my death, the said sum, with interest at the rate of five per cent, from the first of July, 1815, deducting the payments which you have been instructed to make by virtue of my orders.

It is my wish that the settlement of your account may be agreed upon between you, Count Montholon, Count Bertrand, and the Sieur Marchand; and this settlement being made, I give you, by these presents, a complete and absolute discharge from the said sum.

I also, at that time, placed in your hands a box containing my cabinet of medals. I beg you will give it to Count Montholon.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur Lafitte, to have you in His holy and good keeping. NAPOLEON.

LONGWOOD, ISLAND OF ST. HELENA.
The 25th of April, 1821.

Letter to M. Labouillerie.

Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, treasurer of my private domain, I beg you to deliver the account and the balance, after my death, to Count Montholon, whom I have charged with the execution of my Will.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, to have you in His holy and good keeping.

NAPOLEON.[1]

[1] For the Will of Napoleon see *Réfutation* by Barthe, pp. 80–108, and *Norvins*, pp. 721–732. The legacies in the Will were not fully paid until by Napoleon III. in 1855.

EXPENSES INCURRED BY NAPOLEON I. ON ACCOUNT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

The following official tables, believed at the time to be fairly correct, will convey some notion of the outlay during the power of Napoleon — from 1804 to 1813, after which time the whole energies of France were concentrated in repelling the invader — for great public works, most of which remain at the present day, an eloquent tribute to the judgment and industry of their originator.

I. — UPON ROADS.

Names of Roads.	Estimated expense of the whole.	Sums spent upon them between 1804 and 1813.
	frs.	frs.
Mont Cenis	16,000,000	13,500,000
The Simplon	9,200,000	6,100,000
La Corniche	15,500,000	6,500,000
Mont Genevre	5,400,000	2,800,000
Fenestrelle	1,800,000	800,000
Lantaret	3,500,000	1,800,000
From Alessandria to Savona	4,000,000	2,600,000
From Ceva to Port Maurice	2,600,000	560,000
From Genoa to Alessandria, by Garvi	1,800,000	150,000
From Piacenza to Genoa	5,500,000	300,000
From Parma to La Spezzia	3,700,000	2,000,000
From Paris to Madrid, by Bayonne	8,000,000	4,200,000
From Paris to Amsterdam	6,300,000	4,300,000
From Paris to Hamburg	9,800,000	6,000,000
From Maestricht to Venloo	2,100,000	1,960,000
From Paris to Mayence	5,000,000	5,000,000
From Tournus to Chambery	4,000,000	100,000
	104,200,000	58,670,000
Different Roads in the Departments	...	218,814,549
Total outlay		277,484,549

II. — UPON BRIDGES.[1]

Names of Bridges.	Estimated expense of the whole.	Sums spent upon them between 1804 and 1813.
	frs.	frs.
Bridge of Vercelli	560,000	530,000
Bridge of the Scrivia	300,000	300,000
Bridge of Tours	3,000,000	3,000,000
Bridge of Tilsit at Lyons	3,000,000	3,000,000
Bridge of the Isere and others on that route	4,000,000	4,000,000
Bridge over the Durance	1,500,000	1,500,000
Bridge over the Po at Turin	3,500,000	1,850,000
Bridge over the Dora	1,100,000	820,000
Bridge of Bordeaux	6,000,000	1,000,000
Bridge and Quays at Rouen	5,000,000	800,000
Bridge of Rouanne	2,400,000	1,500,000
Bridge of Serin and Arsenal at Lyons	1,000,000	300,000
Bridge of Avignon	1,200,000	600,000
Bridge of Givet	700,000	500,000
Bridge of the Vey	1,500,000	500,000
Bridge of Arves	350,000	200,000
Bridges of Laune, Moisac, Agen, etc.	7,000,000	700,000
Bridge of Sevres	2,000,000	800,000
Bridge of St. Cloud	800,000	775,000
	44,910,000	22,675,000
Spent on different Bridges since 1804	...	7,930,000
Total outlay		30,605,000

[1] See also Table IV.

III. — UPON CANALS AND RECLAMATIONS.[1]

Names of Canals, Etc.	Estimated expense of the whole.	Sums spent between 1804 and 1813.
	frs.	frs.
Upon Canals —		
St. Quentin	11,000,000	10,000,000
La Somme	5,000,000	1,200,000
La Haine (Mons à Condé)	5,000,000	3,000,000
Seine and Aube	15,000,000	6,000,000
Napoleon	17,000,000	10,500,000
Bourgogne	24,000,000	6,800,000
Ille and Rance	8,000,000	5,600,000
The Blavet	3,300,000	2,800,000
Nantes to Brest	28,000,000	1,200,000
Niort	9,000,000	1,500,000
Arles and Port de Bouc	8,500,000	3,800,000
The Cher	6,000,000	1,100,000
Dieuze	3,500,000	900,000
The Colancelle	2,000,000	900,000
Draining, and Works to recover Bogs and Swamped Lands at —		
Rochefort	7,000,000	3,000,000
Carenton	4,500,000	2,600,000
The Scheldt	3,200,000	2,800,000
Blankemberg	3,000,000	3,000,000
Dikes of the River Po	1,000,000	800,000
Works at Péraché, on the Saône, etc.	4,000,000	2,000,000
	168,000,000	68,000,000
Minor Works for Canals, Draining, etc.	...	53,687,898
Total outlay		122,587,898

IV. — UPON PUBLIC WORKS AT PARIS.

Public Works.	Estimated expense of the whole.	Sums spent between 1804 and 1813.
	frs.	frs.
Canal of L'Ouicq	38,000,000	19,500,000
Abattoirs (Slaughter-houses)	18,500,000	6,700,000
Market and Cellars for Wine	12,000,000	4,000,000
Market and Cellars for Corn	800,000	750,000
The Great Market (Grande Halle)	12,000,000	2,600,000
Market-places	8,500,000	4,000,000
Granaries "of reserve"	8,000,000	2,300,000
Mills and Magazines of St. Maur	8,000,000	1,060,000
The Bridge of Austerlitz	3,000,000	3,000,000
The Bridge of Arts	900,000	900,000
The Bridge of Jena	6,200,000	4,800,000
Quays on the Seine	15,000,000	11,000,000
Schools (*Lycées*)	5,000,000	500,000
Church of St. Geneviève	2,500,000	2,000,000
Church of St. Denis	2,500,000	2,200,000
Outlay on Archbishop's Palace, etc.	2,500,000	2,500,000
Office of Foreign Affairs	6,000,000	1,000,000
Post-Office (afterwards Treasury)	6,000,000	1,800,000
Record and Archive Office	20,000,000	1,000,000
Temple of Glory (Church of the Magdalen)	8,000,000	2,000,000
Palace for the Corps Législatif	3,000,000	3,000,000
The Column in the Place Vendôme	1,500,000	1,500,000
The Obelisk of Pont Neuf	5,300,000	1,200,000
Triumphal Arch de l'Étoile	9,000,000	4,500,000
Statues on the Bridges and Squares	1,500,000	600,000
Square of the Bastile	1,200,000	600,000
Opening of New Streets and Squares	4,000,000	4,000,000
Botanical Garden (Jardin des Plants)	3,000,000	800,000
Exchange (Bourse)	6,000,000	2,500,000
	212,900,000	92,250,000
Various works not designated	...	10,171,000
Total outlay		102,421,000

[1] See also Table IV.

V. — UPON SEAPORTS.

Names of Ports.	Estimated expense of the whole.	Sums spent between 1804 and 1813.
	frs.	frs.
Port of Cherbourg		26,000,000
Port of Antwerp		18,000,000
Port of Flushing		5,600,000
Port of New-Diep		1,500,000
Port of Havre		6,300,000
Port of Dunkirk		4,500,000
Port of Ostend, with Canal	142,700,000	3,600,000
Port of Marseilles		1,500,000
Port of St. Valery		200,000
Port of Calais		500,000
Port of Dieppe		1,100,000
Port of Bayonne		430,000
Port of Cette		900,000
	142,700,000	70,130,000
Different works in Ports not designated	...	47,198,710
Total outlay		117,328,710

VI. — UPON DIFFERENT PUBLIC WORKS.

Public Works.	Estimated expense of the whole	Sums spent between 1804 and 1813.
	frs.	frs.
Workhouses for the Poor	29,000,000	12,000,000
Repairs of Prisons	30,000,000	6,000,000
Works of Napoleon-Ville, a new town in the Vendée	12,500,000	7,500,000
For rebuilding Houses and Churches in the West	1,800,000	1,500,000
Bathing Establishments	3,600,000	1,500,000
Works at Rome	6,000,000	2,000,000
Works at Napoleon (Morbihan)	1,500,000	1,100,000
Orphan Houses	1,500,000	1,200,000
Theatre at Strasburg	1,200,000	500,000
	87,100,000	33,300,000
Various Works in the Departments	...	115,808,550
Total outlay		149,108,550

VII. — UPON THE IMPERIAL PALACES, AND EDIFICES APPERTAINING TO THE CROWN.

Names of the Palaces, etc.	Amount of the projected improvement, etc.	Actual expenditures from 1804 to 1813.
	frs.	frs.
The Louvre and Musée Napoleon	14,000,000	11,100,000
The Napoleon Gallery and Church	36,000,000	10,300,000
The Tuileries	6,700,000	6,700,000
Triumphal Arch in the Carrousel	1,400,000	1,400,000
The Palace of the King of Rome	30,000,000	2,500,000
Versailles	6,600,000	5,200,000
Water Machinery at Marly	3,000,000	2,450,000
Fontainebleau	6,242,000	6,242,000
Compiègne	4,366,000	4,366,000
	108,308,000	50,258,000
Different improvements at St. Cloud, Rambouillet, Trianon, etc.	...	11,796,583
Total outlay		62,054,583

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